The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of the Liberal Arts

ACCESS TO LANGUAGE LEARNING DURING STUDY ABROAD:

THE ROLES OF IDENTITY AND SUBJECT POSITIONING

A Thesis in

French
by

Kathleen Farrell Whitworth

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2006

The thesis of Kathleen Farrell Whitworth was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Celeste Kinginger
Associate Professor of French and Applied Linguistics
Thesis Adviser
Chair of Committee

Jeannette D. Bragger
Professor Emerita of French

Meredith C. Doran
Assistant Professor of French and Applied Linguistics

James P. Lantolf
Greer Professor of Language Acquisition and Applied Linguistics
Director of the Center for Language Acquisition
Co-Director of CALPER (Center for Advanced Language Proficiency Education and Research)

Thomas A. Hale
Liberal Arts Professor of African, French and Comparative Literature
Head of the Department of French and Francophone Studies

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Study abroad is generally thought to offer access to interaction with native speakers in a wide variety of settings, bringing students into close contact with the cultural practices of the host country, and resulting in dramatic increases in language proficiency, cultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence. However, recent literature in the field of applied linguistics shows that access to language learning opportunities in the field is anything but unproblematic.

The data collection for the present study began in the fall of 2002 and continued through the fall of 2003. The data collection instruments used in this project allow for a qualitative report, supported by quantitative data, on the language learning experience of four American study abroad students during the spring of 2003 in France. I examine how the students positioned themselves and were positioned while abroad, and I analyze the effects that this positioning had on the participants' access to social networks, language learning opportunities, and their overall public identity in France. The quantitative data reported herein are used to support the qualitative and narrative data.

For analysis purposes, a Poststructuralist view of language socialization during study abroad is taken in this dissertation. It allows us to conceptualize language as a site of struggle in which meanings and the identities of the speaker are negotiated and renegotiated with each utterance and experience in a speaker's life, and which may or may not involve development of second language competence. A Poststructuralist view of language socialization during study abroad is a new way of dealing with context as part of a dialectic relationship that also involves the learners' identities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FIGURES

TABLES

Acknowledgements

There are many people who made this dissertation happen. First and foremost I would like to thank Celeste Kinginger, my director and mentor. Throughout the various phases of the project Celeste showed me her incredible patience, professionalism, gratitude and sense of humor. I would not have moved through this process without her friendship and guidance. Thank you, Celeste.

I thank my committee members for their suggestions and support. Jim Lantolf introduced me to a new way of thinking about language learning and language development. Without his guidance and teaching I would not have had the idea for this project. Meredith Doran helped me think about issues of identity and language learning, and it was my final project for her class in the spring of 2002 that was the precursor to this dissertation. Meredith's feedback was invaluable. Finally, I owe a special thank you to Jeannette Bragger who stressed the importance of finding a dissertation topic that I would really love.

In addition, I owe a huge thank you to the people at the Penn State International Programs office and in the various study abroad programs with whom I worked. In particular, I wish to thank Chris Klein and Françoise Defrecheux-Chaton who were sources of information and guidance throughout the earliest steps of this project.

I extend a special thank you to my dear friends Kate, Géry, Madeleine, Alexandra and Paul Carot in Paris and Margaret, Franck and Isabelle Philip de Laborie in Montpellier. Their love, support and good cooking while away from home was much appreciated.

I am indebted to the whole CALPER team. Without them I would not have been able to spend 4 months in France observing and getting to know my participants. I am also grateful to the College of Liberal Arts Research and Graduate Studies Office and the Department of French and Francophone Studies for making it possible for me to go abroad.

This project would not have happened without my wonderful participants. From the very first meeting they were interested in the project and in their own language development, showed up on time for *every single* meeting, and responded without delay to *every single* email that was ever sent. This dissertation would not have happened without them. I am grateful beyond words.

Finally, to Shannon, my husband and number one fan. Your support and your encouragement have helped to make this process an enriching one. Thank you.

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1. Issues in Study Abroad

Once considered the ideal language learning experience, recent literature in applied linguistics has shown study abroad to be challenging and difficult, leaving some students fraught with anxiety. Though study abroad has been thought to offer students opportunities to perfect their second language, to develop friendships and relationships with members of the global community and to create a new home in a new country, this recent literature has demonstrated that study abroad is not necessarily the quintessential language learning experience after all (Kinginger, 2004; Kline, 1998; Norton, 2000; Polanyi, 1995; Wilkinson, 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2001). In fact, access to the host community's social practices is not always readily available to learners. The present study examines if and how language learners access, create and negotiate social networks during a study abroad experience in the spring of 2003, as well as how the context in which students lived affected their access or nonaccess to host community members and cultures. This project fills in gaps left by previous research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and study abroad.

Much of the early work in the fields of SLA and study abroad regarded learners as "bundles of variables" (Kinginger, 2004, p.220) such as, "motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited" (Norton, 2000, p.5). Researchers at this time (Schumann, F.1980; Schumann, 1976a, 1976b, 1986; Schumann, J.H. and Schumann, F. 1977), though some of the first to use diary studies as a method of data collection, did not consider that these variables (motivated/unmotivated, introverted/extroverted, inhibited/uninhibited) "are

frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual" (Norton, 2000, p.5). Therefore, the social context would, according to Norton (2000), affect students' *personal variables*. That is, a particular student might be extroverted in one context, whereas in another context, s/he might be introverted.

As research in the SLA/Study Abroad domain continued in the 1980s and 1990s, learners were still often left out of the equation, and their personal histories and experiences at home and overseas were not necessarily considered. For some researchers at this time, the main object of study was the amount and type of language learned abroad like vocabulary words, morphemes, syntax, or speech acts (Freed, 1990, 1995; Lennon, 1995; Milton and Meara, 1995, among others). Consequently, understanding the social context of study abroad was difficult—if not impossible—to do.

In the mid- to late 1990s, researchers like Kline (1998) and Wilkinson (1995, 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2001), attempting to fill in the gaps left by the aforementioned studies, conducted research from an ethnographic perspective, which allowed "participants to tell us in their own words what is relevant and meaningful for them" (Wilkinson, p.4, 1995). Kline's and Wilkinson's engagement in this type of research permitted an understanding of complete learners: their "names and identities beyond test performance and survey responses" (Wilkinson, p.2, 1995), and the "voices that tell this story speak in their own words" (p.2). This change in perspective—from "positivistic views of education abroad" (p.4) to more qualitative ones— "call(s) into question many of the long-standing assumptions about language learning in the study abroad context" (p.5). Their ethnographic studies also considered the setting, or context, in

which participants lived, and also uncovered "a means for relating speech to such complex

factors as perceptions, identity, roles and cultural knowledge" (p.4).

Another perspective on language learning and living abroad is Poststructuralist research

(i.e., Kinginger, 2004; Norton, 2000), which takes as a starting point the notion that "the

signifying practices of societies are sites of struggle, and that linguistic communities are

heterogeneous arenas characterized by conflicting claims to truth and power" (Norton, 2000,

p.14). As sites of struggle, the practices of societies can be difficult for learners to access.

Kinginger (2004) adds that "access to language is shaped not only by learners' intentions, but

also by those of the others with whom they interact, people who may view learners as

embodiments of identities shaped by gender, race, and social class" (p.221). The current study,

which problematizes students' language learning efforts during study abroad experience, has

been conducted from a Poststructuralist perspective. It also incorporates a Language

Socialization view of the endeavor, both of which will be discussed in section 1.3 and in Chapter

Two.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

In the preface to Norton's (2000) book, the editor wrote that the goal of her work was to

"not just … describe the performances of learners … Rather it sets out to explore the practices of

learning themselves, and the social and personal conditions under which this learning is done by

learners, however variably and partially" (p. xiv). The present study has a similar goal: 1) to

explore the social contexts of study abroad and of the personal experiences of the four

participants; and 2) to examine how these contexts and experiences affected their access to social

networks while abroad. Additionally, this project is a response to Lantolf and Pavlenko's (2001)

call for "robust and detailed case studies documenting the activities of people on the periphery of linguistic communities of practice and how they gain or are denied (full) participation in these communities" (p.155).

The contexts of study abroad, as well as learners' subject positions, identities and agencies are essential to the creation and negotiation of social networks. For example, different study abroad programs have different housing options. Thus, some students find themselves living alone in apartments, other students live with welcoming, warm host families who treated these students as their own children, or with host families who are quite the opposite. These very different contexts are essential to understanding how students access social networks. Additionally, some students position themselves and are positioned by their interlocutors as competent speakers of French, which encouraged them (the students) to speak French more. This encouragement contributed to these students' public identity of "competent speaker of French."

Through its various data collection instruments, the present study allows for a unique look into learners' lives while studying abroad. The data collection instruments, presented and explained in chapter 3, highlight the students' perspectives. Because they are the ones who kept the journals and logbooks and guided the three different interviews, the information that they found relevant is reported herein. Thus, the reader is able to see the study abroad experience through the learners' eyes. However, the following must be stated: the goal of my project is to present and analyze one possible interpretation of the four participants' own narrations of their experiences. Consequently, participants' texts (their journals, logbooks and interviews) will be analyzed, not the actual experience. I am interpreting my participants' interpretations of their experiences. This analysis is an assessment and analysis of *only* these four participants and the

various identities they presented to me in their journals while in France. That is, their experiences are not necessarily generalizable to other research on study abroad and access to language learning.

1. 3. Theoretical Framework

The theories of Language Socialization and Poststructuralism are used for the purposes of the present study. They have been chosen because both theories consider and treat the whole learners: their past and present experiences, their hopes for the future, as well as their goals and motivations for participating in the activity of language learning. Though different in their beginnings, Language Socialization and Poststructuralism have been brought together in recent studies (Pavlenko, 2002) and make an appropriate theoretical framework from which to work because there is an acknowledgement that language learning can involve, for example, power and gender struggles while being learners are in the process of being socialized into the host communities and cultures.

More specifically, Language Socialization has its roots "in the notion that the process of acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a person in society" (Ochs, 2003, p. 106). Language Socialization investigates how novices use language to become socialized into other cultures and their norms. This type of research considers how children and adults are socialized through language into different identities and how they learn the communicative skills necessary to perform and function adequately in a particular community. Duff (2002) illustrates this idea in the following way:

> For example, in high school courses, recently arrived immigrant students, together with
> local students and teachers, encounter various discipline-specific sociolinguistic practices

and activities in their L2. Students' participation in classroom activities such as

discussions—perhaps peripherally at first, through observation, and then more actively—

becomes instrumental in their becoming fully fledged, more proficient members of a

classroom or school speech community…Their participation, in turn, allows them to both

reveal and develop aspects of their identities, abilities, and interests, in addition to their

linguistic and content-area knowledge. However, variable levels of participation and

mastery of local conventions may also accentuate differences among students and

perhaps variable outcomes of language socialization…Students may choose to take an

active part in classroom sociolinguistic events and practices—or not to—for various

reasons, but they may also be prevented from fuller participation by the very practices

and by the co-participants to which they seek greater access. (p.291)

Language Socialization is, thus, learning how to become a participant in various communities of practice. It is a complicated endeavor that cannot be explained by students' individual variables. Duff's (2002) quote demonstrates how social structures (in the classroom in this example) may inhibit or prohibit people from participating in the community.

Researchers who work from a Poststructuralist perspective build on this notion that social structures complicate language learning. Pavlenko (2002) defines the theory in the following way:

Poststructuralism is understood broadly as an attempt to investigate and to theorise the

role of language in construction and reproduction of social relations, and the role of

social dynamics in the processes of additional language learning and use. At the centre

of the poststructuralist theory of SLA are the view of language as symbolic capital and

the site of identity construction … the view of language acquisition as language

socialization … and the view of L2 users as agents whose multiple identities are dynamic

and fluid. (pgs. 282-283)

The theory allows researchers "to examine how linguistic, social, cultural, gender and ethnic

identities of L2 users … structure access to linguistic resources and interactional opportunities

and … are constituted and reconstituted in the process of L2 learning and use" (Pavlenko, 2002,

p.283). That is, language is a site of struggle and people have access to only a particular range of

existing discourses, which influences how they live their lives, the meaning they give to the

world, the structure of their everyday activities, and with whom they interact and/or to whom

they have access.

1.4. Background of the project[1]

The present study is only *one* part of a larger research project conducted through The

Center for Advanced Language Proficiency Education and Research (CALPER), one of fourteen

National Language Resource Centers in the United States, housed at a large university in the

eastern United States.[2] CALPER's particular focus is to improve the environment of advanced-

level foreign language teaching and learning, and assessment.

In the spring of 2002 Dr. Celeste Kinginger proposed a project entitled, "Advanced

Language Development and Study Abroad" for CALPER. Undertaking this project required a

full-time research assistant, and I was selected for the position. During the summer of 2002 Dr.

---

[1] The research reported herein is part of a larger project, sponsored by the Center for Advanced Language Proficiency Education and Research (CALPER), a National Foreign Language Resource Center. This research was supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education (CFDA 84.229, P229A020010-03). However, the contents do not necessarily represent the policy of the Department of Education, and one should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.

[2] All names of universities and participants have been changed to protect anonymity. Additionally, some minor details have been modified to further disguise identities.

Kinginger and I discussed and planned for the project. The issues which we considered were the following: recruitment of students, creation of the different tests, from what company to purchase the standardized tests, and a timeline of how the project would run, among other things. At this point, we determined for how many weeks or months I would be onsite to conduct the research, what exactly the onsite tasks would be, what equipment I would need while onsite, and funding sources.[3]

Dr. Kinginger and I recruited 27 students. With the exception of two students, one of whom was a sophomore and the other who was a senior, all of the students were in their junior year. Most of the students were double majors in French and either business, economics, international politics and international business.[4] A majority of the students had taken at least two 300-level classes in the fall of 2002. Two students had not had French classes in approximately one year. All of the students were from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Connecticut, or Washington, D.C. By the time they left for France in January 2003 only three students had dropped out of the study.[5] While in France, another student eliminated himself from the student by never showing up for any of his interviews or tests and never returning calls or emails. Thus, in all, Dr. Kinginger and I collected data from 23 students. By July of 2003, after having done most of the data collection, I selected four students to present in my dissertation. A table summarizing my participants, their backgrounds, their programs, and their housing situations abroad is provided below.

---

[3] My research in France was funded by CALPER, the Mid-Atlantic University Department of French and the College of the Liberal Arts Research and Graduate Studies Office (RGSO) Graduate Student Dissertation Support Grant.

[4] The Business School requires that its students do at least one semester abroad.

[5] One student did the predeparture testing but never returned for the written testing; the other two students dropped out for personal reasons.

Table 1-1: Participant information

Name	Age	Gender	Major	French Study: # Years of prior to college	French Study: # of semesters in college	Program	Housing options[a]	Housing Choice
Benjamin	20	M	Accounting & International Business	5	4	Paris	H	Homestay
Bill	22	M	Marketing & International Business	10	2	Dijon	D or H	Homestay
Deirdre	20	F	Information Science	5	4	Montpellier	D, H, or A	Apartment
Jada	21	F	Psychology	5	5	Montpellier	D, H or A	Dormitory

[a] Homestay (H), Dormitory (D), Apartment (A)

The students' backgrounds, as well as the reasons for which I selected them, will be discussed in sections 3.7.1 and 3.7.2.

1.5. Research Questions

The research conducted herein took place over a one-year period. While in France during the spring of 2003, the participants, who are introduced in Chapter Three, were asked to maintain journals and logbooks, documenting the kinds of experiences they were having, as well as for how long per day they spoke each language (French, English and any other language they used on a regular basis). They were also asked to participate in two on-site interviews, one at the midterm and one at the end of the semester. The analysis of their journals, logbooks, interviews and other data collection instruments investigates the following research questions:

Main research question:

Do learners access host community social networks during study abroad?

Sub-questions:

a) How do learners go about accessing these social networks?

b) What impact do learner identity, subject positioning, and agency have on their ability to access and develop and maintain social networks?

The main research question addresses the fact that study abroad is, in some circles, no longer considered to be a ready-made language learning situation. Learners are not always able to access the social practices of the host community, and they are often left to their own devices (perhaps because their study abroad program wants them to be independent) or they are so

sheltered by their host families and their program that they venture little outside the safe haven[6]

that has become their study abroad program.[7]

The sub-questions consider that participation in social practices is required for gaining

access to social networks. This participation may be affected by the ways students are positioned

by the host community or by how the students chose to position themselves. Once there were

answers for the main question (students do/do not access social networks), it was important to

understand *how* students accessed social networks and how that access impacted their language

development and their general experiences overseas. If students chose to avoid participation and

social networking, the questions then became: 1) What are the reasons for this choice? 2) How

does that choice affect the students' linguistic development and their experiences while abroad?

1.6. Overview of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter Two presents a review of the

literature conducted in the fields of study abroad, applied linguistics and second language

acquisition, and focuses on the context of study abroad. The chapter also explains key concepts

(subject positioning and identity) of the theoretical framework for the present study. Chapter

Three describes the design, methodology and data collection instruments of the study, as well as

the different study abroad programs, their locations in France, and their academic requirements

and classes offered. Chapter Four provides case studies of four students whose experiences in

France were recorded in their personal journals and during interviews with them. In Chapter

Five, I briefly review the previous chapters, examine the advantages and limitations of the study,

---

[6] Some students were protected by their host families or by their program directors. In Montpellier, for example, the study abroad office became an area in which study abroad students gathered and worked together on homework.
[7] I am not suggesting that either position is better or worse than the other. This is simply a statement of the different program perspectives.

and I suggest avenues for future research. In addition to the chapters, this dissertation contains

twelve appendixes.

Chapter Two:

Review of the Literature

2.1. The Notion of Context in Research on Study Abroad

In research on study abroad, the notion of context is primary; the very framing of questions about a particular learning situation requires a consideration of context. However, a review of the literature suggests that ways of framing "context" are highly variable. As such, the notion of context has been problematized in recent studies by Breen (2001). Breen's schema of "learner contributions to language learning" (Breen, 2001, p.9 & p.180) critiques standard approaches to research, suggesting that learners are actually "sociohistorically situated human beings" (Block, 2003, p.124). In his discussion of context and of learners and their contributions to the language learning process, Breen makes three important points:

The first is Breen's schema which explains how learners contribute to their language learning via four different and interrelated avenues.

- Learners contribute through their own attributes and conceptualizations, both of which affect the language learning endeavor. Breen explains:

  > Learner attributes such as…aptitude, personality or identity relate to how learners will conceptualize themselves *as learners* and the situation which they enter that provides a potential for learning—more obviously a classroom and less obviously, perhaps, other social events in wider communities. (Breen, 2001, p.8)

- Learners contribute to the L2 process through their own actions: exercising their agency during learning, self-regulating, strategizing their learning and interaction and by creating discourses and activities. As Breen explains: "All of these (above), in turn, will shape

their agency, participation and strategy use as a contributor to the linguistic-communicative environment available to themselves and others" (Breen, 2001, p.8).

- Learners contribute through the classroom context. That is, they participate in the linguistic and communicative environment of the classroom. Breen explains:

> The interrelationship is…reflexive in the sense that people take their wider community identity and history into the classroom…This classroom context will be seen by learners to facilitate or constrain their own actions which, in turn, have an impact upon their conceptualizations, affects, and even those attributes which research tends to construct as relatively resilient…such as their psycholinguistic processes. (Breen, 2001. p.9)

- Learners contribute to the wider community by their participation in it. They make transitions from a community to which they once belonged to a current community and, later, to an imagined community or one to which they seek to belong.

The schema listed above and the larger society in which the language learning is taking place "are all locations for the articulation and re-working of cultures and the meanings and significances they entail" (Breen, 2001, pgs. 177-178). That is, within each of the four ways exists another context and within that context are more cultures and meanings with which the learner will become acquainted. Cultures and contexts are thus indivisible.

The second important point in this discussion of context and in the present study is that differences among and within contexts are valuable. Each context, diverse in and of itself, provides an opportunity for language learning. As such, different learners can learn different linguistic skills as a result of the various contexts in which they may find themselves. Breen further illustrates this point by stating that:

> Different contexts are defined differently by participants: what is meaningful and significant to them is likely to be context specific; and how they act in them—including how they interact and what and how they learn through such interaction—is also likely to be context specific. Therefore, the argument concludes, findings from one context, such as those from an experimental task undertaken in a university observation laboratory, should not be generalized to all learning situations. (Breen, 2001, p.176)

This consideration of difference is especially important because, unlike first language learning, success in learning a second language is "remarkably variable" (Breen, 2001, p.2). In short, because the endeavor of second language learning is different, the results of that learning will be different.

The third point is that "the socio-political dimensions of interaction"—like identity and access to the second language (Breen, 2001, p.177) must be considered in future research. Thus, the theoretical stance to be taken and discussed in the current chapter takes this "socio-political dimension of interaction" (p.177) into consideration. The contexts of second language learning are imbued with issues of power, identities and access, all of which are capable of changing the entire language learning endeavor.

The present study not only focuses on Breen's conceptualization of contexts, but also responds to Lantolf and Pavlenko's (2001) call for approaches to research coming from "the hermeneutic tradition."[8] The approach concerns itself with "describing 'human experience as concretely as possible, and therefore to emphasize variety, differences, change, motives and goals, individuality rather than uniformity or indifference to time or unfaltering repetitive patters'" (Berlin, 1976, p. 86, as cited in Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p.142). The point is, thus, to

---

[8] See Luria, 1979 for a further discussion

show differences among people, rather than focus on their similarities. Lantolf and Pavlenko

(2001) also state that "space must be opened up within our field for a historical-interpretative

approach to scientific research" (p.143), which "considers humans from a more holistic, concrete

and less idealized perspective" (p.143). In the present study, I focus on my participants as

individuals with personal histories and stories which affect their decisions, their agency and their

investment in their language learning experiences. Moreover, the gender, social and historical

differences among my participants is a change from much of the previous literature in SLA and

study abroad, which had little consideration for and of learners' identities and histories.

Pavlenko (2002) calls for more socially engaged research, and the current study attempts

to respond to this call. She compares socially engaged research to the kinds of research that has

traditionally been the norm in SLA:

> Others (researchers) present the reader with a laundry list of unrelated social and
>
> individual factors or, at best, with a discussion of Schumann's acculturation hypothesis
>
> and related sociopsychological studies…This lack of attention to and interest in social
>
> factors is not surprising if we consider the fact that SLA as a field continues to be
>
> influenced by the Chomskian view of language as biologically innate rather than a social
>
> phenomenon. (p.277)

Sociopsychological approaches to language learning assume a separation between

individual, or psychological, and social factors. However, as Pavlenko states, many of these

"individual factors, such as age, gender or ethnicity, are also socially constituted, so that the

understanding and implications of being Jewish or Arab, young or old, female or male are not the

same across communities and cultures" (p.280). Additionally, "seemingly internal and

psychological factors as attitudes, motivation or language learning beliefs have clear social origins and are shaped and reshaped by the contexts the learners find themselves" (pgs. 280-281).

Furthermore, according to Pavlenko (2002), sociopsychological approaches attribute an "idealised and decontextualised nature" to language learning. The language learning process is "presented as an individual endeavour, prompted by motivation and positive attitudes, and hindered by negative attitudes and perceptions" (p.281). Language learning is not, however, an individual undertaking and is often not conducted in such "idealised" environment. Language learning requires the participation of many people: teachers, students, and researchers. Pavlenko goes on to say:

> In reality, however, no amount of motivation can counteract racism and discrimination, just as no amount of positive attitude can substitute for access to linguistic resources such as educational establishments, work places, or programmes and services especially designed for immigrants and other potential L2 users. The social context, thus, is directly involved in setting positive or negative conditions for L2 learning. (p.281)

The current chapter reviews the literature on language learning in study abroad with a view toward understanding the ways in which context is understood by a range of researchers working within various research paradigms. The chapter, therefore, first examines diary studies which represent an early attempt to cope with context within the field of second language acquisition (Schumann, F.1980; Schumann, J.,1976a, 1976b,1986; Schumann, J. & Schumann, F. 1977). Secondly, we review the notion of context within selected works on SLA in which the emphasis is on learners' linguistic development in specific areas (Brecht, Davidson, & Ginsberg,

1995; Freed, 1990, 1995; Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; Lafford, 2004; Lennon, 1995; Milton and Meara, 1995; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). A third section focuses on hybrid studies that attempt to unite quantitative accounts of linguistic development with accounts of the qualities of students' experience and reflections upon the experience of language learning (Brecht & Robinson, 1995; Ginsberg & Miller, 2000; Miller & Ginsberg, 1995; Polanyi, 1995). Fourth, ethnographic research is scrutinized for the insights it brings to the understanding of context (Kline, 1998; Wilkinson, 2002).

Finally, the emphasis turns to inquiries informed by Poststructuralist approaches to Language Socialization, the approach taken in the current study (Kramsch, 2002; Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Ochs, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002). Here, Language Socialization is defined, and its history explored. The links between Poststructuralist theory and Language Socialization research are clarified and the insights from this research are examined as they relate to language learning in study abroad (Kinginger, 2004; Talburt & Stewart, 1999)

2.2. Context in Diary Studies

2.2.1. Introduction to the Schumann's Diary Studies

John and Francine Schumann were among the first researchers to use the diary study as a method of data collection in second language acquisition studies. The Schumanns demonstrated that interesting conclusions about second language acquisition and study abroad, based on personal thoughts and feelings about language learning, could be drawn from these data. Their study and the ensuing publications represent an attempt to explain real language learning efforts during difficult experiences overseas. The object of the review below is to tease out the

assumptions about context and the study abroad experience underlying this early approach to study abroad and second language acquisition.

2.2.2. The Schumann Studies:

Personal variables and language learning abroad:

As part of an effort to pinpoint the effect of individual differences in second language learning, the Schumanns were among the first to incorporate first-person accounts into their research. They present narrative data from their experiences learning Arabic and Persian in Tunisia and Iran, respectively (Schumann, F., 1980; Schumann, J.H.,1976a, 1976b; Schumann, J.H. & Schumann, F., 1977). Their project "addresses itself to the study of individual language learning experiences to see how various psychological factors affect an individual's perception of his own progress (Schumann, J.H. & Schumann, F., 1977, p.242)." They recorded in a log-like fashion their "daily events," as well as any "thoughts and feelings" related to the events (p.242). The Schumanns paid "particular attention to cross-cultural adjustments and efforts made and avoided in learning the TL both in and out of class (p.247)." From their written journals, the Schumanns describe their own personal variables, which contributed to their language learning efforts, among them an "obsession with nesting" (p.243) and "transition anxiety" (p.245). Both of these personal variables, the Schumanns stated, influenced their acquisition of Arabic and Persian. Francine Schumann was not able to get comfortable in their apartment in Tunisia. She continually felt out of sorts and disorganized. She spent much of her time cleaning, and, in the end, Francine Schumann recounted that this "obsession with nesting" prohibited her from acquiring Arabic. For his part, John Schumann found that preparing for their trips to Iran and Tunisia caused him anxiety. Thus, John Schumann began to study on the plane

to each destination, which seemed to calm him down. He could then focus on acquisition of the target language and prepare for his arrival in either Tunisia or Iran.

The Schumanns' studies were interesting because they are some of the first researchers in the field of applied linguistics to use personal narrative as a research tool. However, the Schumanns conceptualized context in a very positivistic way. That is, unlike more recent research (Block, 2003; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002) which tends to be informed by social theory, the Schumanns relied mainly upon the dominant views of second language acquisition at the time, thus resulting in a perspective that viewed "outcomes of encounters with languages only in linguistic or meta-cognitive terms" (Block, 2003, p.131) rather than seeing them in "sociohistorical terms" (p.131). Thus, the Schumanns tended to focus on whether or not they were acquiring language (Block, 2003, p.131) rather than to examine "whether or not learners are able to become fully participating members of the communities of practice they wish to join" (p.131). The Schumann studies pointed out the significance of each learner's particular encounter with specific realities in the field, but this significance was interpreted as one among many causal variables related to individual differences.

The Schumanns' studies problematized the study abroad experience and offered reasons for why it might not be a ready-made language learning situation. Moreover, in a subsequent, single-authored study Francine Schumann (1980) moved toward a more socially-grounded stance, suggesting that her gender may have been an issue while studying Persian in Iran. She acknowledged that, because women in Iranian society were placed at a "greater social and psychological distance from the target culture" (Schumann, F., 1980, p. 55) than western men, language learning in Iran was much more difficult for women. Additionally, because the female population of the country was less visible and less available than the male population, it was

almost impossible for her to access women with whom she could speak. Francine Schumann continued to feel at a distance and had limited language contact. Her suggestion was to have "a special orientation" in an effort "to equip women language learners in countries such as Iran with techniques for gaining access to sufficient native speakers and thus sufficient input to acquire the TL" (Schumann, F., p.55, 1980).

2.3. Introduction to SLA/Study Abroad Studies

For the purposes of the present study the term *SLA/Study Abroad Studies* is used to name research looking at the study abroad context and the acquisition of specific linguistic features. It has been assumed that students who participate in study abroad programs increase their likelihood of attaining fluency in a foreign language (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004), and that those who make the greatest attempt to use the target language, both in and out of the classroom, will make the most progress (Freed, 1990). The following studies, to be discussed thematically, show the diversity of students' experiences and that language learning overseas can be problematic for learners' acquisition of certain linguistic features. These studies have been selected to illustrate the range of questions about language acquisition in SA that have been addressed by SLA researchers. They are also illustrative of the different ways of defining context. Though the list of studies to be reviewed is limited, it nonetheless provides a wide range of definitions of context.

First, an examination of a series of studies on the development of fluency carried out by Freed and colleagues (Freed, 1990, 1995; Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; and Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) will be conducted. After that discussion, I will look at studies involving oral proficiency (Lennon, 1995), vocabulary growth (Milton & Meara, 1995), communication

strategies (Lafford, 2004), and predictors of success during study abroad (Brecht, Davidson & Ginsberg 1995).

Freed (1990, 1995), Freed, Segalowitz & Dewey (2004) and Segalowitz & Freed (2004) focused their efforts on studies examining general fluency acquired during periods of study abroad. They compared students who studied abroad with students who remained at their home institutions.

Freed (1990) examined the impact of "informal out-of-class contact on the linguistic skills of American foreign language students" living and taking classes in a study abroad context in France (p.460). She sought answers to the following question: "Do those students who pursue the most informal contacts out of the classroom make the greatest gains in achievement and proficiency during a six-week summer study abroad program?" (p.460). Related to this question were five other more detailed questions concerned with the students and their pursuit of out-of-class contact as influenced by their level of study, their aptitude, and their motivations and attitudes about correctness in speech. To that end, Freed designed a study involving 40 undergraduate students who were participating in a six-week study abroad program in Tours, France. While abroad, students were enrolled in either French language, literature, civilization or a combination of the three. These students lived with French families or in university dormitories. Students were given motivation questionnaires and aptitude tests, achievement and proficiency tests, and a language contact profile. In addition, they kept diaries and were in interviewed at the end of the program by one of three research assistants. These assistants also conducted informal and ethnographic observations of 21 of the 40 students.

Freed found "essentially no relationship between any of these variables (level of study, aptitude, motivations and attitudes about correctness of speech) and student tendency to pursue

informal contact" (Freed, 1990, p.472). She suggested the possibility that the "self-selected

group of students…might fall into the upper range of a motivation continuum" (p.472). Thus,

the students participating in the study may have already been more motivated than the "average

student population" (p.472). She also offered this explanation for the high aptitude students and

the likelihood of out-of-class contact. Freed summarized: "…we have found, consistent with

most previous studies that the amount of out-of-class contact in general does not seem to

influence measurable class progress" (p.472). She added, however, that there was a correlation

between pursuit of out-of-class contact and "progress made on traditional tests of grammar and

reading comprehension" (p.473). Freed offered that the level of study might be an "important

variable in predicting change in performance as measured by an achievement test" (p.473).

Finally, in this same study, Freed suggested that, for students at a lower level of study, it was not

the amount of contact but rather the "type of contact" like "spending time with the host family

and friends" (p.473) in different social settings which "appears to be more meaningful in

predicting this change (on achievement test scores)…than is time spent interacting with different

types of media" (p.473).

Freed (1990) provided an informative contribution to the field of SLA and study abroad

because she examined out-of-class contact, which has often been perceived as easy to access. As

such, she attempted to debunk the myth that study abroad automatically leads to fluent speech.

Freed demonstrated that out-of-class contact was not necessarily something students search out

while they are abroad. Additionally, she suggested that there are two possibilities for context:

abroad or at home. Context itself was viewed primarily as the linguistic environment within

which learners were exposed to input and offered opportunities for interaction that is believed to

promote second language acquisition. However, as Breen (2001) has suggested context is

multilayered and complicated and is often imbued with issues of power and authority (Breen, 2001, p.177).

In another important study, Freed (1995) challenged the popular belief that "students who study abroad are those who make the most progress in their language of choice and are the most likely to become fluent" (p.123). Thus, she designed a study which had as its goal finding empirical support for the aforementioned belief. Freed (1995) had two goals: 1) to see if a group of native speaker judges could distinguish between a group of students who spent a semester studying abroad and a group of students who learned at home; 2) to identify some of the "linguistic differences that might exist in the language of these two groups" (p.123). Freed stated that the term "fluency" is a "loose cover term, with both global and restricted interpretations, that vary from context to context, speaker to speaker and listener to listener, depending on a wide range of variables" (Freed, 1995, p.127). She worked with 30 undergraduate students, 15 of whom went abroad and 15 of whom stayed on campus. Of those who went abroad, most lived with a family, though some lived in single dorm rooms.

For this particular study, Freed collected a wide range of data, composed of "assessments of motivation, anxiety, aptitude and pre- and post-tests or oral (based on the OPI) and written proficiency" (Freed, 1995, p.128). The OPI-based oral exam was given at the very beginning and the very end of the semester in the U.S. and in France. Then, the speech samples underwent two analyses: 1) Six native speakers of French were asked to rank the 3-minute speech samples on a scale of 1 ("not at all fluent") to 7 ("extremely fluent"), though a definition of fluency was not provided to the judges (p.129); 2) A linguistic analysis was done of the "fluency-related features" like amount and rate of speech, as well as "unfilled pauses" (total silence), filled pauses (sound stretches), length of utterances, repairs and interruptions to the flow of speech (p.130).

The results indicated that study abroad students spoke more frequently and faster than their at-home counterparts. Study abroad students also tended to have fewer interruptions to their flow of speech and fewer silent pauses following their study abroad experience. Additionally, their fluent speech utterances tended to flow longer. Study abroad students attempted expressions which they used incorrectly and, as such, experienced communication breakdowns with native speakers.

Freed's (1995) study examined the study abroad experience in terms of proficiency and fluency development, employing both qualitative and quantitative means of evaluation that demonstrate changes in the qualities of learner language. In this study, Freed defined context as opposition to classroom study at home. Context was viewed as the linguistic environment where learners received input and engaged with native speakers, leading to second language acquisition.

To compare different aspects of language use by college age students in different language learning situations, Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey (2004) undertook a study in which they compared different dimensions of fluency in 28 students of French studying in three different language learning contexts, At Home (AH)[9], Immersion (IM)[10], and Study Abroad (SA)[11]. To accomplish that task, the authors conducted interviews similar to the OPI at the beginning and end of the semester or summer. They had 4 minutes of each student's speech analyzed for different measures of fluency, like the rate of speech and hesitation-free runs, among other things. Additionally, they gave their participants the Language Contact Profile (LCP), which helped the researchers to understand the different language use and interactions

---

[9] At Home (AH): One 12-week semester; the course met for 2-4 hours/week

[10] Immersion (IM): Seven weeks in the summer; One to 3 language courses which lasted 3-4 hours/day; Students had 2-4 years of prior language instruction.

[11] Study Abroad (SA): One semester in Paris; 12-week course of instruction; Students had 2-4 years of prior instruction.

experienced by the students. The researchers were thus able to get a sense of how students spent their time (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004, p.284).

Their results indicated several things: 1) Acquisition of oral fluency can be attributed to context differences; 2) Students in the Immersion context made significant gains on several of the nine measured variables. They produced more words at a faster rate than did the SA and AH students. They also produced longer turns of speech and more fluid speech runs; 3) Study Abroad students showed greater gains on several of the variables than At Home students but fewer than Immersion context students; 4) At Home students used more grammatical repair strategies, which, the authors suggest, is due to the influence of the classroom environment.

Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey (2004) explained the above findings by stating that Immersion students spent more time on out-of-class activities like research papers and other document production. Another explanation offered for the success of the Immersion students was the intensive nature of their program. Research has shown that students involved in intensive immersion outperform students involved in standard programs (Collins, Halter, Lightbown, & Spada, 1999, cited in Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004). Additionally, SA students "reported using more English in out-of-class contact than they did using French" (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004, p.294). This fact may have contributed to the greater gains found in the IM students. That is, the SA students did not, in fact, spend more time in the target language after all.

This study attempted to show the differences between oral fluency in learners who have studied in three different contexts: at home, study abroad and immersion. The authors used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection to demonstrate changes and differences in learner language. As in another of Freed's studies (1995), the context of the language learning

experience was viewed only as a source of linguistic input for learners, with which they could acquire their second language.

Segalowitz and Freed (2004) investigated the role of context in oral fluency as "measured by temporal and hesitation phenomena and gains in oral proficiency based on the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI)" (p.173). The study also examined the relation of the oral gains to "L2-specific cognitive measures of speed of lexical access…efficiency…of lexical access, and speed and efficiency of attention control hypothesized to underlie oral performance" (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004, p.173). The participants—40 native English speakers learning Spanish for one semester either At Home (AH) or Study Abroad (SA)— also provided the researchers with the amount of time they spent speaking Spanish outside the classroom.

The results revealed four different aspects of oral proficiency differences between SA and AH students. First, SA students made significant gains in oral performance, and AH students did not. Second, in-class contact and out-of-class contact appears to have had little impact on oral gains. Third, "L2-specific cognitive processing" (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004, p.192) and speed of cognitive processing were evident in oral performance. Finally, learners' "initial oral abilities" (p.192) played a "role in determining the amount and kind of extracurricular L2 contact activities they reported having engaged in" (p.192). In short, the authors showed that study abroad students could still make oral proficiency and fluency gains during study abroad. Context in this study was viewed as an occasion for input and interaction leading to second language acquisition.

Another perspective on study abroad and second language acquisition is that of Lennon (1995) who presented the results of a study on ESL students' oral proficiency. In this study, the author investigated the effects of a short-term stay in England on the performance of "advanced

learner spoken English" (Lennon, 1995, p.76). By applying "Vorster's (1980) components of proficiency," (productivity, syntactic complexity, correctness, fluency and content) [12] which were used in research with children learning their first language, and through his own quantitative analysis, Lennon (1995) attempted to tease out the linguistic elements that improve while abroad (p.75). He then took his resulting quantitative data and compared it to teachers' reactions. Lennon asked four principle questions: 1) Does spoken performance improve after a short stay abroad? 2) Do teachers perceive such an improvement, and if so in which areas?; 3) Can any such developments be easily measured in terms of a limited range of performance features?; and 4) May there be some partial decline in performance at least in the short term? (Lennon, 1995, p.76)

To this end, Lennon conducted a study with four female native speakers of German between the ages of twenty and twenty-four who were students at three different German universities.[13] Shortly after their arrival abroad, they were given an information sheet which asked about their exposure to English in Reading, England and in the six months before their departure for England. Additionally, the participants took the ELBA test (the British Council's English Language Battery Test), which tests the English of non-native speakers. To further test their spoken English, Lennon used a picture story. Once these tasks were done, he asked for subjective assessments from "nine experienced British native-speaker teachers of English as a Foreign Language" (Lennon, 1995, p.86). The teachers were to focus their assessments on

---

[12] The definitions of these components according to Vorster (1980) are as follows (Lennon, 1995, p.87):
1. "Productivity: less proficient speaker may say less…in a given situation than the nativelike speaker."
2. "Syntactic complexity: the less proficiency speaker may use simplified syntax…"
3. "Correctness: the less proficient speaker may make more errors…produce forms which are…deviant from …normal native speaker usage."
4. "Fluency: the less proficient speaker may differ from nativelike speakers in terms of the rate of his or her speech, the length, number and distribution of pauses…and …self-corrections."
5. "Content: …the less proficient speaker may differ from nativelike performance in terms of what he or she mentions, and in what detail, or omits…"

[13] They did not take EFL classes while in England

"productivity, syntactic complexity, correctness of language, fluency, and content." They rarely

agreed on the students' improvements. That is, the teachers' ratings of the students'

productivity, syntactic complexity, correctness, fluency and content provoked so much

disagreement that Lennon felt that the results did not "achieve statistical significance" (p.94)

The results, even those which achieved little statistical significance, indicate that in

productivity and modality, participant improvement was significant. Lennon added that the

"parameters taken over from Vorster (1980)" are "ineffective in measuring short-term

improvement of advanced learners" (Lennon, 1995, p.104).

Based on the picture story recordings, results showed that participants do improve in

productivity and modality, but that their individual results within each category varied. Lennon

explains that in productivity, for example, the total word tokens differed among each of the four

students: Anne Marie produced 190 words, while Elke produced 367 words. Lennon suggested

that these differences had to do with the "different routes they take in increasing productivity"

(p.102). A "different route" is the way in which the participants increased "the number of T-

Units" (p.102) or increased "the numbers of words per T-Unit, or by a combination of the two

methods" (p.102). Andrea's improvements were made with prepositional phrases and, to a lesser

extent, co-verbs. Elke's improvements were made with adverbials and co-verbs, and Dorothea's

improvement was with co-verbs, while Anne Marie shows expansion across the whole range of

complexity measures. Lennon, however, offered few reasons for his participants' differences in

linguistic development. He counted the number of tokens produced, and he suggested that the

differences were due to their which accounts for their "different routes" (p.102). Lennon did not

take into consideration the contexts in which his participants found themselves. As learners

become participating members of a given social network, they interact with different kinds of

people and language. These social experiences in the communities of practice help learners develop linguistically and socially. Each context brings with it a new and unique social and linguistic challenge for learners.

Vocabulary growth and acquisition during study abroad was investigated by Milton and Meara (1995). The authors designed a study in which they worked with 53 European exchange students (26 Germans, 16 French, 8 Spaniards, and 3 Italians) participating in the LINGUA[14] and ERASMUS[15] programs. To test their vocabulary levels, Milton and Meara (1995) used the Eurocentres Vocabulary Size Test (EVST) (cf. Meara & Jones, 1990), which is a computerized and standardized "Yes/No" exam. It tests a high number of vocabulary items and "estimates the absolute size of the learners' vocabulary in English" (Milton & Meara, 1995, p.21). Subjects in this study were tested twice using the same testing instruments: once at the beginning of the period abroad and once six months later. A questionnaire was also administered to the students to assess factors like the first language, the number of years spent learning English, at what age they started, the amount of formal study they undertook during the period abroad, how much social interaction they had with native speakers, the nature of their living accommodations, and personality and attitude factors (Milton & Meara, 1995, p.21).

The overall results of this study indicated that there was an increase in vocabulary, particularly in lower-level students going abroad. The rate of growth was about 2,600 words per year, with some individual differences and variation. Students in this study learned English as a

---

[14] LINGUA is a program which promotes teaching and language learning throughout the European Union.

[15] ERASMUS "seeks to enhance the quality and reinforce the European dimension of higher education by encouraging transnational cooperation between universities, boosting European mobility and improving the transparency and full academic recognition of studies and qualifications throughout the Union." (http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/erasmus_en.html)

foreign language "nearly five times faster on average" during periods of exchange than they did in class at home (Milton & Meara, 1995, p.31). The authors also showed that students who had near native proficiency before going abroad progressed less than lower-level students. The authors suggested that their "lack of progress is due to being so good already" (p.31).

Milton and Meara (1995) considered several different and complicated aspects of the study abroad experience. The authors discussed how much time students spent learning the second language (English) formally and informally. They looked at the friendship patterns that developed over time, and whether or not these friendships were with native or non-native speakers. The authors also examined if and how much students enjoyed the exchange, as well as their housing situation (homestay, dorm, apartment, for example). In their study, the context of study abroad is not just a question of being at home or overseas; rather, it is a question of engaging in meaningful relationships, having formal and informal learning opportunities, living in engaging housing situations, and enjoying the exchange.

Engaging in meaningful relationships and learning opportunities can, at times, provoke communication gaps which require communication strategies. Lafford (2004) investigated the effect of the context of learning (At Home v. Study Abroad) on the number and types of communication strategies (CSs) used by learners of Spanish as a second language. She worked with 46 learners (20 At Home and 26 Study Abroad) to determine how and why they chose particular communication strategies when communication gaps occur. A communication gap, according to Lafford (2004), is "a breakdown in communication caused by the learners' inability to understand their interlocutors or to express their ideas in the L2" (p.203).

The results of this study showed that both AH students and SA students employed fewer CSs over time. The two groups differed, however, in how they used CSs: learners in the SA

context had fewer communication gaps during academic interviews with native speakers, and the grammar used during these exchanges was more accurate; the AH group "favored CSs that focused on their own production of the L2" (Lafford, 2004, p.217). That is, the AH group was more focused on forms than the SA group. Lafford recognized the limitations of her study and suggested that these data be examined in conjunction with research focusing on other aspects of language acquisition. Lafford's findings thus contribute to an understanding of the effect of context on "the developing interlanguage systems of L2 learners" (p.218).

Lafford's (2004) study brings awareness to students' communication struggles while abroad. The suggestion in her work is that the study abroad experience is not problem-free and is often challenging for learners. Additionally, Lafford examined how much time learners spent using the L2 outside of the classroom and with their host families. Learners are, in theory, able to find opportunities for speaking their second language, leading to second language acquisition.

Another example of an examination of acquisition during study abroad is Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg (1995) who reported on the results of a study to determine the factors that predict language gain during study abroad. The authors showed that certain individual characteristics were predictors of successful language learning abroad. The 658 students were participating in the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) immersion program, and the data were collected from the spring of 1984 through the spring of 1990. The data collection was composed of several different parts: 1) OPI and ETS (Educational Testing Service) Listening (ETSL) and ETS Reading (ETSR) were administered just before and at the very end of the program and "are the basis of measures of gains" (Brecht et al., 1995, p.41); 2) The ACTR qualifying exams measured grammar and reading and supplemented the OPI, the ETSR and the ETSL; 3) Learning-style ("aptitude") was shown in the form of raw scores and three different

MLAT scores.[16] Additionally, four 50-minute tests (two forms for reading and two for writing) were used in preprogram testing in an attempt to measure reading and listening skills in the intermediate/high to superior range (Brecht et al., 1995, p.42). Once the data were collected, the authors used regression analysis and discriminant analysis to predict and explain the results. Gain, for the quantitative variables measuring listening and reading skills (ETSL and ETSR) was defined as "the difference between preprogram and post-program scores" (p.45).

According to Brecht et al. (1995), the predictors of gain for speaking, listening and reading are the following:

- Gender: Men gain more than women on speaking and listening. Men go from 1+ to 2 and up on the OPI. Women's' gains appear to be negligible (p.53).

- Age: Younger students gain on listening.

- Previous language study: Those who know another language "will get better at learning foreign languages the more experience they have at the task" (p.58).

- Gain on the OPI

- MLAT scores: The MLAT3 and MLAT4 were predictors of listening and reading gain, whereas the MLAT5 was not.

- "Qualifying Exams": The Grammar/Reading Qualifying exam predicts speaking, listening and reading.

- Pre-program language level: The higher the preprogram level, the less likely a gain)

---

[16] The MLAT3 tests the ability to use analytic learning strategies; the MLAT4 tests the ability to use synthetic learning strategies; and the MLAT5 tests the ability to use memory-based learning strategies. They are analyzed separately to "see exactly which aptitudes and strategy configurations might affect gains" (p.41).

- Pre-program reading proficiency: Higher preprogram reading proficiency facilitated gains on the OPI and listening exams

- Pre-program listening proficiency was not significant for any of the modalities.

The Brecht et al. study (1995) was groundbreaking because the authors were able to include data from a large number of students which, to that point, had not been done. It is an ambitious study with many dimensions, including the hybrid studies to be discussed in the following section. The authors presented robust findings from different quantitative data collection methods. These different methods promote a unique understanding of the factors that predict language gain. Once again, context in this study is the study abroad environment where students can receive input to be processed, ultimately leading to second language acquisition.

Taken together, the aforementioned studies show that the outcomes of study abroad may not easily be predicted. The emphasis here is on the linguistic features acquired while abroad, and context in these studies is generally viewed as the linguistic environment within which learners are exposed to input and offered opportunities for interaction that is believed to promote second language acquisition.

2.4. Context in Hybrid Studies

2.4. 1. Introduction to Hybrid Studies

To review, researchers conducting more traditional SLA/study abroad studies examine the acquisition of specific linguistic features like oral proficiency, fluency or vocabulary. Those conducting hybrid studies attempt to unite quantitative accounts of linguistic development with accounts of the qualities of students' experiences and reflections upon the experience of language learning. They do so by seeking various explanations for the findings of the factor

analysis done in the Brecht et al. (1995) work. Thus, these studies attempt to bridge quantitative accounts of learner linguistic development (Brecht et al., 1995) with learners' personal accounts of their experiences abroad. The following section presents a discussion of these hybrid studies (Brecht & Robinson, 1995; Ginsberg & Miller, 2000; Miller & Ginsberg, 1995; Polanyi, 1995), all of which are related to the aforementioned Brecht et al. (1995) study in that they reinterpret and expand on the Brecht et al. (1995) data.

In order to address the issue of the role of formal instruction during study abroad and to determine whether or not formal instruction during study abroad is beneficial for language learning, Brecht and Robinson (1995) conducted a study in which they explored student reactions to formal instruction during study abroad. Brecht and Robinson's students were participants in the ACTR project in Russia (see Brecht et al., 1993 for a further description of the whole project) and spent one semester in Russia between the fall of 1989 and the summer of 1991.

The data collected during this time included in-class and out-of-class observations, interviews with students, and student diaries, which took the form of narrative journals and oral journals. Of all of the participants, seven were asked in the spring of 1991 to "note any specific connections between their in-class and out-of-class learning over the course of the semester" (Brecht & Robinson, 1995, p.320). These data were called notebooks.

The authors found a wide range of student reactions. Participants had "supportive reactions" (Brecht & Robinson, 1995, p.323) which suggested that classes were a sort of "mediation" (p.323). That is, their classes helped learners "manage the incredible richness of that environment… (and) the overwhelming quantity of input…of linguistic and cultural information" (p.323).

When asked about their classes, students' "critical reactions" (Brecht & Robinson, 1995, p.326) included issues of "correct Russian" learned in class and Russian used "on the street" (p.320). Students felt that there was a dichotomy between what they were learning in class and what was being said on the streets, and this dichotomy seemed to frustrate some of the students.

Brecht and Robinson (1995) concluded that students seemed to believe that their classes were worthwhile. The criticisms that students provided were not necessarily related to the classroom itself; rather, they were criticisms or commentaries on life in Russia or on what they were learning in class versus what they heard and learned on the streets. The authors also emphasized that "the analysis of such narrative data must involve a rich narrative data set as well as rigorous inspection and careful consideration of the context in which student reactions are generated and reported" (p.333). They added that students' judgments could be affected by their presence abroad. That is, reactions could be different if students were asked about their experiences after their return to their home countries.

This study exposed the impact and value of formal classroom instruction during study abroad by relying wholly on students' reactions and opinions. The authors suggested a careful consideration of the context in which students found themselves while they are giving these opinions and reactions, for the context could have an important impact on the students' contributions to the study.

In an effort to address one aspect of the living abroad experience—the reports of female students of "unpleasant gender related incidents" (Polanyi, p.272, 1995), Polanyi (1995) read and analyzed the logbooks of 160 students and the journals of 40 of those 160 students who participated in the Brecht et al. (1993) study. For the logbooks, the learners were asked to "keep time logs of their activities—where, when, how and with whom they spent their time" (Polanyi,

1995, p.273). For the journals, participants were instructed to "discuss two or three events outside the classroom in a given week in which their language skills were particularly involved" (p.273).

Polanyi's (1995) analysis of the journals revealed that the female students had to deal with incidents of unwanted sexual advances, whereas the male students did not. It was concluded that because the women encountered different and, many times, uncomfortable situations outside the classroom, they acquired language skills that were not tested on formal examinations, thus accounting for their lower post-program OPI scores. For example, one woman recounted a situation with a Russian man in which she was, in short, told to "put out…or so long" (p.284). Though this particular female student refused to see the incident as negative, she did find it "kind of weird" (p.284). In another example, an American woman was shown by a Russian woman how to be blunter and "tell them (men) to leave me alone, basically" (p.285).

Polanyi (1995) concluded that the American women on these programs are "learning to negotiate treacherous waters based on gender-related behavior which requires coping with severe gender related problems" (p.289). She added that these women were not being apprenticed to become "Russian language speakers" but rather "women Russian language speakers" (p.289). Though, according to Polanyi (1995), the women scored "as well as the young men" (p.288) on the OPI before leaving on study abroad, the men go from 1+ to 2 and up upon completion of the program; that is, they move from Intermediate to Advanced Proficiency, while the women do not increase their level.[17] The language skills the women learned (like escaping from humiliating social situations or figuring out how to get home after fending off sexual advances) were not tested on the OPI, which is one possible reason their test scores are lower than their male counterparts.

---

[17] No specific scores for the participants are given.

Related to the Brecht et al. (1993) study and to the two previous studies is work by Miller and Ginsberg (1995). The authors examined the theories which students studying abroad had about language learning, how language is learned and how it is "housed in the mind" (Miller & Ginsberg, 1995, p.294). They called these student theories "folklinguistic theories" (p.294). In this study, Miller and Ginsberg looked at 80 written narrative diaries, 29 audiotaped oral narratives, and 10 student notebook journals. These data were collected from American undergraduate and graduate students studying in Russia in Spring 1990, Spring 1991 and Summer 1991. The data were examined for "every reference to language and language learning (very broadly conceived)" (p.296). The students were asked to "select a few incidents or encounters they experienced outside the classroom, and to write about them in journal form" (p.296). Upon analysis, the authors found many different folklinguistic theories of language learning: "language is words and syntax" (knowing words = knowing the language); "there is one correct way to say things" (dictionaries are the "best authoritative sources for" the one correct form); "Russian is a unified system with fixed rules"; "meaning lies in the words themselves" (students focus very little on communicating; they want to use only the "right" words); "the mind is a container" ("…words and phrases go in and come out of storage locations in the mind-container"); "speaking improves or deteriorates under certain conditions" (Miller & Ginsberg, 1995, pgs. 297-308).

The authors concluded that these folklinguistic theories were important for their consequences. Students' theories of language learning affected their linguistic behavior and their interactions with native speakers. Miller and Ginsberg (1995) explained that these conceptions and theories "narrowly limit their notions of competence and how it can be achieved" (p.311). That is, students withdrew or did not participate in learning situations that they found to be

unproductive. They were also unwilling to take risks with the language. The authors suggested that these folklinguistic theories "mirror broader cultural conceptions, academic approaches to second language learning, and assumptions and concepts held by American and Russian language educators" (p.312). The students' focus on learning words, the authors explain, could be a "by-product of the lexicocentric nature of English" (p.312).

The authors offered ideas for making language learning and study abroad more effective. The first was that language educators need to be made aware of these folklinguistic theories of language learning. Next, changes in the different phases of language curricula need to be made. The third idea was to have a more "analytical and empirical approach" (Miller & Ginsberg, 1995, p.313) to what is involved in advanced levels of learning at home and abroad. Finally, the authors explained that programs which involve in-class and out-of-class experiences need to be designed to "support the evident comparative advantages of study abroad" (p.313).

The Miller and Ginsberg (1995) study shows that the conceptions, theories and opinions students have about language learning can affect their study abroad experiences. Additionally, it emphasized the notion of communication over grammatical correctness, and this emphasis drew attention to the more pragmatic aspects of language. The contexts in which students find themselves will ultimately impact the kinds of language they use if, in fact, they have been shown that language is not necessarily about using the "right" words. The authors made a clear point that educators need to show language students that learning a second language is not just a matter of learning words. Rather, language learning means understanding different cultures and having interactions with speakers of the host countries. Context in this study is viewed primarily as interaction with host community speakers in the host community.

The final hybrid study, related to Brecht et al. (1993) is also one by Ginsberg and Miller (2000) who investigate the link between opportunities for learning outside the classroom in a group of American students studying in Russia and language gains while abroad. The authors reviewed several different types of data: 1) calendar diaries kept by a number of students; 2) ethnographic data which included student narratives, field observations and videotapes; 3) preprogram and postprogram OPI tests to "determine how their experiences relate to initial language proficiency and language gains (or lack thereof)" (Ginsberg & Miller, 2000, p.239).

In the calendar diaries, students were asked to record what they did, when, with whom, and where. The diaries were then analyzed and the weekly entries were aggregated and quantified in order to "define the variables related to how time was spent" (Ginsberg & Miller, 2000, p.239). The four case studies, based on their ethnographic data, helped the authors to interpret the quantitative data. The OPIs gave Ginsberg and Miller a way to assess the pre program and post program oral proficiency of their participants.

The findings showed that "no systematic relationship appears between how much they speak and interact, on the one hand, and measured language gains, on the other" (Ginsberg & Miller, 2000, p.240). The calendar diaries showed that the American participants were spending a lot of time with Russian people in different settings. However, there appeared to be no link between linguistic gains and time spent being exposed to the "native culture" (p.256) and engaging in "linguistic interactions with native speakers" (p.256). The case studies allowed the authors to draw further conclusions about what their participants did while abroad and what factors contributed to their language gains: 1) Experience and exposure to the "native culture" (p.256) was not enough for language learning; 2) Reflection on learning was very important for language development; 3) Individual learning styles varied considerably and learning settings did

not support all learning styles; 4) The link between in-class learning and out-of-class learning needs to be examined further since, for a few students in this study, there seemed to be no carryover from classroom work to social settings; 5) the quality of the experience was crucial, as culture shock could have negative effects on students, thus affecting their overall study abroad experience; and 6) how much and the kind of Russian students spoke outside of class did affect discussions and comparisons of study abroad and classroom experiences; the question becomes, then, to what kinds of Russian are students being exposed (i.e., foreigner talk versus "authentic" speech)?

Ginsberg and Miller's (2000) study reveals, in part, what students actually do while they are abroad. They used quantitative and qualitative measures to link out-of-class opportunities for language learning with measured language gains. At times, the students were involved in service encounters and haggling with street merchants. At other times, they visited the homes of Russian friends. Both of these contexts required different kinds of Russian of which the students needed to be aware. Each of the four students profiled in the case study section of this article had different language experiences before and during their time in Russia. Each of the students brought to the study abroad experience something different, and it was these different life experiences, among other things, which had an impact upon their study abroad experience in Russia.

Taken together, the hybrid studies show an attempt to combine quantitative accounts of linguistic development with accounts of the qualities of students' experiences and reflections on the experience of language learning. The authors conducting the hybrid studies mentioned above relied primarily on students' accounts of the study abroad experience.

2.5. Context in Ethnographic Studies

2.5.1. Introduction to ethnographic studies

The two articles discussed below (Kline, 1998; Wilkinson, 2002) are representative of many qualitative, ethnographic studies that focus on social context and students' experiences. First, in order to understand better the perspectives of Kline and Wilkinson, I provide two definitions of ethnography. Saville-Troike (1989) defines ethnography as "a field of study which is concerned primarily with the description and analysis of culture" (p.1). Additionally, ethnography is about understanding the context from the participants' perspective. Pellegrino (1998) states, "…it is the learner's views that matter, for they shape the learning opportunities that arise and the learning strategies that will be employed" (p.91). Though ethnographic studies could indeed include discussions of language development, they do not necessarily attempt to measure such language development. Rather, the focus is on what the speaker needs to know "to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community, and how does he or she learn?" (Saville-Troike, 1989, p.2). Ethnographers acknowledge the importance of knowing not only the linguistic forms but also the cultural rules of the speech community in which learners find themselves. Kline (1998) and Wilkinson (2002) present the qualities of the social context of study abroad experience from an ethnographic perspective. They discuss issues that arise during study abroad, particularly being made to feel like an illiterate child and creating teacher-student relationships with one's host mother or father.

Kline's (1998) study argued for a "social practices" view of foreign language literacy, as theorized by Edelsky (1991). This view sees literacy as "context- and culture-specific" (Ferdman, 1990; Lave, 1984, as cited in Kline, 1998) and "ideologically bound" (Street, 1984, as cited in Kline, 1998) which "emerges through processes of acculturation, socialization, and

apprenticeship…and is thus intimately tied to identity" (Kline, 1998, p.147). According to Kline little research has been done on the "reading behaviors and experiences of study abroad participants, and the few investigations that mention reading tend to define it from the classroom or researcher perspective" (p.139). She presented findings from her qualitative study which explored study abroad literacy as social practice.

Kline's study spanned 15 months and examined the reading behaviors of eight undergraduate participants in a junior-year study abroad program. The students had all had at least two post-language requirement courses, and several had completed two or three additional courses. Their reading habits varied, and they all wanted to attain speaking fluency while in France.

The author investigated the nature of literacy in a second language and the effects of moving from the reading context of the foreign language classroom to the "multifarious environments of family and student life in a large French city" (Kline, 1998, p.150). The study had three purposes: 1) to show the development of "reader identity and literate practice" (p.150); 2) to conduct "empirical and theoretically-framed research on study abroad" (p.150); and 3) to add to forms of "informal learning" (p.150) by investigating, among other things, the depth of students' lives as readers when they are faced with a "non-native culture" (p.150).

Kline's data collection took ten months in France and included "ethnographic interviews (over 50), participant observation and artifact inventory (weekly), surveys and questionnaires (once every two months), and document analysis" (p.152). She also visited her participants' host families, shadowed several students during their day, and "guided eleven volunteers through 'mini-ethnographies' of their French families' reading habits" (p.152). From the data analysis

several categories were created: "literate identity and fellow readers, reading time and space, and reader freedoms and constraints" (p.152-153).

The results showed that students felt very conflicted throughout their study abroad experience. First, there was a conflict between what students had been told about the program (that it would, in so many words, replicate the home campus) and what their actual lived experience was. Second, there was a conflict between what students had been told about French culture (the French as possessors of great culture and "obsessed with knowledge of cultural events" (Kline, 1998, p.153)) and the reality of their host families (where most read *Télé 7 jours*[18] and few read *Le Monde*[19]). Finally, there was a conflict between their identity as American adults and what they perceived to be their identity in France—"apprentices" to French literate culture (p.153), where they were often made to feel like children.

Students made sense of their literacy traditions through the contexts in which they found themselves. Literacy was seen as emerging through "acculturation, socialization and apprenticeships" (Kline, 1998, p.147), all of which are important in becoming a participating member of a given community of practice. Students in this study developed their literacy practices in their host family context, as well as in their American cohort context (among other contexts). Additionally, Kline viewed her participants as "literates, rather than as readers" (p.158). By viewing them in this way, she focused on "identity and context" (p.158), not on "skills" (p.158). The author challenged the statement that many students dislike reading. Instead, Kline concluded, students "prefer some texts and some ways of reading to others, and

---

[18] *Télé 7 jours* (http://www.t7j.com) is similar in content and format to *TV Guide*. It includes the weekly television listings, as well as the latest gossip and news about soap operas and movie stars.
[19] *Le Monde* is a daily newspaper which, in 2002, had a circulation of 389,200. It is generally highly respected (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Le_Monde)

that these preferences may be based on" (p.158) the consequences and "benefits of displaying one's literate identity" (p.158).

Wilkinson (2002) reported on research which had as its goal to offer "a qualitative perspective" (p.158) on the kinds of target language discourse that takes place during study abroad. To that end, the author conducted a qualitative study examining the conversational experiences of American students participating in a summer study abroad program. To explore this issue at micro- and macro-levels, Wilkinson employed conversation analysis and ethnographic techniques. She focused on "the presence of instructional norms in out-of-class interactions by considering the speech behavior of both native and nonnative participants" (Wilkinson, 2002, p.159).

The data collection period lasted for eight months, including one month overseas. For this study, Wilkinson selected seven participants to act as ethnographic informants. Four of these 7 were involved in the collection of conversation analysis data: they participated in six different tape-recorded interactions (two predeparture, two on site, and two upon return to the U.S.). One of the conversations that took place in France was conducted with a native-speaking host family member. Fourteen interactions "became the corpus of conversational data" (Wilkinson, 2002, p.158). These interactions ranged from 10 minutes in length to 1 hour and resulted in over 100 pages of transcribed speech. Once the transcriptions were done, they were analyzed according to conversation analysis conventions adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984). These transcriptions were checked again by another researcher trained in conversation analysis and fluent in French.

The results showed that French was "first and foremost" (Wilkinson, 2002, p.168) a school subject, to be used in the classroom only. Two participants, Paige and Heather, had host

parents who acted as if they were teachers for the two women. Most of the students Wilkinson

worked with relied heavily on classroom norms, and their hosts acted according to instructional

norms. For example, Heather's host father gave her a mini French lesson about the contraction of

'à + le' to 'au' after she recounted a story in which she went 'à le concert de Aerosmith' (*to the*

Aerosmith concert) (p.159). Wilkinson wondered what the possible consequences were when

these kinds of interactions occurred. Would students and host family members alike begin to

withdraw from one another? What would each person think about the other? Wilkinson

suggested that researchers examine what students do when "they are on their own" (p.168),

which may help educators reconsider what they do when students are in their classrooms.

Wilkinson (2002) showed that the kinds of interactions that occurred between host family

members and study abroad students were one way to view context. Students and their host

families seemed to replicate the classroom context during periods of study abroad. For example,

some hosts acted as teachers, which was perceived as "normal" (p.168) by the nonnative

speakers. Yet, some native speakers did not take on this role of teacher. At this point, the

nonnative speaker tried to "introduce classroom norms into the conversations…following the

rules which those conventions entailed" (p.168). Though Wilkinson felt it was "extensive"

(p.168) as it "should have been, given that participants had gained their language skills almost

exclusively in the classroom" (p.168), students' reliance on these norms was "limiting at best and

often inappropriate in out-of-class conversations" (p.169). Wilkinson suggested that "issues of

appropriateness can strongly influence speakers' perceptions of their interlocutors and these

impression can play a role in determining subsequent speech behaviors" (e.g. DeKeyser, 1991, as

cited in Wilkinson, 2002). To address these issues, Wilkinson called for "data-based research on

naturalistic native speaker interaction" (p.168) which would provide a "baseline for identifying

desirable discourse characteristics to be modeled" (p.168). She added that more studies on the impact of these discourse changes on "learners' subsequent interactions in the foreign language" (p.168) are needed.

It is clear from the previous discussion that study abroad is a challenging endeavor. Some SLA researchers have examined language development with a relatively simplified view of context, while others have reached into the context to explain various aspects of its influence on language development (e.g., the role of instruction, gender-related issues, learners' meta-cognition, and documentation of their activities).

To examine something that is as complex as the notion of context, it is necessary to have a broad theoretical lens. Breen (2001) suggested that learners contribute to their own language learning in different contexts and that these different contexts are interrelated and are superimposed upon the language learning experience (p.8). Additionally, Breen (2001) explained that learner identity needs to be explored in terms of "personality, self-image, community and culture" (p.10). He added that "overt language learning behavior is explored in terms of agency, engagement in join activity, classroom and task interaction, and strategy use" while "learner thinking is explored in terms of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, constructs and conceptualizations of the learning context and community and cultural membership" (p.10). Another means, in addition to the ones explored in the previous studies, to examine complexities in language learning and study abroad experiences is to employ a method with rich theoretical and research approaches.

2.6. Language Socialization[20]

The notion of context as defined by language socialization researchers (Ochs and

Schieffelin, 1979, 1983; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a) is employed in this dissertation because it

allows for consideration and treatment of learners' past and present experiences, their hopes for

the future, as well as their goals and motivations for participating in the activity of language

learning. What follows is an explanation of the principle tenets of Language Socialization.

The field of Language Socialization has its roots in linguistic anthropology and focuses

on child socialization through language (Ochs, 1996) and, consequently, on how they learn to

use language in appropriate ways. The researchers in this domain have typically focused on

"culturally-specific patterns of language socialization and school achievement" (Bayley and

Schecter, 2003, p.1), although in the past few years the domain has opened to include older

children and adults.

Ochs (2002) defined Language Socialization as, "rooted in the notion that the process of

acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a person in society" (p.106).

Language socialization is a question of how novices "are socialized into using language and

socialized through language" (Ochs, 2002, p.106) into ways of behaving and interacting

appropriately within a particular social group and context. Language Socialization research

considers how children and adults are apprenticed through language into different identities and

how they learn the communicative skills necessary to perform and function adequately in a

particular community (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In this type of research, social interactions are

examined for "culturally rooted ways" (Ochs, 2002, p.107) in which novices and more

experienced members of the community organize "communication, actions, bodies, objects, and

---

[20] **L**anguage **S**ocialization, in capital letters, is the theoretical framework, while language socialization is the process of being socialized into languages and their cultures.

the built environment" to develop their knowledge and skills (Ochs, 2002, p.107). In this field, "Language is not seen as input, but as a tool for getting other things done" (Kramsch, 2002, p.2). The focus of Language Socialization research is, in short, a matter of how people do things with language throughout the course of their lives. Kramsch (2002) adds, "As novice members learn from more expert members how to use language accurately and appropriately, they enact social relationships and other sociocultural phenomena that will make them into expert members" (p.2).

To learn to "use language accurately and appropriately," (Kramsch, 2002, p.2) learners need access to the communities of practice in which they desire membership. To explain issues of access and communities of practice, Lave and Wenger (1991) use the terms "legitimate peripheral participation" and "full participation" to suggest that learning is always and everywhere social. The term "legitimate peripheral participation" suggests that:

> …learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of community. 'Legitimate peripheral participation' provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice…. (p.29)

It is legitimate peripheral participation which leads to full participation. The term "full participation," as opposed to "complete participation", suggests that "full participation" considers the "diversity of relations involved in varying forms of community membership" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.37). Complete participation would take on a more teleological form: a collective practice which may have "measurable degrees of 'acquisition' by newcomers" (p.36).

Moreover, learners' identities are intimately connected to the aforementioned notions because as Lave and Wenger suggest:

…learning involves the whole person; it implies not only a relation to specific activities, but a relation to social communities—it implies becoming a full participant, a member, a kind of person…Learning thus implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations. To ignore this aspect of learning is to overlook the fact that learning involves the construction of identities. (p. 53)

That is, as students learn more, they change and become aware of opportunities for membership in a particular community. Access to this learning and to various communities is important for students' evolution. However, access to old-timers and other members of the community is not necessarily always available to learners. Legitimate peripheral participation may therefore restrict the learners' opportunities to become full participants in a community of practice.

Full participation involves "a great commitment of time, intensified effort, more and broader responsibilities within the community, and more difficult and risky tasks, but, more significantly, an increasing sense of identity as a master practitioner" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.111).

In sum, the language socialization of learners occurs in communities of practice. Therefore, identity, subject positioning, agency and access to communities of practice are essential to understanding the challenges faced by the participants in the present study.

To review, social context is an important aspect of Language Socialization research. To become a competent user of a given speech community it is imperative to understand how people use language and other symbols to construct their social situation. How learners perform their

identities during the activity of language learning contributes to the learning experience at hand. It is not simply a matter of acquiring vocabulary, morphemes and phonology, among other things. Rather, learning how to conduct oneself in another language is about performing the identity of, for example, a language learner or of a member of a particular community of practice.[21] Language Socialization research, at one time, examined primarily first-language learners. However, in recent years this research has expanded its focus, and Langman (2003) mentions two ways in which this expansion has happened. First is the recognition that language socialization is a process that extends across the lifespan. Second is the shift from seeing socialization as a developmental process to seeing socialization as practice. That is, individuals perform their identities in "age-appropriate ways throughout their lives, in response to the social environment in which they find themselves" (Langman, 2003, p.183). Langman adds that language socialization is not just a developmental process, but instead one part of what it means to be a member of a group. She adds that the "social practice view of (language) socialization allows for a more fluid" and deeper, multi-dimensional concept of socialization and the social identities involved within (Langman, 2003, p.183). This practice-oriented view of socialization emphasizes that the values and norms of a given society are not fixed. Rather, they are constantly negotiated and renegotiated depending on the persons involved and how they define themselves to others and to social institutions.

In addition to Language Socialization, this dissertation also draws on Poststructuralism and its relation to language learning and social context, illustrated by the notion of human agency. The following section explains the basic tenets of Poststructuralism. Then, the connection between Poststructuralism and Language Socialization is made in order to better

---

[21] I do not mean to suggest that learning vocabulary, morphology and phonology are not important. I do suggest, however, that they are not the only parts of language learning that need to be researched.

understand how the two frameworks work together to offer a rich analysis of language development and social context.

2.6.1. Poststructuralism and Language Socialization

Weedon (1997) explains that the central factor in analyzing social structures and meanings is language. She explains that, "Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed" (p.21). She adds that our subjectivity, which is not a fixed or unified entity, is "socially produced through economic, social and political discursive practices whose meanings are sites of struggle" (p.21). In short, language forms our social reality. It is also a site of struggle, and this struggle impacts how people live their lives, how they give meaning to the world, how they structure their everyday activities and with whom they interact and/or to whom they have access. Ultimately, individuals make choices about language use.

Human agency contributes to the kinds of experiences students have while abroad. That is, "people are capable of exercising choice in relation to" discursive practices (Davies & Harré, 1990, p.46). When we engage in discussions together, we draw on "a knowledge of social structures and the roles that are recognisably allocated to people within those structures" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p.52). We discover that "we must operate within" (p.52) the terms of the social structures. We become "responsible for our own lines" and begin to understand that:

> there are multiple choices in relation not only to the possible lines that we can produce
> but to the form of the play itself. We are thus agent (producer/director) as well as author
> and players and the other participants coauthor and coproduce the drama. (p.52).

We, as speakers, decide to conform to the social structures, or not. That is, we can "'refuse' to accept the nature of the discourse through which a particular conversation takes place" (p.53).

Pavlenko (2002) adds to this discussion of agency by describing second language users, seen through the lens of poststructuralism, as "agents in charge of their own learning. Human agency is the key factor in their learning" (p.293). Agencies are always co-constructed (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001); individual choice is only part of the picture. Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) explain that agency is "both unique to individuals and co-constructed" (p.148) and "allows us to ponder upon the nature of mediated relationship [*sic*] between learners and communities of practice and to two possible stages: peripheral and full participation in a particular community of practice" (p.148). If students' attempts to speak the second language are rejected, learning that language will most likely become a problem. Additionally, over time, human agency shifts according to the social context in which learners find themselves and allows learners to change their investment in and their goals for their language learning. Poststructuralism sees human agency and language socialization as a primary element in the activity of second language learning and use.

Above it was stated that Language Socialization has recently expanded its view of language learning and apprenticeship. What follows is an explanation of how Language Socialization research has been informed by Poststructuralist theories of language learning. It is the combined Language Socialization-Poststructuralist framework on which this dissertation draws.

2.6.2. Identity, Subject Positioning, and Access

The perspective called for here is a theoretical apparatus derived from Poststructuralism and broad enough in scope to examine the full complexity of the situation under study. The key notions are identity and subject positioning, terms that will be defined in this section.

Identity is negotiated and re-negotiated throughout the study abroad experience, on a daily basis and throughout the semester or the year. For the purposes of this dissertation Norton's (2000) definition of identity is employed: "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p.5). Language has a dual role: it is "constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity" (Norton, 2002, p.5). By participating in this identity formation, transformation, and negotiation, students appropriate and form new identities on a regular basis. Of additional consideration is Pennycook's (2001) definition of identity in which he states that identity is a constantly negotiated dialectic.

Once we start to see identities not so much as fixed social or cultural categories but as a constant ongoing negotiation of how we relate to the world, then we have to acknowledge that...the process of translating (has) a great deal to do with questions of identity formation and transformation (p.149).

Thus, identity is not a fixed entity. It is changed and negotiated depending on how people relate to the world and how the world relates to people.

Davies and Harré (1990) present the subject position as both a "conceptual repertoire" and a "location" of linguistic rights for people who use that repertoire (p.46). When a subject position is assigned to an individual, that person begins to see the world from that subject

position. Furthermore, the individual conceptualizes images, metaphors, and story lines in ways which make sense to him/her and "within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p.46). For example, if learners in France are positioned as "outsiders" (i.e., non-French, non-European, short-term residents, or Americans, among other ways) in the community in which they live, they may begin to see the community through this subject position. The host community may become a place in which these learners feel they may never belong, because the community will not permit them to belong. Moreover, the students may not have the linguistic tools to ask why or to understand what is going on. It may be the case that they each understand the world in their own terms, and they undoubtedly conceptualize one another in very different ways. This conceptualization of others ultimately affects the discourse learners use to communicate and the ways in which they offer each other access to their given discourses. According to Davies and Harré (1990), the positioning of the interlocutors will affect what has been said, and it will influence their future positions. The different subject positions (i.e., American, study abroad student, resident of Montpellier / Dijon / Paris, host brother / sister, friend, etc.) which students may occupy throughout the day mediate their access to linguistic resources in the second language community, contributing therefore to their overall language socialization.

To make clear, for the purposes of this dissertation, the differences between identity and subject positioning are explained as follows:

- Subject positioning is relevant to my participants' experiences as recounted in their journals and interviews and to their presentations of self in particular social and practical situations.

- Identity is the summation of their subject positions, or how their subject positions contribute to their overall identity.

- Identities are created in and by discourses. These discourses supply the terms by which we position people or position ourselves (Pavlenko, 2002, p.284)

For example, my participants may position themselves as learners of French. This subject position then contributes to their public identity of 'learner of French.'

In what follows is a discussion of Poststructuralist approaches to language socialization, the approach taken in this dissertation. Then, the links between Poststructuralism and Language Socialization research are made clear. Finally, there is a discussion of two studies done from these perspectives as they relate to study abroad.

2.6.3. A Poststructuralist View of Language Socialization during Study Abroad

Language is a site of struggle and, in this struggle, novice speakers are learning to become competent speakers of their second language. Language, meanings, and the identities of the speaker are negotiated and renegotiated with each utterance and experience in a speaker's life. This is especially true in the context of study abroad where students are apprenticed in the activity of becoming competent users of a second language and where they are often confronted with unfamiliar social and cultural structures. A Poststructuralist view of language socialization during study abroad understands context as part of individuals and their identities.

For the purposes of the present study, I rely on Poststructuralist approaches to language socialization (cf. Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko, 2002; Pennycook, 2001; Rampton, 1995) as my theoretical framework. First, a discussion of Language Socialization and its connection to Poststructuralism is offered. Then, several studies which demonstrate the

interaction of Poststructuralism and Language Socialization are presented (Heller, 1999; Miller, 1999; Polanyi, 1995; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Willettt, 1995).

Pavlenko (2002) demonstrates how language socialization and Poststructuralism are linked, and it is her discussion to which I now turn. Poststructuralist approaches to second language use look at the learning process as "intrinsically social" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.286). This language learning process is therefore not simply a cognitive process, but a process of "socialization into specific communities of practice" (p.286). Second language learning is negotiation between novices and more competent users in the language community. Additionally, there are institutional practices and language ideologies which inhibit or encourage access to social networks and, as a result, to linguistic and interactional opportunities. In many traditional SLA studies it is assumed that learners will have unlimited interactional opportunities. Poststructuralist researchers, however, insist that the availability of these opportunities not be taken for granted. Moreover, access to these social opportunities is mediated by the learner's race, class, social status, gender, age, linguistic background (p.287). Thus, being socialized into a second language community is not always an easy task because learners struggle to develop social networks within the L2 community. It is these issues to which I now turn.

Pavlenko draws on several studies (Heller, 1999; Miller, 1999; Polanyi, 1995; Talburt and Stewart, 1999; Willett, 1995) to illustrate how students' different and multiple identities contribute to difficulties creating social networks and finding access to the second language.

Miller (1999) described Bosnian ESL students in Australia who were positioned by the host community as incompetent speakers of English. Consequently, many Australians treated the Bosnian students as such, and the Bosnian students were not permitted to create social

networks with speakers of English. The Bosnians were therefore not allowed to participate in the community of practice to which they wanted to belong.

The gender of the learner can also be a roadblock to accessing the second language. Pavlenko cites Talburt and Stewart's (1999) study of Misheila, an African-American student studying in Spain who was constantly singled out and sexually harassed by Spanish men. These experiences provoked a negative reaction to Spain and to her Spanish language learning experience. Additionally, Pavlenko cites Polanyi's (1995) study in which American women studying Russian in Russia were sexually harassed, and, thus, taught to fight off men (see section 2.4 for a more detailed examination of Polanyi, 1995). Consequently, the language they learned had little to do with the Russian Oral Proficiency test and their scores were quite low. Taken together, these two studies show that gender can create social networking and access problems. It has been shown that women experience difficulties finding people with whom they can engage in healthy, productive, and meaningful conversations (Polanyi, 1995). They are often shown how to fend off sexual advances, but they are not shown how to become competent, full participants in different communities of practice.

Low social status also contributes to the structure of interactional opportunities for L2 users. Heller's (1999) study demonstrated that older female immigrants in Ontario were often the people who had the most trouble gaining access to English. Willett (1995) studied the L2 socialization of four 7-year old ESL students. The Willett study demonstrated that, due to different factors in the classroom like seating arrangement and peer cultures, the classroom design privileged the three girls. The fourth child, a boy from a working-class family, was positioned as a needy child since he was not allowed to get help from friends as the girls were.

As a consequence of this environment, the boy was not allowed to exit the ESL class, while the three girls moved out of the ESL class.

These studies, taken together, show that access to interactional and linguistic opportunities is necessary for success in the second language. Pavlenko (2002) warns, however that "even intensive instruction in various aspects of TL is of little value when opportunities to interact with TL speakers are limited" (p. 290). Thus, even students who have intensive classroom instruction will have difficulties progressing and developing if they do not have a chance to interact with host community speakers.

The previous discussion is relevant to my analysis because the language socialization process is complicated by several factors like students' access to linguistic and interactional resources, their gender, and their positioning. Studying abroad is a language socialization experience and is complicated by these factors. My own data analysis, found in chapter 4, will focus on these aspects of the language socialization experience while studying abroad.

To appreciate Poststructuralist approaches to language socialization, I now turn to a discussion of research conducted from this perspective.

Kinginger's (2004) four-year longitudinal study of Alice, a very motivated young woman who learned French despite "personal, social and material obstacles" (p.219), demonstrated the importance of access to social networks and of "marginality within such networks in the process of negotiating and (re)constructing a coherent and satisfying identity" (p.220).

Alice's life had been unconventional. As a child, she moved around constantly. At different points in her life Alice lived in her car, a tent, and a shelter for homeless and battered women. At 19, Alice became pregnant and gave the child up for adoption, which was the "turning point" (p.226) at which time she decided to change her life. She returned to college,

then moved on to a regional university. The move to the university meant that Alice would incur loan and financial aid debt.

For Alice, France was an imagined community, a dream-like world, where she thought the sky would be a different color, where people would accept her and want to be her friend. French was going to open up her future. Studying abroad became her focus, and, after a bit of a struggle getting her application taken and accepted, Alice spent two years in France. Her imagined France and the reality of France were two completely different entities. The school system confused her, she was not able to travel much, and she initially had a difficult time accessing host community members.

Through its use of interviews with Alice, her journals about her experience overseas, and her emails and letters to Kinginger, this study provides an in-depth look into the life and development of one individual. It involved an examination of Alice's past, her present and her dreams to her learning French. Though Alice's dream of France and the reality of France pushed her to depression, she never gave up on France and learning French. She invested herself, her time and her life and was able to prosper in France. For Alice, learning French meant putting herself in social situations in which men would pursue her and want to talk to her. When her program friends decided to go to a discotheque, Alice stayed behind at the campus bar and "let old, drunk French men" (p. 233) buy her drinks. She added, "At least I got to practice my French" (p.233). Alice accessed different social networks by frequenting local bars and visiting different student dorm rooms where students gathered. Through hard work and perseverance, Alice found host communities with whom she could interact. Contrasting Alice's reaction to her situation is Misheila, a student with whom Talburt and Stewart (1999) worked.

The goal of Talburt and Stewart's (1999) study was to "explore the relationship between students' formal and informal learning experiences" (p.164). Talburt and Stewart (1999) worked with 35 undergraduates studying for one week in Madrid and then 4 weeks in Segovia. From their different data collection methods it was revealed that one student in particular, Misheila, an African American undergraduate, had experienced severe sexual harassment while in Spain. Everywhere Misheila went men made sexual comments to her and about her. One night in Madrid, she noticed that many of the prostitutes congregating in a park were Black. Misheila concluded that "dark-skinned women are sexualized in Spain and confirmed her suspicions of racial otherness" (p.168). Her instructor in Spain explained to Misheila that the cat-calling and sexual comments were not intended badly (p.170). Yet, Misheila refused to accept this "cultural difference" (p.170): "…I think Spanish people are used to seeing Germans, and English people, and people from France, that they can blend in very well…But with me, there's a distinct difference" (p.171). Though her white American colleagues could pass themselves off as Spanish, Misheila could not. From the moment she walked out of her house, Misheila was targeted as different, as a sexual being, as someone to whom and about whom sexually inappropriate comments could be made. Misheila spent most of her study abroad sojourn trying to make sense of these sexualized experiences. She was "not in a hurry to ever get back to Spain" (p.168). Talburt and Stewart suggested that if Misheila had had "another African American woman with whom she could compare her experiences" (p.171), she might have been able to gain a "helpful perspective" (p.171) as she grappled with these issues.

Similar to Polanyi (1995), Talburt and Stewart demonstrate that gender (and, in this study, also race) has an effect on the study abroad experience of a woman. Misheila's situation highlights the notions of gender and race. She was positioned as a sexual object, and this was a

position she was not at all prepared for. Thus, to avoid being positioned in a way she could not accept, she limited her social outings, which then limited her opportunities to access the host community and, thus, to becoming a member of this community of practice.

Taken together, these studies show that the social context of study abroad is often complicated. Whereas Alice decided to frequent campus bars in order to find people with whom she could speak French, Misheila refused to accept the "it's (the sexual comments) a playful thing" (p.170) explanation. Both women experienced a sexually charged environment in their respective host countries. However, for Misheila, her race complicated the experience.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has shown the varied ways that context has been approached in research on study abroad. It has reviewed language learning in study abroad with an eye to understanding the ways in which context has been understood by a variety of researchers. The chapter began with the Schumanns whose research reflected the main views of SLA at the time. That is, they tended to focus more on how individual variables influenced their acquisition of linguistic features, and less on how they negotiated membership in the various communities of practice they wished to join. Next, we moved on to the notion of context in second language acquisition studies focusing on the acquisition of particular linguistic features during study abroad (Lafford, 2004; Lennon, 1995; Milton & Meara, 1995). Then, the discussion turned to hybrid studies which attempt to unite quantitative measures of linguistic development with students' own stories about language learning during study abroad. Fourth, ethnographic research was examined for the perspectives it brings to the understanding of context. Finally, we turned to Poststructuralist approaches to language socialization, the approach used in the current study.

We looked at the links between Poststructuralist theory and Language Socialization research and examined studies from this perspective relating to study abroad.

The current study is an attempt to fill in the gaps left by previous research in the field of SLA and study abroad. Though the Schumanns focus on "individuals" (Schumann and Schumann, 1977, p. 243), there is little consideration of the social context of living abroad, of how the individual relates to the social context, and of learning to negotiate another language. That is, the individual variables are presented as being contained within learners, so what happens to them and their experiences abroad is because of these variables. Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) explain that, "Focusing on variables is, if nothing else, misguided, since it is not the variables that should be our concern, but the concrete individuals who come to the learning site with specific histories, personalities and agencies" (p.157). In short, with regards to the Schumanns, it appears that knowing who the learner is as a historical being was not significant. Additionally, the onus for learning and having a positive and beneficial experience is placed on the learner and not on the host community. Language learning is not seen as a co-constructed activity which occurs among the various community members and the learners.

Different quantitative, experimental SLA studies (Freed, 1990, 1995; Lafford, 2004; Lennon, 1995; Milton & Meara, 1995, among others) take language and its acquisition as their object of study and spend little—if any—time examining the participants as people. The focus is on the acquisition of precise language learning dimensions like oral proficiency, perceived fluency, vocabulary, and language gain. The type of research within this domain does not problematize social context. Instead, it promotes the learner-as-computer metaphor through which the learner is seen "as an information processor that receives input from caretakers, teachers and peers, processes this input into intake, and, ultimately, produces output of a

measurable kind" (Kramsch, 2002, p.1). The machine metaphor has concentrated the efforts of many researchers on language acquisition as an information-processing activity "where what gets negotiated is not contextual meaning, but input and output" (Kramsch, 2002, p.1) and where the ideal outcome of the process described is native speaker competence. Take for example Lennon's (1995) study on oral proficiency development while abroad, is a concern for study abroad students, directors, and professors who want to know if students are improving and in which ways they are improving, or not. Yet, Lennon's focus on the number of T-units acquired tells us little about the kinds of experiences students had.

Freed (1990), for example, examined her participants' aptitude and motivation and gauged participants' levels of each through a motivation questionnaire and an aptitude test. She concluded that her students fell into the "upper range of a motivation continuum" (p.472). However, as Pavlenko (2002) stated, these "individual factors" (p.280) like motivation and aptitude are socially constructed so that that they change depending on the context in which learners find themselves. Learner success in second language learning cannot be predicted with questionnaires and aptitude tests.

The research reported herein considers learners as people with important personal histories which affect their motives for and investment in language learning. It also responds to Lantolf and Pavlenko's (2001) call for case studies which document the experiences of people on the edge of "linguistic communities of practice" (p.155) with an eye to understanding how these individuals participate (or are denied participation) in the communities of practice to which they seek membership. Research within this domain must "enhance the likelihood that any given person will have the opportunity to learn and develop" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p.157). Moreover, the authors state that "…the view of L2 learners and users as agents interacting with

other agents allows us to argue that the learning process will necessarily result in different outcomes for different people" (p.158). Thus, what happens to one learner will not necessarily happen to another learner.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

3.1. The Approach to and Goals of the Study

The starting point of my research is the dual focus on description of learning outcomes and explanation of these outcomes in terms of social processes related to learner identity. In its theoretical grounding this research differs from most of the work in SLA emerging from Cartesian frameworks where the mind and its "contents" (see Reddy 1979 on the conduit metaphor) are seen as metaphysically independent of social contexts. Within such models, it is possible separate description of learning outcomes from explanation of the processes leading to their realization. In adopting a Poststructuralist framework, this research will offer a holistic analysis of the social and developmental processes by which learners' participation is (or is not) legitimized (Lave & Wenger, 1991), through which they are socialized as speakers of French and through which their motives for learning develop over time. The study will analyze, explain *and* describe the students' experiences during study abroad for the benefit of teachers, study abroad administrators and students. This work will add to previous study abroad research and will evaluate and describe how agency, identity and subject positioning[22] affect social network development and, ultimately, language development.

The goal of this study is to understand if and how American students of French access and create social networks while in France and to understand how they go about doing this. Additionally, an attempt to discover the consequences of each scenario is undertaken. Careful, chronological readings of the journals, interviews and logbooks led to the discovery of the

---

[22] For a review of subject positioning and identity please see section 2.6.2.

different identities and subject positions the students inhabited throughout the semester. The

journals helped to understand what the students had gone through during their experiences in

France.

3.2. Research Questions

The questions investigated in the present study are the following:

1) Do learners access social networks during study abroad?

2) How do learners go about accessing these social networks?

3) What impact do learner identity, subject positioning, and agency have on their ability to

access and create social networks?

3.3. My position as researcher

The research questions above emerged from my own experience living in Paris, France.

Shortly before I moved there in January 1997 at the age of 22 to work as an au pair I watched the

1995 remake of "Sabrina," the movie made famous by Audrey Hepburn and Humprhey Bogart

in 1954. I remember thinking that my life in Paris would be exactly like Sabrina's. French

people would want to get to know me, they would want me to be their friend and to become part

of their lives, they would include me in everything, and I would become glamorous and get a

great new haircut.

Shortly after I moved there, I remember seeing a group of young university students at a

café. They were talking and laughing and having a wonderful time. On the one hand that scene

made me homesick for my friends and the laughter that had been so far absent in my life in Paris.

On the other hand it gave me hope that one day *I* would be one of those people sitting around a

café table with a group of French friends. I figured it would take me maybe a month, at the most two. I was a nice person and fun to be around, and I thought that it could only be a matter of weeks before the French in Paris came to see that in me.

It is funny how dreams and reality intersect, or do not in my case. It actually took about 10 months before I met a French person who wanted to be my friend, and that was because I had placed an advertisement in a magazine called the FUSAC (France-USA Connections), a Francophile-Anglophile magazine in which one could advertise anything within reason: houses and apartments for rent in the U.S. and in France; babysitting needs or services; and, most importantly to me, conversation exchanges. It took about 9 months for me to figure out that I could use this magazine as a venue to meet French people. So, along with an American friend who also felt like she was not meeting enough (or any) French people, we placed an ad for conversation exchange. That is how we met Vincent, a French grade school teacher who needed to learn more and better English for his diplomat exam. He welcomed us into his life, and we have remained friends for years. After seeing that group of friends at the café, I really did think that it would be easy to meet French people; however the situation was quite the opposite.

Then, in the fall of 2001, one year into my Ph.D. coursework I went back to my journal from Paris. I remember thinking, "I wonder how it is for study abroad students? Is it easier or harder for them since they have each other? I took me over 9 months to meet a French person, and that was because I did something about it. What happens to study abroad students who are only there for 5-6 months? How do they develop their second language if they cannot find access to the host community? What would it be like to do research with study abroad students who keep journals?" It is from these precise questions that arose during the re-reading of my diary that my project was born.

It is because of my experience in Paris, of occasionally feeling alone, and of wanting a friend on whom I could count that my position as a researcher developed into that of a mentor and friend to many of the students. Over the course of the semester, when in Paris, I went for coffee or out to dinner with some of the Paris program students. For several of these outings the students asked that we speak French. It was worthwhile to participate in these outings not only because I was able to see how they interacted with people on the streets and in restaurants and cafés but I was able to get to know them better as people. One Paris student in particular came to Montpellier a few times to see her American friends who were studying there. While her friends were in class, she and I would sit at a café and speak French and share stories about life in France. When she asked for it, I gave her advice. And, soon, I realized that I had become a mentor for her. This was not a role I expected, but it is a role that I sincerely enjoyed.

Additionally, since my primary residence was in Montpellier I often saw the Montpellier participants in the city and at school. Jada and I went out a few times with some of her friends and mine, which let me see her surrounded by her friends in a bar. I felt as though she forgot who I was (the researcher), and she allowed me (the mentor/friend) in to her personal life a bit. To Jada I became a mentor. She often asked me for advice about speaking French and living in France long term, among other things. Again, this was not a role I expected, but I am glad that it developed.

The Montpellier participants were able to come to my apartment for their interviews. Normally they would arrive about 10 minutes before their scheduled interview time, so we often chatted informally about their experiences and their impressions about life in France. I never asked them to come early, but it was wonderful that they did. It added much more to my experience as a researcher and mentor.

Catherine, the director of the program in Montpellier invited me to every excursion or party they were hosting which enabled me to watch my participants interact with each other.

Finally in Dijon, Bill and I spent much time before and after the official interviews talking about life in France, how it was for me to adjust when I moved to France, why I love France, how I (finally) went about meeting people, and why I ultimately decided to move back to the United States.

To this day I am still in touch with these students. They email me from time to time and almost all of them, at this point, intend to go back to France for at least 6 months to a year.

3.4. Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach used in the current study is that of Poststructuralism, which is "understood broadly as an attempt to investigate and to theorise the role of language in construction and reproduction of social relations, and the role of social dynamics in the processes of additional language learning and use" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.282). Poststructuralism focuses on "language as the locus of social organization, power and individual consciousness" (p.282). That is, individuals practice and develop into competent users of their L2, and they learn to organize and understand the world around them and its power structures via language learning. It is through socialization that L2 users learn how to construct and reproduce these social relations and come to understand the social dynamics of L2 learning and use. In short, for Poststructuralism, the following points are of utmost importance:

- **Language** is theorized as symbolic capital and as a site of identity construction. As Pavlenko notes, "the view of language as symbolic capital has a significant advantage over the notion of 'instrumental motivation,' as it allows us to link the individual and the

social, tracing the processes by which particular linguistic varieties and practices become

imbued with value or devalued in the linguistic marketplace" (p. 284).

- **Learning** is viewed as a process of socialization into particular linguistic communities
  during which negotiation takes place as learners accommodate or challenge the
  discursive practices they encounter.

- **Language learners** are no longer to be defined as bundles of variables, but as individual
  agents, in charge of their own learning, whose identities may be subject to change over
  time.

Poststructuralism allows for a comprehensive view of the learner, as a social being, who

is learning about and through the world via language. Learners are negotiators of language and

of their own identities, which change over time, depending on the context.

3.5. Data Collection Procedures and Analysis

3.6.1. Description of Data Collection Instruments and Methods of Analysis

A description of the different testing instruments used in this dissertation, as well as an

explanation of the analysis done, follows.[23] The table below shows when and where each data

collection instrument was administered. Section 3.6.2 provides an explanation of the different

stages of the data collection.

---

[23] Important to the analysis are the notions of identity, access and subject positioning, which can be reviewed in

section 2.6.2.

Table 3-1: Data Collection Instruments Used, Completed At What Stage, Where

Data Collection Instrument	Completed at: Predeparture stage (Fall 2002) (Mid-Atlantic University)	Completed at: Midterm Stage (March/April 2003) (Dijon, Paris, Montpellier France)	Completed at: End-of-Experience Stage (April/May 2003) (Dijon, Paris, Montpellier France)	Completed at: Postexperience Stage (September 2003) (Mid-Atlantic University)
Predeparture Interview	X			
Midterm Interview		X		
End-of-Experience Interview			X	
Language Awareness test: 3 sections	X		X	
Test de Français International (TFI)	X			X
Journals		X	X	
Logbooks		X	X	
On-site Observations & Field Notes		X	X	

a. The Interviews

At three different points during the study the participants were interviewed. The predeparture interview (see Appendix G), conducted at the Mid-Atlantic University campus, was an attempt to get to know the students, their language learning histories, their reasons for going abroad, and their motives for a second language. The open-ended questions helped to understand the participants as complete and complex people with histories, motives, and goals for the experience overseas. In order to conduct a study in which the participants and their experiences, pas and present, linguistic and otherwise, are central, this particular interview was of the utmost importance.

The midterm interview questions (see Appendix I), conducted in the different cities in France, focused on the students' feelings about living abroad and the experiences they had been living up to that point. The midterm was an assessment of the *actual* situations in which the students found themselves. Students were asked about the differences between American and French cultures, the elements of French culture that shocked them upon arrival and those they had gotten used to (eating dinner later, walking everywhere, French conceptions of personal space versus American conceptions).

The end-of-experience interview questions (see Appendix J), also conducted in France, allowed students to reflect on their overall experiences, their change in feelings about France from beginning to middle to end, their cultural perceptions, and their language development, among other things.

I transcribed each of the interviews using the transcription conventions shown in section 3.5.4. The treatment of these interviews required several thorough readings in order to uncover the different identities and subject positions the students experienced before they left for

France and while they were there. As the interviews were read, notes were made about the students' identities and subject positions. These identities and subject positions were grouped together according to theme. After the groupings were done, choices about which identities and subject positions to present in this dissertation were made.   Those that were most frequently presented by the students were chosen and analyzed in terms of students' identities, their access to communities of practice, and subject positions.

b. The Language Awareness Interview

The Language Awareness Interview (see Appendix C), based on the sociolinguistic interview (Labov, 1989), is a document containing seven different printed sections addressing various pragmatic and sociolinguistic situations in French. For the present study, only three sections will be examined: Sections 1 and 2 are the colloquial words exercises; Section 3 is the TU/VOUS situations.

In Section 1, students were simply asked if they knew any French slang. Then, in Section 2, students read word-by-word the list of 25 colloquial (slang) words and expressions, presented in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2: Colloquial words

Truc	Copain/ copine	Sympa	Bouquin	Bagarre
Bisous	Chouette	Con	Fac	Dégueulasse
Chameaux	Débouler	Fichu	Flic	Marre
Trac	Bac	Marrant	Mec	Moche
Boulot	Laisse tomber	Je m'en fous	Keuf	Putain

After reading each word, participants commented on whether or not they were familiar with the expression, could use and/or translate it and/or whether or not they would use it in their daily discourse. Later on, the students were asked to rate the colloquial expressions on a politeness scale (from very impolite to very polite). By doing this, Dr. Kinginger and I were able to see how students colloquial French had progressed during the semester.

In Section 3, as part of the formal "TU/VOUS" discussion, learners were asked to respond to a range of interpersonal situations, select an appropriate address form for different interlocutors and reflect aloud on the justification for this choice. Participants were presented with a series of six social situations which illustrated different parameters influencing choice of address form, as revealed in the sociolinguistics literature (e.g., setting, age and familiarity of interlocutor). Situations #1 and #6 involved age-peers in informal settings: in #1 the peer in

question was not yet an acquaintance, whereas in #6 the participant was to assume a basis of familiarity for the interaction. These situations were designed to assess whether the participants would change their assumptions about the role of "tu" as a marker of youth solidarity and / or familiarity. Situations #2 and #3 described the formal setting of a job interview with an older adult and a child. Here we wanted to see if the introduction of a child would induce a change in the "tu" or "vous" pronoun. Situations #4 and #5 were set in a service encounter with an older interlocutor (#4) and an age-peer interlocutor (#5). By introducing the peer we were again able to examine how that would provoke a change in pronoun. Participants were asked to choose an address form for each of these situations and to explain their rationale for this choice.

In all, this portion of the predeparture and end-of-experience sessions took approximately one hour.

c. The Test de Français International (TFI)[24]

The Test de Français International is used to evaluate the French proficiency level in reading and listening of non-native French speakers. It is composed of two sections. The first section is a 42 minute, three part listening section: 1) Question-Answer—40 questions; 2) Short Dialogues—30 questions; 3) Short Conversations—20 questions. The second section is a 68 minute, three part reading section: 1) Error Identification—25 questions; 2) Incomplete Sentences—25 questions; 3) Reading Comprehension—40 questions. The predeparture and postexperience results are used as a support to the qualitative data (see Ratner, 1997 for a further discussion).

---

[24] All information about the test is taken from the TFI website: http://www.toeic-europe.com/pages/eng/tfi.htm. TOEIC = Test of English for International Communication.

The different testing instruments used in this study allow that type of analysis: quantitative data allows us to address the issue of *how much*, while qualitative data allows us to uncover *how* they learned.

d. The Journals

Students were asked to write in their journals two to three times per week once they arrived in France. Two options for submitting the journal were offered to the students: either email or a journal book. A Yahoo account was established to which the students could send their journal entries. A journal book was provided to the students if they chose not to do it electronically. The students were told that if they maintained the journal book, it would be theirs to keep at the end of the semester. They were asked to provide photocopies of all sections that they wanted Dr. Kinginger and me to read so that they were able to have some sense of control over what was read and analyzed.[25] That is, we thought that some students would carry the journal with them throughout their day and use it for not only the study abroad project but for more personal experiences. If they did decide to use the journal for nonstudy related material, they could then make photocopies of only the sections they felt comfortable sharing. In the end, only one of the participants made photocopies. The others came to the final interviews in France with their entire journal book in-hand. It was reiterated to them that they were to have made photocopies, but most said they wanted me to have the whole thing, that there was nothing they felt uncomfortable with me seeing. This gesture demonstrated that my participants trusted me and perhaps that they had written the journals with my reading of them in mind.

---

[25] I assumed that students who submitted their journals electronically would self-censor and, thus, have control of what Dr. Kinginger and I saw. That is, because none of them had laptop computers to carry around (as one might carry a journal book), I assumed that by the time they got to the computer lab to submit their journals they would have already censored themselves.

The students were given specific instructions about what to include in the journal. The description of the journal task and in which language to do the task follows:

> *You may include **any** thoughts and experiences that relate to your French language development: If you write about specific events, please explain when, where, with whom and/or with what medium (TV, radio, email, cell phone, Internet, etc.) and in what language you were interacting. If you feel that there are other documents closely related to your experience as a language learner (papers, readings, etc.) we would be pleased if you included them.   One way to look at this task is by asking yourself what you think others should know about your experiences. That is, if you were doing this research, what would you want to know about language development during study abroad? What kinds of experiences **do you think** are important for your language learning? Ask yourself these questions when beginning your entries. **You may write your journal entries in French and/or English. That is, you may switch between the two or you may decide to write in only one or the other.***

Most of the students kept their journals in English. There were, however, several students who mixed languages: some entries were written in English, other entries were written in French. The only pattern of language choice that existed was that if an event took place in French, it was usually recorded in French.

The journals were treated in a very similar way to the interviews. Several thorough readings were done in order to uncover the different identities and subject positions which the students said they experienced while in France. As the journals were read, notes were made about the students' identities and subject positions. These identities and subject positions were grouped together according to theme. After the groupings were done, choices about which identities and subject positions to present in this dissertation were made.   Those that were most frequently presented by the students were chosen and analyzed in terms of the students' identities, genders, and subject positions.

e. The Logbooks

Students were provided a logbook in which to record the amount of hours during weeks

2, 8 and 16 that they spent speaking French, English, and any other language they may have had

the opportunity to speak. The reason for this task was to discover if there were any differences

among the weeks as the semester progressed. Would the students speak more French as time

went on? Did they make French-speaking friends? If so, how much time did they spend with

those persons? If they did not make French-speaking friends, with whom did they spend time

and what language did they speak? The important aspect of this data is determine if there are

identifiable differences among the different weeks and to see the quality and kinds of interactions

the students were having. The logbook helped make sense of the experience, because Dr.

Kinginger and I could, in a sense, keep track of what the students were doing when I was not

around. The specific logbook task reads as follows:

> *During weeks two, eight and fourteen, you are asked to record in your logbook (also*
> *called an "agenda") a general outline of your activities for each day of the week,*
> *including where you went, what you did and with whom, and which languages you used.*
> *Here is an example (FR=French; Eng= English). If you speak other languages besides*
> *French or English, you need to record those as well. This is just an example from my*
> *own experience.*
> <u>*December 10, 2002:*</u>
> *6:15am-6:30: Woke up to French music*
> *6:30am-6:45: Sang in French in shower*
> *6:45am-8am: Homework*
> *8am-9am: FR at breakfast with host family*
> *9:30am-Noon: reading FR during class; took notes in French*
> *Noon-2pm: FR on TV; watched the news and a soap opera in French*
> *2pm-5pm: read Le Monde at a café; spoke French with the waiter; I was there alone*
> *5pm-7pm: devoirs in FR with friends; spoke French while doing this*
> *7pm-10pm: FR at dinner with host family*
> *10pm-midnight: Emails to my family in Pittsburgh in English.*
> *TOTAL for 12/10/02: FRENCH= 12 hours 45 minutes; ENGLISH=2 hours*

The students did a good job of keeping their logbooks, though few of them followed the model.

Thus, it took Dr. Kinginger and me extra time to organize these data.

The logbooks were used as a support to the journal entries and to the TFI scores. The logbooks allowed me to analyze and compare the changes in the qualities of the students' interactions as the semester went on.

f. Observations / Informal Outings / Field Notes

While in France, I had an apartment in Montpellier. I chose to live there for two main reasons: 1) It was slightly cheaper than living in Paris; and 2) I had several friends living in Montpellier at the time, and I wanted to spend some time with them while I was in France. While in Montpellier, I took many field notes. I usually did this after seeing a student for an interview or after having seen them at the study abroad office, on campus, or in town. I noted what I was doing, what they were doing, and with whom they were doing it. On one specific occasion, for example, I was at the Montpellier study abroad office reading. It was a rainy day, and I knew that many of the American students tended to congregate at the office, especially on during bad weather. I thought that this would be a prime opportunity to watch them socialize with the program director, the support staff and the other American students on the Montpellier program. The Montpellier program office is a French *pavilion* (a suburban-style house) divided into two parts. On one side are the staff desks. On the other side of the house is the student area. There is a small library, a kitchenette, about 10 computers (IBMs and MACs), and a television area with couches and comfortable chairs. As I sat there, I noticed that most students were huddled around the computers, planning their spring break/Easter trips around Europe. Several students were complaining that they were not allowed to go to Morocco.[26] About five other students were reading books from the small library, and a few others were doing their homework

---

[26] American Embassy travel warnings prohibited American students and study abroad programs from allowing students to travel to 'hot bed' areas, Morocco being one of these areas.

for the next day. As I sat there, I listened to the French news on television. I suddenly realized that Baghdad was about to 'fall.' I turned around and saw a bronze statue of Saddam Hussein being dragged down by an American tank. I gestured to the staff members, who all watched in awe. We told the students to turn around, which they did for about 4 seconds, after which they all turned back to their computers and books, and finished planning their trips around Europe. Their reaction was quite stunning. I was glad to be there at that moment, because I could see that, in that bubble known as the study abroad office, students were protected from the war. They knew that once they left those walls, anything could happen to them or be said to them. As long as they were there, they were safe. The study abroad office became a safe haven for them.

In addition to my outings to the study abroad office, I spent a few Sunday nights with some Mid-Atlantic University students at an Irish pub called "O'Brien's," which had Sunday night "Quiz Night." This was a Jeopardy-type event, done in English, which drew in what seemed to be every single English-speaking study abroad student in Montpellier. There were very few French people at this event. "Quiz Night" started at 9 P.M. and normally lasted until just after midnight. Many of the Mid-Atlantic University students went to "Quiz Night." Although it was fun, it was not a French-speaking activity.

The aforementioned situations demonstrate that my observations and field notes have given me an insight into some aspects of the participants' social lives and experiences. These observations and field notes served as a support to my case studies. I was able to provide rich detail about each of the students because of my observations and field notes.

3.5. 2. Phases of the Study

The research was conducted in four major phases: the recruitment phase, the predeparture phase, the midterm phase, the end-of-experience phase, and the postexperience phase.[27] The midterm and end-of-experience phases were conducted on-site in the three cities in France.

My study is only *one* part of a larger project housed at a National Foreign Language Resource Center (NFLRC) at Mid-Atlantic University. In the section below, which presents the phases of data collection for the *whole* project, there are data collection instruments mentioned which I have not analyzed in *my* study. Those instruments not included are: 1) The Role Plays; 2) The Frog Story; 3) Sections 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the Language Awareness Interview (see Appendix L for full explanations of these portions of the CALPER project).

a. The Recruitment Phase

To recruit the study participants, the project was presented at the various study abroad program predeparture orientations in September 2002. The students who were interested in participating submitted their names and email addresses. The following day, emails were sent to these students, and recruitment meetings were set up beginning on October 3, 2002, and lasting until October 21, 2002. During these brief meetings, the project was explained again, the students were informed of the goals for them and for the project, and they were told how the research was to be conducted (see Appendix D). Based on the information given during the meeting, students could decide if they wanted to participate and, if so, to what extent. That is, all interested students could participate in one of two ways. The first option was to have them take only the oral and written tests. The second option was to have them take the oral and written

---

[27] I chosen the phrase 'end of experience' as opposed to 'post experience' because this phase occurred near the end of their time in France, NOT after the experience.

tests *and* keep a journal and a logbook.[28] If they chose the option 2, the students would hand in at the end-of-experience phase photocopies of their journals and logbooks. Once interested students agreed to participate, they signed an Informed Consent (see Appendix E). Pursuant to that, a detailed project timetable (see Appendix F) was sent via email to the students.

b. The Predeparture Phase

After the recruitment meeting, the predeparture interviews were scheduled via email. These interviews consisted of four segments: 1) The Personal / Language History Interview interviews was conducted partially in French and partially in English (see Appendix G); 2) the role plays based on the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI)[29]; 3) the oral narration of "The Frog Story"; and 4) the Language Awareness Test. This particular portion of the predeparture phase was called *Round 1*. It lasted from mid-October 2002 until mid-November 2002. Upon its completion, *Round 2* began, consisting of: 1) the Test de Français International, a standardized written test of French, and 2) a written narration of "The Frog Story." For *Round 2*, in order to accommodate their diverse course schedules, the students could choose from three dates, a Tuesday, a Friday and a Sunday.

Just before the winter break in December, Dr. Kinginger and I provided journal books and daily logbooks to those students who had decided to journal and to keep a logbook. Students were instructed to take the journal and a logbook with them. The journal task explanation

---

[28] By "oral testing" I mean the Language Awareness Interview, the Role Plays, and the oral narration of the Frog Story. By "written testing" I mean the Test de Français International and the written narration of the Frog Story.
[29] We used the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) as a guide. We did not actually conduct official Oral Proficiency Interviews.

(Appendix H) was included with their journals.[30] Once the students picked up their journal

books and their daily logbooks, the predeparture phase of the project was officially concluded.

c. The Midterm Phase

Most of the students left for France around the second week of January as the beginning

dates of the programs ranged from January 11, 2003 to January 25, 2003. As can be seen in the

journal task description (Appendix H), the students were instructed to write in their journal two

to three times per week in the language of their choosing.

I arrived in Paris on March 18, 2003 and had my meetings with the 11 Paris Program

students from March 19 to March 22. During the midterm meetings students were asked how the

experience was going. Their journals and logbooks were checked, and their questions were

answered.[31] The goal of the midterm interview (Appendix I) was to see how the predeparture

expectations and the reality of life in France connected or did not. I also wanted to observe how

the students interacted with each other, with the city, with host community members, and with

me.

After the meetings in Paris, I left for Montpellier, where I rented an apartment in the city

center. I spent March 23 to April 3 there getting settled and interviewing the Montpellier

students. On April 3, 2003, I traveled to Dijon, and I spent April 4 and 5 interviewing those

participants. I returned to Montpellier on April 6 and began to organize and arrange the midterm

data. Once the Dijon interviews were completed, the midterm phase was over.

---

[30] The 18 students who committed to keeping journals had received the journal task description via email. As a backup, however, we inserted additional copies into the journals.

[31] About five students emailed me after their arrival in France, while I was still in the U.S. A number of them wanted to make sure they were doing the journals and the logbooks correctly.

d. End-of-Experience Phase

This phase began officially on April 22, 2003, when I arrived in Paris to meet with the

Paris Program students. This phase was conducted in almost the same way as the predeparture

appointments. The difference during this phase was that 1) we were in France; and 2) the

students were NOT doing the TFI standardized test or the written narration of the cartoon story.

At the end of the interviews and oral tests in France, the students handed in their journals

and their logbooks. Although, during the predeparture phase, Dr. Kinginger and I had asked

them to make photocopies of the relevant sections of their journals and logbooks, most of the

students gave me the originals, and I made copies upon returning to Montpellier.

e. Postexperience Phase

The TFI and the written narration of the Frog story were done in the fall of 2003, once

the students had returned to campus.[32]

3.5. 3. Transcription Conventions

The following transcription system, adapted from vanLier's *The Classroom and the

Language Learner* (1988) was employed for each of the three interviews (predeparture, midterm,

and end-of-experience). It is a simplified version of the conventions used in Discourse Analysis.

For example, neither shorter pause lengths were not noted, nor mid-word orientation were noted

since overall content was of concern.

The system employed includes the following conventions:

- The initial of the learner's pseudonym is used to indicate present speaker.

---

[32] The reason for doing these two portions of the testing once students returned was purely logistical: the TFI was not to be administered off of our university grounds. Additionally, packing those materials proved to be quite challenging, and it was therefore decided to conduct those two sections after students returned to their university.

- Long pauses, of five seconds or more, are indicated with three periods: ...

- Intonation is marked three ways (comma, question mark, and period):

    oui,   → rising intonation, suggesting intention to continue speaking

    oui?   → rising intonation in a question

    oui.   → falling (utterance final) intonation

- One or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound.

- <u>Underlining</u> indicates marked prominence through pitch or amplitude.

- A hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off with level pitch.

- Single parentheses ( ) indicate an unclear or probable[33] item.

- Double parentheses (( )) indicate transcriber's comments.

- Capital letters are used only for proper nouns, not to indicate beginnings of sentences.

- Unclear items for which no interpretation can be derived are indicated with (xxx)

3.6. The Setting[34]

In this section, the three cities, Montpellier, Dijon and Paris, the three study abroad programs, and the courses provided by the programs will be discussed. The spring program dates are nearly the same for the three programs: January 2003-May/June 2003. This particular study abroad semester coincides with the war in Iraq which began on March 21, 2003. As stated earlier as Baghdad fell, many of the Montpellier program students seemed oblivious.

---

[33] A 'probable item' is an item that the person probably said.

[34] All information in section 3.7. is based on brochures and documents given to me by either the Mid-Atlantic University Office of Study Abroad or by each program director in France.

3.6. 1. The Montpellier Program

Mid-Atlantic University, in conjunction with Chester University, recently began cosponsoring a program to the southern French city of Montpellier. In the spring of 2003 approximately twenty Mid-Atlantic University students participated in this program. Two of my participants, Deirdre and Jada, were part of this group of 20. A description of the city, the program and the classes offered follows.

a. The city of Montpellier

Montpellier, located in the south of France and capital of the Languedoc-Roussillon region, has a population of 391,162 people. It is ten miles from the Mediterranean Sea and 125 miles from Spain. A map of France with an arrow indicating Montpellier is found below.

Figure 1: Montpellier is the capital of Languedoc-Rousillon region of France. The city is located in the south on the Mediterranean Sea, just to the northwest of Marseille.

Since 1990, the population of Montpellier has increased 8%, and it is projected that by 2015 the city and its surrounding boroughs will have approximately 600,000 inhabitants. [35] Furthermore the population of Montpellier is younger than the national average: people under the age of twenty five compose 36.6% of the Montpellier population while nationally they compose 34.1% of the population. [36] This is due to the 60,000 students, a population which has quadrupled in less than twenty years, now living in Montpellier.

b. The Staff

The Montpellier Program's on-site staff consists of a program director, a housing director, two secretaries, three French university student assistants (called "Social Assistants") who help the program director to coordinate and plan evening, weekend and vacation-time excursions, and an American graduate teaching assistant, who teaches two courses during the spring semester. Each on-site staff member speaks English though, as a rule, they speak French to the students.

American students are given two program options, which are mentioned briefly here and described in detail further on in this section. One option is an **intermediate level** program for students who have had two to four semesters of college French. The second option is an **advanced level** program aimed at students who have had four or more semesters of college French. All of the classes in both options are taught in French by French professors from the university.

---

[35] Boroughs which have at least 40% of their population working in Montpellier proper are included in this count.
[36] Statistics are taken from the official site of the City of Montpellier: http://www.montpellier.fr/index.php

c. The Program's General Requirements

The program is open to all students and does not require that a student be enrolled at the institutions which cosponsor the program. For those who enter the *intermediate level* program the following are required:

- Minimum of one year of college-level French or equivalent

- Grade Point Average (GPA) of 2.5

- "B" average in French course work

- Completed application

For those who participate in the *advanced level* program in France option the following are required:

- Minimum of two years of college-level French or equivalent

- GPA of 2.75

- "B" average in French course work

- Minimum of sophomore standing at time of participation

- Completed application

d. On-site Orientation

There are two orientations. During one orientation students go to the university and take their placement tests and discuss housing. In the second orientation the students take a tour of Montpellier with their "Social Assistants."

e. Program Options

Option One: The Intermediate Level Program

This curriculum is designed for intermediate students to improve and strengthen their language proficiency. The students in this level take their classes with international students at the local university.

There are five different intermediate levels which relate to five levels of competency in French language and culture. Students are tested once they arrive in Montpellier and are assigned to an appropriate language level. All of the classes are taught in French and meet two or three hours per week.

Level I:

The goal of this level is to develop oral and written skills. Students are introduced to basic oral and written comprehension and expression, and they learn about the economic, cultural, and educational features of Montpellier and the Languedoc-Roussillon region.

Level II:

This is a continuation of the first level and is considered to be the first phase of the intermediate level. The curriculum was developed with everyday situations in mind and is designed for those students who have had 200 hours or more of French language instruction or who have acquired a beginning competence through immersion. Level II works on spoken French, as well as on grammar and writing. Fifteen hours a week are dedicated to activities in the lab, as well to language exercises and cultural studies.

Level III:

This level is designed for students who have had 400 hours or more of French language instruction and incorporates an elective course. Students can choose their elective courses from among the following:

- Literature

- Dramatic arts

- French in social and economic life

- Cultural history

Level IV:

The purpose of this level is to have students focus on communication, grammar and culture in an attempt to understand the French world around them. In Level IV different aspects of French language learning are emphasized:

- Awareness of language register, language choice and appropriateness.

- French social structures, political life, the media, and cultural practices.

- French for special fields like geography, art history, and business.

Level V: Special (1 semester), Advanced (2 semesters)

This level is designed for students who have had over 750 hours of French course work. The curriculum consists of the following core components:

- One mandatory language course which incorporates grammar, oral and written scholarly language, as well as creative writing.

- One elective course relating to either of the following fields:

- Nineteenth and 20th century literature

- Business French

Option Two: Advanced Level Program

This program is a designed for students who have had four or more semesters of French and it includes an internship option.

This program option is based at the local university and provides access to the medical, engineering, and law schools. It is here that American university students take courses with French university students. Students are able to choose a variety of courses from the various tracks (presented below) based on their linguistic ability, academic objectives, and home institution requirements.

Advanced Level Program Tracks

There are several different program tracks for the students enrolled in the Advanced Level Program.

- **Courses for Americans**

These courses are meant for American students only and are designed with their particular needs in mind. They are based on a fourteen week program with the final exam given during the last week of class. Students must select a three credit grammar class and a two credit phonetics class to meet the program requirement. Some of the courses available to students are:

- Upper intermediate grammar (3 credits)

- Advanced grammar (3 credits)

- Phonetics (2 credits):

- Phonetics (4 credits)

- Stylistics—Writing (1.5 credits)

- Intermediate translation (2 credits)

- Advanced translation 1 (1.5 credits)

- Advanced translation 2 (1.5 credits)

- Business French (3 credits)

- **Intermediate Level Section of the Advanced Level Program**

The courses in the intermediate level section of the *advanced level* program are divided into one week of advising, thirteen weeks of class, and one week of oral and written exams. The courses generally focus on French civilization, culture, geography, and art history.

- **Integrated Courses**

These courses are taken with French university students and, depending on the course content, students are given either upper or lower division credit. Classes usually meet two to three hours per week. Most courses enroll between 60 and 70 students. Students can select from an array of courses from among the following disciplines: [37]

- Accounting

- Engineering

- Education

- Law

- History

---

[37] There are many other domains; this is a partial list.

- Political Science

- **Internships**

The internship program is offered for six credits for either the semester or the year. Students also take a mandatory course called The Work World (le Monde du travail) gives students an opportunity to think about the French work environment while doing their internship.

The internship consists of 6-10 hours of work per week. There are three written requirements for the internship: a portfolio, a journal, and a 10-15 page paper, reflecting on what students have learned about the workplace in France.

f. Housing Options

Students are able to choose their own housing option. As will be seen from the interview transcripts, most students based their housing decisions on their desire to maintain or develop independence and on their fear that a host family would provide them food they would not want. They were informed of their exact housing location about 2 weeks before they left the United States. By January 2, 2003, most had their addresses and sent them to me. A majority left the United States on or around January 15, 2003.

The first option is the host family. The students and families are matched up after the on-site staff reviews the students' applications. Students are warned not to expect the family to meet their exact specifications. Some students wanted to be in the city center, but were warned that many of the families live anywhere from 30-40 minutes outside the city. Although the on-site staff does its best to ensure a good match, it is impossible to guarantee it.

Typically students are not expected to stay with their host family during holiday breaks. If they intend to remain there during such times, they have to ask permission of the host family and must arrange to pay them an extra fee for meals during this period. Normally students are given breakfast and dinner, and lunch is eaten either at the university cafeteria or in town.

Most students in homestays do not use the family phone, since it is quite expensive. Therefore, they purchase cell phone plans.

In general, it is emphasized to the students that the homestay is not a boarding house arrangement. Students are told that the aim is to make cultural connections and to experience French life on a daily basis. It is suggested to students that they accept differences between their American life and their French life. They are asked to spend time with the host family on a regular basis, maintain reasonable hours, inform families of plans, and, in general, be extremely considerate.

The second option is an apartment with other students in the program or other international students. The apartments differ in the number of roommates, location, and amenities. As will be seen from the transcripts and the individual participants' journals, the difference in housing location and amenities will provoke much discussion. While some students found themselves in well-lit, well-situated, well-equipped apartments, others had quite the opposite situation. Students know in advance that the apartments are minimally equipped with kitchens and few supplies. They are asked to bring or buy their own sheets and towels, and they are told that they will most likely not have TVs, radios or laundry facilities in their apartments. They are warned that they may have to find these items once they are in Montpellier.

Students' rents are paid for as part of their program fee. They are told that, upon their arrival, they will need to pay a cash security deposit (in Euros), which is usually one or two months' rent. Students are informed that landlords can keep any or all of the deposit, and they (the landlords) legally have up to two months to return the deposit.

The activation of and payment for the utilities are the responsibility of the students. The program provides them with a student budget sheet so they have an estimate of costs. Once the students arrive in France, they are told how to contact the various utility companies and are informed that this endeavor could be quite taxing. They are informed that they will be required to pay all of the bills that appear after their departures home. Students are told that the final utility bills will not be printed for roughly two months after their departures and that they will also be billed for any cleaning or repairs that need to be done after their return to the United States. Students are also required to pay apartment insurance (90 €) to cover any damages incurred while in the apartment, and it is not returned at the end of the stay.

The third choice for housing is the dormitory. The facilities are very basically furnished, and room availability is extremely limited. Students are provided with a desk, a chair, a bed, a sink, a closet and limited storage space, as well as basic cooking facilities shared between two floors, one co-ed bathroom per floor, minimal supervision, and lighting at night. There are laundry facilities near the dormitories. Students are told to budget $400 per month for food, and they are asked to bring their own towels.

3.6.2. The Dijon Program

a. The city of Dijon

My participant, Bill, spent his semester in Dijon, the capital city of the Burgundy region, located at the northern edge of the Côte d'Or wine region.

Figure 2: Dijon is located in the northeast of France, in the heart of the Burgundy region.

Dijon is the 18th largest city in France, with a population of 153,813. Dijon has succeeded in developing its role as a top regional capital while also preserving its history and its medieval flavor.

To fit with the changing needs of its inhabitants, the city's mayor and his architects have constructed several new housing developments, equipped with modern conveniences like daycares, parks, and recreation areas, which have encouraged young families to move to Dijon and its surrounding areas. Since 1984, approximately 9,800 housing developments have been refurbished, particularly in the downtown area. The goal is threefold: 1) to let the current residents remain in the city center; 2) to make it affordable for students to move to the city

center; and 3) to make it possible for people of various socioeconomic statuses to live in the city center. This project has encouraged much of the population increase and movement.

b. Program Introduction

The Dijon program is designed for international business and international economics students. The program has a strong relationship with the local business school. Thus, all of the Dijon program courses are taught by professors from the school. The relationship between the Dijon program and the business school affords the students both professional and social opportunities. Because the American students take their classes with French students, they can better integrate and immerse themselves into Dijon and its culture. The Americans are required to take several business courses, a French language course, and an humanities course. So that students may receive hands-on international work experience the Dijon program administrators strongly recommend that the students participate in the internship program (discussed in detail later in this section). In order to connect with French students, the Dijon office encourages the American students to participate in extracurricular activities and student associations.

The business school in Dijon is part of the Grande École System, a network of elite, highly specialized universities administered separately from the French public university system. They are extremely selective and are the training grounds for many of France's business, political, and military leaders. Because the Dijon business school is part of this special network of universities, it gives Americans the opportunity to work and make connections with future French business leaders.

c. The Staff

The staff consists of the program director, an administrative coordinator, and six French faculty members who teach the Dijon program classes at the local business school.

d. On-site Orientations

Students go through a two-week orientation process during which they learn about life in the Burgundy region and about student life in Dijon. In addition they participate in intensive language training during which their language instruction level is determined. The students are housed together during the first week of the orientation, and then they move to their permanent housing.

e. Field Trips, Excursions and other cultural events

The Dijon program organizes weekend trips to various towns and villages in the Burgundy region, as well as to various companies in and around Dijon, which would be hard for the students to access on their own. During these excursions, students are able to meet with top executives in different industries like pharmaceutical, banking, and food, among others. Similarly, a three day trip to major French cities provides students with an opportunity to examine and study multi-national companies, companies and cultural sites.

Finally, cooking classes at a local culinary institute are also available to the students. The class consists of five three hour sessions and costs approximately 200 €, which is not included in the program fee.

f. The Dijon Program Courses

The Dijon Program states in its guide that their courses have a mix of U.S. and European characteristics. That is, the Dijon program courses have syllabi which have recommended readings, and they require a midterm evaluation, final exams, oral presentations, and term papers. Students are told that these syllabi have suggested readings and that they should choose the readings they feel are appropriate to their area of study. Consequently, the assignments are more general and vague, unlike the United States where precise assignments are generally the norm. The following descriptions are as they appear in the Dijon program brochures.

- **French:** All students are required to take French, the level of which is determined by their prior coursework and a placement test. Students with two or three semesters of French typically take French 1 (description below), and students with four or more semesters enroll in French 2 (description below). During the spring semester, if needed, a third level is added (no description available).

  - French 1 and French 2 focus on reading, writing, listening and speaking. Students learn business, economic and financial management vocabularies.

- **History and Culture:** All students are required to enroll in either Culture 1 (description below) or History 2 (description below). Both are taught in French with explanations in English if necessary.

  - Culture 1: This course focuses on the French identity by examining French culture, society, political life, social issues, economics, and education.

  - History 2: In this course students will study the important periods of French history in the province of Burgundy. It begins with in the Middle Ages and moves onto the different eras of French history, paying particular attention to the

economic and political history of Burgundy, art, architecture, literature and popular culture.

- **Business Courses:** The business courses offered at the Dijon program are taught in English.[38]
  - Finance 1: Introduction to Finance
  - International Business 1:
  - Economics 1: Economics and Politics in the EU
  - International Business 1: Businesses in the EU
  - Internship 395: Supervised Internship

- **Political Science 1:** The course is taught in English and is the same content as Economics 1 listed above.

g. Course offerings at the local business school

Students register for these courses once they are in Dijon because the business school does not finalize the list of courses until just before the start of each semester. Consequently, no comprehensive list is available.

h. Internships

Students apply for internships at area companies. The Dijon program arranges the internships, and students must devote between 8 to 10 hours a week to the entire internship experience. By the end of the semester they are required to have 80 contact hours in order to receive the three requisite credit hours.

---

[38] Because these courses are in English and thus not necessarily contributing to French language development, I list the courses without descriptions.

Placement into an internship depends on availability, students' language level. That is, the degree of students' involvement in the internship depends on their French ability.

In order to obtain the internship, students must go through three interviews before a final selection is made. Along with the internship the students take a seminar, keep a work journal, give an oral presentation, and submit a final report looking at and evaluating what was done during the internship. In turn, the supervisor of the internship must submit an evaluation report.

i. Housing options

Dijon students have two housing options, a host family or a foyer.[39] Students who have friends or family in France may arrange their own housing. The participants in this study stayed in host families.

In general, students are housed with families who live within walking distance of the Dijon program school and the Dijon city center. Students have their own rooms and are usually the only host student in the family. The host family provides breakfast and three additional meals per week. Students must rely on their own funds for other meals; thus many eat at the cafeteria at the local university.

Students who have been admitted to the program receive a questionnaire about their housing preferences and special needs. Special needs are taken into consideration, but they are not guaranteed. Provided that students submit their questionnaire by the deadline, they will receive in the mail the family's contact information about two weeks before they leave the United States. Otherwise, students will be notified of their housing placement upon arrival.

---

[39] A foyer is a dormitory-style residence.

Those who choose to live in a foyer receive a small stipend for purchasing meals, and they have access to the cafeteria, laundry room, reading room, and television room. Each floor has a common bathroom and kitchen.

3.6. 3. The Paris Program

Benjamin traveled to Paris on the Paris program. Paris is the largest city in France and one of the largest cities in the world.

a. The city of Paris

Paris has a population of 9.8 million people and is located in the northern part of France. It is a three hour TGV (high speed train) ride from Montpellier and a 2 ½ hour TGV ride from Dijon.

Figure 3: Paris, the capital of France, is located in the heart of the Ile de France region.

Most of the Paris study abroad students had had little exposure to a city of this size or to Paris itself. The city is divided into twenty *arrondissements* or neighborhoods. Each one has its

own distinct feel and character. The *arrondissements* south of the Seine make up the 'Left

Bank,' while the *arrondissements* to the north of the Seine are referred to as the 'Right Bank.' A

map of Paris and the *arrondissements* is provided below:
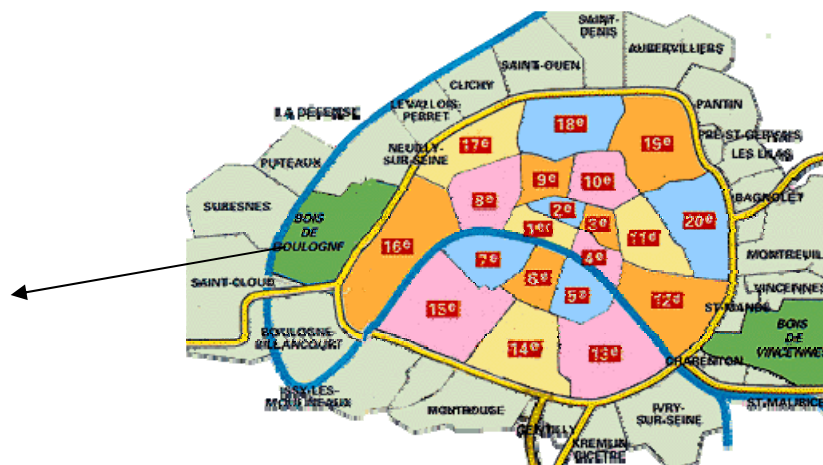
Figure 4: Paris has 20 *arrondissements*, or neighborhoods. The *arrondissements* were established from the middle outward to form a concentric circle. The 1st *arrondissement* starts in the center of Paris, and the 20th is on the eastern-most edge of Paris.

With the exception of Benjamin who lived in the Bois de Boulogne section, one of the suburbs

marked in gray in Figure 4, the Paris students lived in the city itself as opposed to the

surrounding suburbs, making their commutes to courses very reasonable. Paris has an excellent

system of public transportation (the Metro, a subway system underneath the whole city, the RER

or regional train, and the city busses) all of which the students learned to use upon their arrival.

b. The Paris Program Description

The Paris Program is located on the Left Bank and is available only to Mid-Atlantic

University students. The program focuses on French and business, so it is most appropriate for

students majoring in French with a business option. Students on this program do not take

integrated courses. All of the courses are designed specifically for Mid-Atlantic University

students and are not open to other universities. The eleven students on the Spring 2003 Paris

program saw only each other during the day.

c. The Staff

The Paris program staff consists of the following members:

- A director of program development

- An assistant to the director of program development

- A director of human resources

- An assistant to the human resources director

d. The Program's General Requirements

As stated above, this program requires that participants be regularly enrolled Mid-

Atlantic University undergraduates. The prerequisites are as follows:

- 2.50 cumulative GPA

- Successful completion of the following courses:

    - A fourth semester French course, focusing on conversation and reading

      comprehension or on grammar

    - A fifth or sixth semester culture course

    - an Introduction to French Literature

e. Program Courses

Students must register 15 credits of courses, specifically designed for Mid-Atlantic

University students. The courses available to them, as stated in the program brochures, are as

follows:

- 400-level Conversation and Composition

- 400-level Business French

- 400-level French Business Organization

- 400-level French Business in Literary Works

- 400-level Economics in the EU

Course offerings -- Spring 2003:

- **Course 1: Economic Reality in Modern French Literature:** Students in this course study French society through nineteenth and twentieth century literature, the cinema, and cultural visits around Paris.

- **Course 2: Intensive French:** The main objective is to have the students practice their everyday French like telephone conversations, job queries, describing things and/or people, talking about a future or past event, and expressing an opinion.

- **Course 3: Business French:** This course introduces students to business French. They learn how to describe a French company, hire an employee, write a curriculum vitae and a cover letter, analyze advertisements and the language used, and study different contexts in which one can be hired or hire someone (job fairs, for example).

- **Course 4: Society and the Economy:** The course presents from a European perspective students with principal sociological, economic and political issues in France.

- **Course 5: Economic News:** This course presents France's place in the world, the structure, economic environment and financing of French businesses and the position of French business in the world marketplace.

f. Housing Option

Students must live with a host family. The family provides a room, breakfast seven days a week and dinner 5 days a week. Lunch at the Paris program school is included in the price of the host family arrangement. Students must take care of their own lunches and dinners on Saturdays and Sundays. The housing payment is made directly to Mid-Atlantic University.

3.7. The Students

3.7.1. Their backgrounds

Four participants were chosen for the present study. A brief description of the students, their language learning histories, and their living arrangements in France are presented. The rationale for having chosen each student follows the descriptions.

Benjamin

At the time of his departure for France, Benjamin was a twenty year old college junior. He is a native of Virginia, and began his French studies in eighth grade. He took four levels in high school and took four semesters in college. In addition, Benjamin participated in the Summer Governor's Schools in Virginia.[40] The semester before his departure Benjamin was

---

[40] "Virginia Governor's Schools provide some of the state's most able students academically and artistically challenging programs beyond those offered in their home schools. With the support of the Virginia Board of Education and the General Assembly, the Governor's Schools presently include summer residential, summer

enrolled in a 300-level French literature class and a 400-leve French civilization class. Benjamin primarily used English throughout his daily life. However, he used French with certain friends and in his French courses. Benjamin participated in a Paris program, arriving in Paris on January 11, 2003, and returning to the United States on April 28, 2003. While overseas, Benjamin lived with a host family, a requirement of this particular study abroad program.

Bill

Bill is a native of Connecticut and, at the time of his departure to France, was a twenty-two year old senior who had finished his undergraduate work and was preparing to graduate in August of 2003. Bill began his study of French in fourth grade and continued through high school. He took two semesters of college French but was not enrolled in a French course the semester before his departure. The last French course he had taken was a 200-level intermediate French conversation class two years before his trip to France. Bill studied Italian for one semester in college and also taught himself Spanish, Hebrew, and Greek over a two-year period in college. In his daily life Bill used English to communicate with friends and family. He arrived in Dijon, France on January 13, 2003, and returned to the United States on May 17, 2003. In Dijon he took courses in International Finance and Culture and also had an internship at a local newspaper, *le Bien public-Les Dépêches.* Bill lived with a family in Dijon because he wanted "the best possible experience" and felt that "being immersed in a family is one way to do that" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002).

---

regional, and academic-year programs serving more than 7,500 gifted students from all parts of the commonwealth" (http://www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Instruction/Govschools/).

Deirdre

Deirdre is a native of Pennsylvania and, at the time of her experience abroad was a twenty year old junior in college. She began learning French in seventh grade, where she took one year of French spread over two years (7th and 8th grades). Deirdre took four levels of French in high school and four semesters in college. The semester before her departure she was enrolled in one 300-level French literature class and one 300-level French civilization class. Deirdre also had experience with learning Italian for three semesters in college. She used English in her daily life, but spoke French and Italian in her courses. Deirdre arrived in Montpellier, France on January 25, 2003, and returned to the United States on May 22, 2003. She chose an apartment because, at the time of application, she thought her family was going to visit her, and she did not want to impose upon a host family. Also, at the time of application Deirdre specifically requested an American roommate and was told that she would, in fact, have an American roommate. However, she ended up living alone, though it was never explained to her why. She chose Montpellier because she did not want the English-speaking environment of Paris,[41] and she wanted to be close to Italy.

Jada

Jada is a native of New Jersey and, at the time of her study abroad experience was a twenty-one year old junior. Jada had one year of French in eighth grade, five levels of high school French, and five semesters of college French. During the semester before her departure for France, Jada was enrolled in one 300-level French literature class and one 300-level French civilization class. She had had no experience learning other second languages and used English in her daily life. Jada left for Montpellier, France on January 25, 2003, and returned to the

---

[41] Deirdre had heard that "Everywhere in Paris speaks English" (Predeparture interview, November 2002).

United States on June 15, 2003. She lived in a dormitory, which was her first choice as she

wanted to increase her chances of meeting French students with whom she could form

relationships.

3.7. 2. Reasons for choosing these particular students

One of the goals of the study presented here was to maximize difference by choosing

students who had had very different personal histories. What follows is a brief list of the reasons

why these particular participants were chosen. As stated earlier, I selected the four participants

near the end of the data collection phase in July 2003, after having reviewed the various data

from each student.

The factors that determined the participant selection were: their reasons, goals, and

expectations for their time in France; their living arrangements in France; and their gender.

a. Their Reasons, Expectations, and Goals for the Experience

The participants had various reasons for going to France, had different expectations, and

saw themselves interacting in different ways. Benjamin stated during his predeparture interview

(November 2002) that his goal was to learn as much as possible about the cultural differences

between France and the United States. Because of his past trip to Paris, Benjamin felt that he

had a clear idea of what to expect when he arrived in Paris. For example, he remembered how

quickly Parisians walk and talk.

Bill hoped that his host family would provide a lot of the French language elements of

his experience. He also hoped to meet lifelong French friends either through his classes or

through an athletic club in Dijon. An additional goal was to escape English. Like other

participants in this study (Deirdre), Bill believed that Parisians spoke French. Thus, his choice of Dijon was made in order to "escape" English. In his predeparture interview (November 2002), Bill admitted that, although he was really excited about living in Dijon and integrating into the community (by taking cooking classes at night, for example), he had stereotypical and romanticized images of France, like men wearing berets sitting in cafés drinking coffee and talking about "nothing."

Deirdre imagined that Paris would be "busy" (predeparture interview, November 2002) and that the French countryside would be covered with green hills and winding roads. She intended to "get out and talk" (predeparture interview, November 2002), and when asked how she thought she would go about that she said that having courses with French students should help. She had no idea what Montpellier would be like and was mostly concerned with leaving her family and a committed relationship with her boyfriend. Deirdre thought the experience would change her by improving her French. She intended to do as much traveling as possible.

Jada stated that she wanted to become a "French person living in France" (Predeparture interview, Novmeber 2002). She did not want to be an American living in France. Further, Jada did not want to be spotted as "that American girl" (Predeparture Interview, November 2002). To blend in, she would give up her baseball caps, her American jeans, and she would learn to eat salad with her left hand.[42] Jada wanted "somebody who's French" to be impressed with her (Predeparture interview, November 2002). She wanted to meet French friends and to "think French I wanna dream in French I wanna speak French" (Predeparture interview, November 2002).

---

[42] Jada's orientation materials said something about French people eating with their left hands. This is a behavior that she wanted to adopt.

b. Living arrangements in France

This project aimed to understand students' language development and social networking while in a study abroad context. It also aimed to maximize differences between the participants and their study abroad experiences. Therefore, I selected students who lived in different housing situations in France: Benjamin and Bill stayed with host families in Paris and Dijon, respectively; Deirdre lived alone in an apartment in Montpellier; and Jada lived alone in the university dormitory.

c. Gender

I chose a mixed gender group of participants because my review of the literature suggested substantial possible variation in the qualities of men's versus women's experience (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000; Polanyi, 1995; Siegal, 1996; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Twombly, 1995). In each of these studies, it is demonstrated that the qualities of interactions differ between men and women.

3.8. Conclusion

Block (2003) calls for research that attempts to incorporate the social experiences of students *as well as* their linguistic development. In addition, he discusses the increasing prominence of research on pragmatics and of narrative approaches to SLA. Pragmatics encourages "a distinction between a focus on the formal aspects of language use and a focus on more sociocultural aspects (p.130). Recent narrative approaches to SLA are informed more by "social theory than applied linguistics" (p.131). That is, instead of focusing "on the acquisition of morphemes," this research investigates whether or not learners can become "fully

participating members" in a given community of practice (p.131). These narrative approaches

see "outcomes of encounters with languages" in sociohistorical terms" (p.130). Block adds that

"this research examines whether or not learners are able to become fully participating members

of the communities of practice they wish to join" (p.131). However, Block ends his discussion

of these areas of research with a call to fill in the gaps in the more socially-informed type of

research.

It is with this call to new kinds of SLA research that I embarked upon this project. To

bridge the gap between the social and linguistic aspects of SLA, case studies which present the

students, their backgrounds, their experiences in France, their identities and subject positions *as*

well as their linguistic development are presented. Though there is no suggestion of any

causality between my participants' experiences and their linguistic development, it is important

to analyze how each aspect—social and linguistic—informs the other. Additionally, the

language-learning stories recounted in their journals and in the interviews not only address an

audience but they are also the students' own representations of their experiences. They are not

claims of truth, since what happened to the students is *their* interpretation of the events,

interpreted by them and then reinterpreted by me.

The current chapter has explained the approaches and goals of the study and its

theoretical approach. I have also explained my position as a researcher, the testing instruments,

the data collection and analysis procedures, the various study abroad settings and the participants

backgrounds and the reasons for having selected the four students highlighted in the next

chapter. Chapter Four examines the four students' journals and interviews for their identities and

subject positions, and for evidence of their access to social practices in the host community.

Following discussions of the four students is a discussion of their language data (section 4.3.).

Chapter Four:

Case Studies & Data Analysis

4.1. Introduction

The starting point of the research reported herein is the dual focus on description of

learning outcomes and explanation of these outcomes in terms of social processes related to

learner identity. The purpose of this study is to provide an historical and developmental

language socialization analysis of the study abroad experience. The data analysis is done from

the perspective of a social practices view of learning. Learning is not contained in the mind of

the individual. That is to say, learners are no longer "reduced to their minds" (Lave & Wenger,

1991, p.50), and learning is no longer just "the acquisition of knowledge (the discourse of

dualism effectively segregates even these reductions from the everyday world of engaged

participation" (p.50). Further, the learner is not viewed as an individual, but rather as a "person-

in-the-world" (p.52). A social practices view of learning "emphasizes the relational

interdependency of agent and world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning, and knowing" (p.50).

This chapter offers a an analysis of the social and developmental processes by which learners'

participation is (or is not) legitimized (Lave & Wenger, 1991), through which they are

apprenticed as speakers of French and through which their motives for learning develop over

time.

Learning the second language requires access to the social practices ("activities, tasks,

functions…" [Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.53]) of the host community in which learners find

themselves. Poststructuralism is a theoretical approach which understands that unlimited access

to interactional opportunities is not a given. Access to more experienced speakers of the second

language is mediated by the learner's class, race, gender, age and linguistic background, among other things. Consequently, at times, that access is achieved; at other times, it is not. The following four case studies demonstrate situations in which access is gained, not gained, refused, or not. One way that students can gain, not gain, refuse or not refuse this access is via their subject positioning.

4.2. Case Studies[43]

Each case study includes an analysis and explanation of the students' subject positions revealed in their journals and interviews, uncovering how these subject positions influenced their experiences. For the purposes of the present study, the most frequently occurring and prevalent identities and subject positions that the participants wrote about are presented within each case study. Thus, these discussions comprise one possible interpretation of the participants' own narrations of their experiences. Consequently, the text will be analyzed, not the actual experience. In short, I am interpreting the participants' interpretations of their experiences. Moreover, it is clear in certain parts of their journals that some of the students were writing directly to me.[44] Therefore, there are no claims to truth, and there is no assumption that what these students experienced in France is universal.

4.2.1. Benjamin

4.2.1.1. Background

To review, Benjamin was 20 year old college junior majoring in accounting and international business. He is a native of Virginia and lived in Germany as a young child. Since

---

[43] Please see section 1.3 for the table showing the participants' backgrounds and living situations in France.
[44] For example, in certain entries, Jada wrote, "This is for you, Kathleen."

his experience in Germany Benjamin had traveled very little. Benjamin began his French studies

in eighth grade. The semester before he left for France, Benjamin was enrolled in one 300-level

French literature class and one 400-level French civilization class.

When asked how he envisaged his stay in Paris, Benjamin said that he intended to travel

a lot and to learn as much as possible while in France. His goal was to focus on issues related to

language, culture, and cultural differences. Since Benjamin had already been to Paris for ten

days in 2001 he knew what it would look like (Benjamin, predeparture interview, November

2002).

Benjamin stated that, after graduation from his university, he wanted to work in the music

industry overseas, perhaps in France or England. Because he had lived abroad as a child,

Benjamin felt that living abroad at some point was normal, and the idea of living in France on a

permanent basis was not an unusual choice for him. His study abroad experience in Paris would,

however, be the first of his adult life (Benjamin, predeparture interview, November 2002).

In what follows is an analysis of Benjamin's experiences and of several of his identities

and subject positions. After that, I consider how he accessed different social practices and how

this access was gained. I have also included a discussion of the transformation of Benjamin's

goals, motives, and subject positions throughout the semester.

4.2.1.2. Benjamin's positioning during study abroad

One of the reasons Benjamin was chosen for this study was his rather high predeparture

level of French (as demonstrated in his TFI scores). It was assumed that speakers of French

would position him as a competent speaker of French and would thus engage him often and

much in various types of conversations. However, because he stayed close to his cohort of

American friends and rarely ventured out on his own, Benjamin limited his opportunities for

creating social networks.[45] He admitted that the Americans traveled in a large group and

speakers of French rarely engaged them in conversation. He was close to his host family, but it

was only at the very end of his experience that Benjamin began to view them as friends with

whom he could spend his free time.

Though Benjamin did get to know some French people through two of his American

friends who had made French friends prior to their study abroad experience, he did not go out on

his own, and opportunities for social networking were lost. Benjamin admitted in his journal that

he was not the kind of person who *could* strike out on his own for it was not in his nature to meet

people without the support of friends. Soon enough, however, Benjamin realized that he needed

more involvement in French and in France. Thus, he turned to the television, and in place of

making French-speaking friends, he used the television as a tool to help him learn more, aiding

his overall interaction with the language.

Benjamin was consistent in making journal entries. He responded to the journal task

description (see Appendix H), but unlike some of the other students presented in this dissertation

whose journals became a confessional, Benjamin almost never mentioned his feelings and

emotions about the experience. He was a very matter-of-fact journal keeper. He only wrote

about events which related specifically and directly to language learning. There are very few

stories about the group's evenings out or what was talked about.

The following section presents a discussion of Benjamin's subject positions. It includes

the most frequently occurring and prevalent identities and subject positions which Benjamin

---

[45] Benjamin made an off-tape comment that he felt that he and his 11 American friends were viewed by French
people as rather intimidating and, therefore, unapproachable. I take Benjamin's opinion as one possible reason that
he did not make any friends outside his cohort while in France.

experienced and spoke about. As stated earlier in this chapter, the goal here is to present and analyze one possible interpretation of Benjamin's own narration of his experience. Consequently, the text will be analyzed, not the actual experience.

Benjamin's identities and subject positions are discussed in chronological order. That is, Benjamin presented subject positions one and two earlier in the semester, while subject positions three, four and five were presented in his journals later in the semester.

Subject Position #1: Member of the American group

Benjamin saw himself as a member of the group of eleven Mid-Atlantic University students studying at the Paris Program School. This view of himself was manifested in his journals: He rarely spoke about himself in the singular. Beginning with his second entry (January 13, 2003) on, he recounted stories that involved all eleven students in the group. After their first day of class, the group went sightseeing. He wrote, "…we all decided to do a bit of sightseeing, and were able to communicate pretty easily with anyone we needed to" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 13, 2003). In this small example, Benjamin was positioning himself as a part of the group. He did not make any decisions on his own; rather, sightseeing was a group event and a group decision, leaving little room for Benjamin to talk about himself in the singular. Four days later he confessed that he was "still using English a lot" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 17, 2003): He was reading English books, listening to English music, writing emails and instant messages (IM) in English, and speaking English to his American friends in Paris. He rationalized this use of English by explaining that, "Perhaps this is a sort of outlet, and I imagine it will diminish with time" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 17, 2003). It did not "diminish with time," however, as will be shown later.

Benjamin and his American friends in Paris decided that they should speak French more together. He explained the complexities of their situation:

> While we speak French almost exclusively with our host families and in class, any time we are together we speak almost exclusively in English to each other (and we are together a lot). As I said previously, I suppose this is a bit of an outlet reflex, it's where we all feel most comfortable (and to be honest, speaking a second language can get a bit tiring at times). It is also, however, the easy way out…" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 21, 2003).

Benjamin recognized that using English was "the easy way out." He realized, though, that speaking a second language "can get a bit tiring" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 21, 2003). Additionally, English was where they felt "most comfortable," so perhaps it was to be expected that the group spoke English together (Benjamin, journal entry, January 21, 2003). Despite the decision to speak French together on this particular day in January 2003, the group proceeded to spend the rest of the weekend in English: an American movie in English and an American football game at a Scottish pub. Benjamin termed these activities "small outlets" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 21, 2003), though he added that "we should make the effort otherwise to speak all the French that we can" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 21, 2003). However, just three days later he wrote, "Well, we haven't done very well implementing French while walking around" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 24, 2003). The group never again attempted to mandate "French only." It could be said that trying to speak one's second language with one's native language friends would be uncomfortable and unnatural. That they never again mandated "French only" is not surprising.

Toward the end of January, Benjamin mentioned that the group was still speaking only English together. They did have an evening out with some French friends during which Benjamin spoke only French.[46] He felt very encouraged by this experience and stated, "I'm hoping we can meet more people here and start breaking out of our English shell a bit, and I think we're moving in that direction" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 29, 2003). Again, it is notable that Benjamin used "we" and "our." It seems that he did not expect that he would make friends on his own. While he never called himself shy, Benjamin did position himself as the kind of person who would not introduce himself to people. Therefore, he felt that he had to rely on his group to meet new people. Apart from his host family and some of their friends, Benjamin did not develop social networks on his own.

Because Benjamin was rarely without these friends, he was positioned as a member of the group by others around him, which he seemed to enjoy at the beginning of the experience. As time progressed though, Benjamin realized that he was spending almost no time without the group, which may have contributed to his positioning as a reserved American.

Subject Position #2: A reserved American

In his midterm interview and journal, Benjamin stated that he was not the kind of person to go out and meet people on his own. Though the Paris Program gave him several opportunities to meet French speakers, Benjamin did not follow up with anyone he met:

> …they they gave us ample opportunity to meet people…they had like a little like
>
> luncheon, at the beginning of the semester for like all the foreign students, to ya know
>
> just kinda meet kids from here, and then meet each other and all that. but …I don't know

---

[46] Two students on the Advancia program, Gabrielle and Camille, had French friends whom they had met a number of years before their 2003 experience in France.

I guess that's just not really how I do things, ya know? so it was a little hard (Benjamin, midterm interview, March 2003).

In a journal entry at the beginning of March 2003, Benjamin confessed that he had wanted to meet some French students but, as of that point in time, had not. He wrote, "It would be nice to get to know a few of them ((French students)) for language purposes, and also to experience more French social life" (Benjamin, journal entry, March 7, 2003). Benjamin understood the importance of gaining access to social networks in order to improve his language ability and to have a life in Paris. Yet, his timidity would not permit him to do so. He could have drawn on his American friends for support, but, by this time in the semester, he realized that they were not interested in speaking French or meeting speakers of French. He wrote, "…I think the others in the group are less willing to speak French outside of class" (Benjamin, journal entry, April 17, 2003). Benjamin eventually separated himself a bit, though not totally, from the other Americans on his program.

Subject Position #3: Distanced member of the American cohort

At the beginning of the semester, Benjamin spent his free time either at his host family's house or with his American friends. As the semester moved on, though, Benjamin became increasingly frustrated with his friends' behavior in public, especially since the Iraq war was provoking a lot of reaction in France and around the world. Americans studying and working overseas had been told to keep a low profile and to avoid drawing attention to themselves. Benjamin understood the need to do this; his friends did not. Benjamin was raised in a military family, and having lived in Germany as a boy, he understood the importance of avoiding confrontation while overseas, unlike his American friends. He reflected on their behavior:

> …I've come to notice a few things again about my fellow students that I think are really
>
> beginning to bother me. Normally, I try to just accept the fact that we are indeed
>
> Americans, and we do have certain traits that make us stick out here in France, and
>
> normally I just do my thing and try to adapt as well as possible to the surrounding culture
>
> and let others do what they will. In the current international climate, however, I find it
>
> prudent to keep as low a profile as possible. The others on the trip don't seem to realize
>
> this. They also don't seem to realize that the great majority of people in Paris, and
>
> Europe in general, speak at least some measure of English (Benjamin, journal entry
>
> March 25, 2003).

At this point in the semester, Benjamin was consistently embarrassed by his friends' behavior.
They often spoke loudly in the metro about the war and their feelings about it. Benjamin was
one of the only students on his program who maintained an anti-war position, and he felt his
friends' pro-war comments were inflammatory and problematic. He ended this passage by
saying, "I feel more comfortable steering clear of my fellow Americans" (Benjamin, journal
entry, March 25, 2003). Though the time he spent with them diminished, Benjamin never did
completely "steer clear" of his American friends. They continued to travel and go out together to
their favorite Scottish pub. Benjamin *wanted* to "steer clear," but it is possible that he was too
shy to strike out on his own. Consequently, he began to use the television as a companion,
though he remained somewhat attached to his American cohort. The television helped Benjamin
to feel that, although he was still speaking a lot of English he was still developing his French.

Subject Position #4: A good speaker of French

The first experience occurred the day he arrived while he was having lunch with his host family and some of their relatives. Benjamin wrote that "everyone has taken the time to mention how well I speak, yet another encouragement" (Benjamin, journal entry, January 11, 2003). He still felt that he had work to do, but the compliments that Benjamin received gave him the incentive he needed to push forward with his French. This positioning as a good speaker of French motivated Benjamin to speak more French when possible. During a second experience at the beginning of February 2003, when Benjamin went out with his American friends and some of their French friends, he was engaged immediately in a conversation with four other French university students. Benjamin wrote:

> I managed to go almost 3 hours speaking almost exclusively French in a social environment. They all helped with w/ finding words, grammar, pronunciation, etc, and I was able to do the same for them…A very helpful night all around, one I hope will become frequent (Benjamin, journal entry, February 7, 2003).

In both situations, Benjamin's interlocutors helped him with his vocabulary, his grammar and his pronunciation. He rarely went out on his own to create social networks, but these occasions helped Benjamin to realize that he was beginning to improve linguistically.

Subject Position #5: Speaker of English / Improved speaker of French

Benjamin continued to speak a lot of English even as the semester progressed. Whereas in the beginning of his experience Benjamin was somewhat motivated to avoid English, by this point in his experience he justified any and all uses of English. By April, Benjamin confessed

that "English is just easier" (Benjamin, journal entry, April17, 2003). However, he nevertheless felt his French was improving. On April 7, 2003, he wrote "…working/reading in French is getting easier, and this is of course an extra encouragement." Benjamin became less concerned about avoiding English because he felt his French was improving anyway: In one of his final journal entries on April 21, 2003, Benjamin stated that he didn't think that speaking English had hurt his French progress. He reflected that "perhaps it's ((not speaking French)) a function of pure laziness…I know I can hold conversations, read books, listen to music in French, but honestly English is just easier" (Benjamin, journal entry, April 17, 2003). Benjamin added that he, unlike the others in his group, was more willing to speak French outside of class. He said that the English books he was reading were those which he had not had time to read in the States. Benjamin said:

> It's certainly not an unwillingness to use French—I watch TV, read the paper, talk to my host family, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, I make an effort to speak French w/people I meet here (i.e. in Montpellier).[47] Perhaps it's just a matter or circomstance [*sic*], and perhaps I could make an extra effort to use more French, but I'm happy with my progress, and I'm happy with my overall experience (Benjamin, journal entry, April 17, 2003).

Benjamin's final entry followed this one, and it was here that he reflected on his progress and his experiences in Paris. He admitted that he made an effort to "absorb as much of the language as reasonably possible" by "reading the paper, watching TV, talking to the host family" (Benjamin, journal entry, April 22, 2003). What is most intriguing is that few of these activities involved anyone other than Benjamin. Thus, he was able to remain in his comfort zone while also

---

[47] Benjamin had friends studying in Montpellier, so he spent a few weeks there with them.

progressing with French. Though he only created social networks with his host family and some

of their friends, Benjamin was an agent in his language learning experience. He chose to use the

television and newspaper as tools for learning more. Both of these media did not require that

him to interact with other people.

Benjamin's position as a speaker of English allowed him to maintain an English-only

identity. That is, because he stated that English is "just easier" (Benjamin, journal entry, April

17, 2003), he legitimized its use and removed any guilt he may have felt for speaking English.

Subject position #6: Reflective and regretful learner of French

During his final interview, as Benjamin reflected upon his semester in Paris, it was clear

that he regretted spending so much time with his American cohort. He stated that if he could

redo the experience, he would "hang out with people from Mid-Atlantic University a lot less"

(Benjamin, final interview, April 2003). He attributed hanging out with Americans to his timid

personality. "…I didn't really meet that many people. which is kind of disappointing but I…I'm

just kinda ya know not real good at doing that so I'm not really surrounded ((that he did not meet

any French friends))" (Benjamin, final interview, April 24, 2003).

His positioning as a reserved person gave him good reason to avoid making connections

and social networks with people outside his host family and the family's friends. When

Benjamin went to Montpellier to visit with other Mid-Atlantic University friends, he met a

number of French students through his American friends, but he did not keep in touch with any

of them. However, going to Montpellier gave him the opportunity to engage with French

speakers and to know that he was capable of interacting and maintaining a conversation with French people when the situation presented itself.[48]

Benjamin noted that towards the end of his experience he was spending more time with his host family. He attributed this change to the fact that he was leaving and to the fact that he was more capable of holding a conversation with them. Benjamin said he was "more interesting to talk to" (Benjamin, final interview, April 24, 2003). He really liked his host family, and he enjoyed being at their home and spending time with them. Benjamin went on vacation with them, because he wanted to "show them" that he was interested in them and their lives (Benjamin, final interview, April 24, 2003).

Similarly, Benjamin spent a lot of time in his suburb in Paris, where he had a preferred tobacco store and café, but he did not create social networks with the proprietors. Though it typically takes a fair amount of time to establish a proprietor-client relationship with store owners, if one is consistent in patronizing a particular establishment, it is not unusual that one can engage the store owner on a daily basis in small talk about the weather, one's courses or experiences in Paris or one's job.[49] According to Benjamin, he had many opportunities to create such relationships, yet he did not, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from his final interview:

K: so like when you go to like the **tabac** or whatever I mean do you see the same—if

          you go to that tabac in your little neighborhood do you see the same guy?

B: oh yeah yeah

K: so does he say he hi how ya doing what's up or=

B: =not really not it's just kind ya know=

---

[48] Benjamin met French people through a Mid-Atlantic friend who was dating a Frenchman.
[49] These topics are based on my own experience as an au pair in Paris several years ago.

K: =here are your cigarettes and see ya=

B: =there ya go get out of here ya know?...i was kind of wondering if that was gonna

      happen…cuz I go there ((to the **tabac**)) and then I go to the café right across the

      street every now and then…for lunch or something. and usually see the

      same…waiters…I wondered ya know if that was—if I was gonna start—people

      were gonna start recognizing me…talking to people ya know but not really.

      (Benjamin, final interview, April 2003)

Benjamin added that he was not bothered by it, but he did not explain why.

      Benjamin also reflected on the fact that more and more French service people spoke

French to him, whereas in the beginning of his experience they often switched right away to

English. The switch back to English frustrated Benjamin, but he managed to persevere, and,

eventually, those with whom he interacted in service encounters continued speaking French.

Benjamin felt encouraged by that change.

K: do you think that when they hear you…when they hear you're not a French

      speaker they … speak to you in English or they don't want to talk to you

      anymore.

B: YES… not as much anymore but when I first got here it was the typical ya just gotta

      fight it out. until you get something. ya know? … I think I get more French back.

      (xxx) which is good…which I appreciate so…at the café…I'd get kind of a mix of

      French and English back ya know and now it seems to be (better).

      (Benjamin, final interview, April 24, 2003)

That French service people did not change from French to English was, to Benjamin, an indication that he had made linguistic progress. For him, it was an obvious change and a thrilling one.

The subject positions presented here contribute to Benjamins' overall identity as a competent speaker of French, a moderate linguistic success (his test gains are moderate), and a moderate social networker. Benjamin's membership in his American cohort perhaps influenced his ability to meet French students at his school. He felt that, as a group, they were intimidating to others, and it is for this reason that Benjamin did not meet many people at school with whom he could speak in French. Eventually, because he felt they were speaking too much English, Benjamin separated himself a bit from his American cohort and began to spend more time with his host family, primarily at dinner time (eventually, he vacationed with them). At these dinners, Benjamin met some of their friends. He began watching more television and was able to converse more at the dinner table about current events. Though Benjamin did not meet French students as he had hoped, he was able access his host family and some of their friends.

4.2.1.3. Access and agency

Benjamin's host family (and their friends) was a primary source of learning. They gave him access to social practices and networks, which aided his language socialization. As he spent more time with them at dinner and on vacations, he was apprenticed through the language into different identities and social practices. Benjamin, the novice, and his host family, the more experienced members of the community, organized ways of "communication, actions, bodies, objects" (Ochs, 2002, p.107) to help Benjamin develop his knowledge and skills.

Benjamin also participated in social practices via the television. Lave and Wenger (1991)

explained that there is always participation in one form or another, and, for Benjamin, the television was one way to participate. Benjamin received information, like current events, via the television, and that information helped him participate more actively with his host family.

Benjamin demonstrated his human agency by choosing television over people, by distancing himself from his American cohort, and by choosing to create social networks with his host family and their friends. One can only imagine that if Benjamin had remained in France for a longer period of time, he perhaps would have continued to participate in these different social practices.

Additionally, Benjamin learned how to use French to get things done. He started to communicate more effectively with his host family and their friends. In his service encounters, French speakers spoke French with Benjamin, rather than switch to English as they had done earlier in the semester. Benjamin had lived abroad as a child, and he had also visited Paris two years before his study abroad experience, so he thought he knew what to expect. However, it seems that he struggled with gaining access to more expert members outside his host family. It seems that Benjamin did not realize how hard it was going to be to access and create social networks with speakers of French. He soon came to understand that it was perhaps because of his 11-person American cohort and because of his timid personality that finding French speakers with whom he could converse was difficult. Eventually, Benjamin chose to spend more time with his family and watch more television and these activities could be a reason for his resulting language gains.

4.2.1.4. Transformation of motives, goals and subject positions

Before his departure for Paris, Benjamin stated that one of his goals was to learn about French culture, though he never really specified what that meant. In the end, Benjamin felt that he did accomplish that goal through television, observation and time spent with his host family. From the beginning, Benjamin described himself as timid, and his positioning reflected that description. As the semester progressed, Benjamin seemed to gain more confidence speaking French, which perhaps helped him position himself and be positioned as a "semi-integrated speaker of French." The subject positions highlighted here, though only a small selection, seemed to transform: in the beginning he kept himself at a distance from the host community; later on he became a more active participant in his host family. Benjamin eventually became adapted to French culture, one of his original goals, through the social practices in his host family, as well as through what he learned from television and the newspapers.

Benjamin's history as a military child, having lived abroad and having experience traveling before his study abroad experience, may have contributed to the manner in which his experience was framed. In his predeparture interview, Benjamin told us that he knew what to expect in France because of a trip he had taken in 2001. Therefore, when he arrived in France, very few things seemed to surprise him. During his midterm interview, Benjamin said that, in terms of what shocked him, nothing "jumped out" at him (Benjamin, midterm interview, March 2003). Additionally, Benjamin's gender did not seem to be salient to his experience. That is, in his journals and interviews, he never mentioned what it was like to be a man in France, what his perceptions of French men were, or what his role as a man in France should be.

4.2.1.5. Summary

Benjamin began his experience in France by spending a lot of time with his American friends. As the semester passed, Benjamin decided that he needed to engage more with French speakers and distance himself further from his American cohort. This decision, as recounted in Benjamin's journal and interviews, shows that he was an agent in his own language learning: when he realized that he needed more French around him, he turned to the television and to his host family with whom he began to spend more time. His host family gave him access to different activities and social practices which helped him become a more active participant especially at the dinner table. Benjamin felt that he had improved his French while abroad, and it is perhaps because of his participation with his family and with the television that language development was possible.

4.2.2. Bill

4.2.2.1. Background

Bill is a native of Connecticut and, at the time of his departure to France, was a 22-year-old senior was preparing to graduate upon his return from France to Mid-Atlantic University. Bill began studying French in fourth grade, continued through high school, and took two semesters of college French. The last French class he had taken was a 200-level conversation class two years before his trip to France. In addition, Bill had also studied Italian (one semester) and Spanish, Hebrew and Greek (self-taught over a two-year period in college). Bill used English to communicate with friends and family. While in Dijon, he took courses in International Finance and Culture and also had an internship at a local newspaper. Bill lived with a family in Dijon because

Bill began learning French in his 4th grade gifted and talented program and was not sure why he chose French. There were classes one day per week for approximately two hours. He continued this program through 5th grade and began again with French in 9th grade.[50] When asked if learning French in high school was a positive or negative experience he stated that it was not the best. He did not take learning French seriously enough, and speaking French in class was not enforced. However, at one point during high school, Bill had a substitute teacher from Lyon, France, who remained with the class for half the year. Bill said that he learned "it (French) completely … like having her perspective…it was a great time in my life" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002).

When Bill arrived at Mid-Atlantic University he began studying several different languages in formal and informal contexts. He took first semester Italian there because he "just wanted to learn more languages" and his former girlfriend taught him Spanish (Bill, predeparture

---

[50] He does not remember what he did during 6th, 7th and 8th grades.

interview, November 2002).[51] Bill studied Hebrew and Greek on his own in order to study the

Bible in its "original language" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He recognized

words in each language but was not able speak either one very well. To study Hebrew he bought

a grammar book. For Greek, Bill used a Greek-English dictionary in which he looked up

suffixes and prefixes to find out how the language fit together. Bill explained his self-study of

Greek and Hebrew in the following way:

B: =um and then as far as Hebrew and Greek is concerned uh … I do it like that—with—to

        help s-study the bible I guess ya know. go back to the original language and so ya know

        … I've learned like whatever—like the grammar—I probably don't <u>speak</u> it <u>right</u> but I

        know like I—it's like I like I recognize words=

K: =ok and so how did you approach Hebrew and Greek by yourself. did you get a

        textbook? or did you talk to someone? or

B: um well Hebrew I ended up getting a a small textbook in—um and then—bu—but I mean

        it it it's actually <u>more</u> difficult than I thought it would be=

K: =yeah

B: um but it's it's <u>fun</u> at the same time-I think it's a wonderful language—Greek was just a

        matter of. like started off just referencing the Greek-English dictionary for various words

        and then I started looking up on like like how like suffixes and prefixes like (xxxx) like I

        like look at like uh like I do with the alphabet like uh um read and write Greek like

        without like uh knowing what it was what it was like in English and not having to worry

        about something like that—it's not like I can speak anything like phrases—<u>Hebrew</u> I can

---

[51] Shortly after our predeparture interview, Bill and his girlfriend broke up.

probably speak better than Greek but like I don-I don't ya know articulate sentences or anything like that.

At the time of our predeparture interview, Bill was not studying any languages because he had little time outside of work and school. He was interested in working for an internationally-based company and was not opposed to moving abroad on a more permanent basis for work (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002).

Bill's former girlfriend and her mother influenced and encouraged him to excel in his studies because "they're so…adventurous it's ridiculous" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He added that his academic advisor had also encouraged him, but Bill insisted that there was no one specific in his childhood who influenced him. Therefore, unlike many of the other students on the different programs whose parents and extended families had an influence on their academic success, Bill developed on his own an interest in other cultures and studying abroad as a child.

Bill felt that the best kind of situation for him to develop his French would be situations in which he would be "stuck" using French (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He chose Dijon because he felt it was more removed (from English-speaking culture) than Paris or Lyon. Bill wanted to escape the United States and English, and he decided that Dijon and staying with a host family was a good way to do that. Bill did not want to "find comfort in English" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Because of an experience with a Turkish fraternity brother whom he helped learn English, Bill understood that learning French would take some time. He said:

I—I know it will be harder—like um I—I can't imagine actually living with—as far as one—like some sort of (xxxxx) like just being able to speak—with the situation where I'm forced to use French and then sucking at it and then= (predeparture interview, November 2002)

Bill was aware that he would "suck" at French and then would most likely get better like his Turkish friend (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He knew that he would find French friends "somewhere," like an athletic club (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He was very resistant to the idea of spending time with other Americans. In other words, Bill had in mind a model of language learning via social interaction and intended to follow it.

While in Dijon Bill took classes with French students as well as Americans. Additionally, he had an internship at a local Dionais paper called *le Bien Public-Les Dépêches*. He was nervous about this opportunity but also looked forward to being surrounded by French.

Bill had never traveled outside of the United States. Consequently he had rather stereotypical images of France, mostly from movies like "Moulin Rouge" and "A Year in Provence." Bill said that he had a "romantic" idea of Paris (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Because of the movie "Moulin Rouge," he had visions of walking around and getting lost in some "seedy looking area" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002) like the Moulin Rouge. When Bill turned his attention to "A Year in Provence," he mentioned the "French countryside," "old French men getting together and talking about nothing," "the hustle and bustle of Paris," and "sitting in a café" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He added that he didn't "have a romantic ideal" of what he was going to experience in France (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Bill understood that movies do not necessarily depict real life.

In addition to discussing the few French movies he had seen, Bill recited facts about the Burgundy region (the region in which Dijon is located) and about Dijon (that it is not a big city). He imagined that his host family would have a "loving mother" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002), a father, two children, and a dog. He added, "I feel like they'll be an American family but they'll be French" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Bill added that he imagined being stuck in an attic bedroom. He planned to be with his family for meals, and he said that he would make the most of their "talking" time and then he would leave (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Bill imagined himself as a border in their house with no personal, close relationship.

Bill was worried about not knowing the language as well as he should and running out of money, but he was not scared because he did not know what it was like to be so far away from home. He was "all about getting lost and screwing up" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). In Bill's opinion, being forced to figure things out was a good way to learn, and he knew that being challenged and pushed was good for him. He felt that, at first, nothing would be "comfortable" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He imagined that even buying toothpaste would provoke frustration. Bill stated that living in Dijon would be exciting at first, then it would "suck" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002), and then it would be fine.

Bill was anticipating big changes in himself and in his life. He was looking forward to the French perspective on American politics. He felt that the French were "so set in like their French ways and French culture" that they did not "want" to agree with the American government (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). He looked forward to these challenges and to ways of thinking that were so different than what he considered to be the dominant American mentality of agreeing with the government.

Bill also expected his study abroad experience to change his perspective on life in the United States. He felt that it would give him a stronger inclination to travel and "to make it a reality rather than just thinking about it and dreaming about it" (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002). Bill hoped that study abroad would make him more intent on pursuing his dream of working for internationally-based companies. Additionally, he felt that his personality would have to change while in France. He added the following:

> I'll be more quiet … less obnoxious…like I feel like it's gonna sober me up a bit like sure I'm not gonna be a boring stiff but um where it allows me to contem-contemplate things deeper I--I don't know <u>why</u> I have these impressions but like I just have em um … I mean at the same time it'll allow me to … be able to connect better with people too because I – I guess another impression of of the French is that they have jus a better sense of community? and relationships? (xxxxxx) and I feel like we just live on this sh— shallow level a majority of our lives and um I mean just even putting family and people ahead of most things or at least <u>higher</u> up than—than an American would-the average American would um an so that's another—I guess I didn't mention that before (xxxxx) that—tha—that's another (thing) that I'm <u>really</u> excited for is like wow people actually <u>do</u> begin to matter <u>more</u> or at least like where it's not like you have—you don't <u>dig</u> to find like I'm not making any sense … like I could just like these … <u>tremendous</u> French friends hanging out like for life …as opposed to here where I feel like we're transient um (xxxx) ya know it's a pretty great friendship but ya know ya gotta move on and like lose touch. (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Bill was a reflective, introspective young man. Although he had some stereotypical notions of France, he was open to all kinds of experiences. He wanted to embrace all things different. He was starting to feel very discontent with his vision of American culture, and for him, French culture was going to help him renew his ideas in a different context. Bill explained his feelings in the following way:

> I feel like we just live on this sh—shallow level a majority of our lives and um I mean just even putting family and people ahead of most things or at least higher up than—than an American would-the average American would … I'm really excited for is like wow people actually do begin to matter more or at least like where it's not like you have—you don't dig to find like I'm not making any sense … um yeah ya go to France ya gotta—I feel like I could find a better community like where people actually care about each other um and it's always (xxxx) like that's another thing I have like in as far as another image is like ya know whether it's a small town or not like—like I could just like these these tremendous French friends hanging out like for life um I mean and that and that they do um as opposed to here where I feel like we're transient um (xxxx) ya know it's a pretty great friendship but ya know ya gotta move on and like lose touch. ((Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002)

He felt that learning a language was one way to get to know other people and other cultures. Despite the fact that Bill occasionally referred to himself as shy, he was not. Bill enjoyed being with his friends and he loved to learn about new things and new people. Though he tried to be realistic in his approach to his host family by saying that he would perhaps fill the role of a

"boarder" in their home, Bill was indeed open to becoming part of the family (Bill, predeparture interview, November 2002).

In what follows is an analysis of Bill's experiences and of several of his identities and subject positions. After that, I consider how Bill accessed different social practices and networks and how this access was gained. Additionally, I have included a discussion of the transformation of Bill's goals, motives, and subject positions throughout the semester.

4.2.2.2. Bill's positioning during study abroad

Although Bill was supposed to write in his journal at least two times per week (see Appendix H), he never managed to do so, claiming he was "too busy."[52] Despite this absence of journals, the interviews and discussions were so extensive and informative that Bill became a rich source of data for this study. His experiences provide an important contribution to research in language development and language learning because he was one of the few students in this project who managed to create and maintain, without the help of American friends, social networks with speakers of French and other international students. Moreover, and importantly, Bill's predeparture test scores and language ability were low (see Appendix A). It was very difficult for him to speak in complete sentences in French, which is shown in his language data.

In what follows, our interviews and discussions are examined for Bill's different identities and subject positions. Because the goal of qualitative research is to work with and analyze students' similarities *and* differences, it is of little importance that Bill did not maintain a journal like the other students. It is, however, important to show how Bill, a student who positioned himself and was positioned in positive ways, made large linguistic and social networking gains. Bill's contributions to his study abroad sojourn and his experiences during

---

[52] This quote is taken from the informal conversation Bill and I had before taping the final interview in May 2003.

that time are essential and intriguing. Bill's subject positions are the following: 1) a learner of French who must be separated from his American cohort; and 2) a protector of women.

In the following section, an analysis and explanation of how Bill portrayed himself during his interviews is done in an effort to uncover how these self-representations affected and influenced his experiences in Dijon. The most frequently occurring and prevalent identities and subject positions that Bill experienced and spoke about at the midterm are presented here. This section is based on a *selection* of Bill's identities in Dijon, and is, thus, subjective.

Subject Position #1: A learner of French

During his midterm interview Bill spoke extensively about his struggles to learn French and how he tried to make it a priority. He went through a "lull" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003) in March, during which he did not speak much French because he had spent the previous four weekends on program-organized excursions, speaking mostly English. Once Bill realized that he was not speaking and learning as much French as he had wanted, he made learning French a priority, and thus positioned himself as an eager learner of French. This positioning contributed to his public identity as a learner of French, which became more prevalent throughout the discussion. To that end, Bill separated himself from his American cohort, even though it was very difficult to do so because the Americans tended to have classes together and be rather "clingy" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003). Yet, Bill managed to introduce himself to people in his French business courses, and he became part of a project group in one class. He understood that it was necessary for him to make more of an effort to meet non-English-speaking people if he was to accomplish his goal of learning French. He stated:

it's <u>not</u> very conducive for the Americans to go <u>stop</u> being American and go talk to the people. you <u>really</u> have to try hard to just hang out—<u>not</u> hang out with Americans. because we have that room for <u>us</u>, and we have like—everyone conglomerates ((he meant congregates)) there like you like you go out at night, you're like you go out with a bunch of Americans… I was like I need to get back on track I need to start studying my grammar. and so I spent a lot of time—<u>extra</u> time outside of class, studying grammar, reading, uh I mean that's my <u>goal</u>. like that's what I want to do. I spent a ton <u>a ton</u> of time, studying French. (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003)

In the excerpt above Bill acknowledged that it was difficult to get away from other Americans, yet he knew that it was important for him to do so if he was going to achieve his goal of speaking French better. Bill felt that talking to "the people" (non-Americans) meant that he had "to go stop being American" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003). His American identity was wrapped up in the people with whom he was friends. Bill decided that separating from his American friends was something he had to do, and, over time, Bill came to understand that venturing outside his cohort did not mean he had to "stop being American."

Bill's positioning as a learner of French contributed to his identity as a learner of French. This identity allowed the host community to position him as a learner of French as well. He had one French marketing course in which he was the only American. He was therefore assigned to a group of French students with whom he was to work on semester-long projects. It was these students who became his circle of friends and his encouragement to learn more French and more about life in France. The members of his group helped him to learn more vocabulary and to formulate his thoughts. By being patient with Bill, they positioned him as a learner of French, and he appropriated that identity. Bill spent some time feeling linguistically incompetent, but his

group did not allow him to accept that subject position. They challenged him to explain what he was talking about, and they allowed him to formulate his thoughts and feelings, which permitted Bill to become a competent participant of their group and their class. Soon, Bill began to identify himself as a speaker of French. In his final interview, Bill explained their group dynamics in the following way:

> I'm sure meetings took longer because they'd sit there and they'd encourage me to well what do you think Bill? and … with each word … I'd look in my dictionary, and then they'd have to explain it to me in French a thousand times, well this is why you're wrong … this is a really good point what do you mean. they… took the time to allow me to try to be French, or to be a part of their group. (Bill, final interview, May 2003)

"To be French" meant to be a part of their group and to use French as a competent speaker. Although Bill was comfortable with his American identity, there was a part of him that wanted to "be French," and the way for him to do that was to speak French with the encouragement and permission of his project group. By working with this group, Bill was able to use French in a non-threatening way. He did not fear embarrassment because he knew that his group would treat him with respect. Bill was able to access linguistic networks and participate in this context.

Though he was comfortable with his group, Bill still felt that he was "annoying" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003) since he could not speak well. Because his group allowed him to take his time in formulating his thoughts, Bill felt that his French friends were exceptional. Conveying his thoughts took a long time, and Bill felt that this inability to be articulate in French would prevent him from participating in conversations and, as a result result, prevent him from creating social networks:

and I don't understand when like someone is talking to me. like répète ça s'il te plait. uh like truly it's—it could be really <u>annoying</u>, um so like I'm … <u>conscious</u> of that fact so … I know I <u>avoid</u> conversations, because I just don't wanna like put the person in an awkward position, or like be like ok I'm done like I I really don't have a good vocabulary to talk. (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003)

Bill felt that his finite amount of vocabulary would eventually run out, and he would no longer be able to converse. He chose to avoid deeper conversations with certain interlocutors because he was unable to express himself adequately:

but when I—but the fact that I can't <u>talk</u>, like I'm like hey **ça va? ça va bien?** oh … yeah I mean it's really <u>difficult</u> to go into a deeper conversation with someone, and I don't understand when like someone is talking to me. like **répète ça s'il te plait**. uh like truly it's—it could be really <u>annoying</u>, um so like I'm really sh—like uh like uh <u>conscious</u> of that fact so I tend to—I know I <u>avoid</u> conversations, because I just don't wanna like put the person in an awkward position, or like be like ok I'm done like I I really don't have a good vocabulary to talk.

However, Bill could not avoid conversations with his project group, nor would they allow him to. He *had* to speak to them in order to conduct their required course project. Consequently, it was with these people that Bill was allowed and encouraged to speak and develop social networks. They were the first French students with whom Bill established friendships. This first step proved to be an important one for him. Bill accessed a social network through which he was

able to participate more and continue to speak French. Over time, Bill developed relationships

with his group and their friends, and soon he was learning to be a competent user of French.

Subject Position #2: Protector of women

As Bill fostered these relationships with his new friends, he was asked to go out and

socialize with many different groups of French and international students. When Bill and his

friends went out to clubs and bars, many of the women whom Bill knew were approached by

French men. These men were forward with Bill's female friends, and he eventually positioned

himself as the protector of these women. In his mind, he felt that it was his job to protect his

women friends. This subject position was one with which Bill became quite comfortable, and it

was soon his public identity, particularly manifested at bars and clubs when he was with his

French and international friends. Bill was simply unable to understand culturally why these

French men would not take 'no' for an answer. We began discussing one particular situation

when Bill said, "I can't imagine what it must be like to be a <u>girl</u>. especially in France" (Bill,

midterm interview, March 2003). Bill explained what he meant by recounting one particular

incident in which his French women friends were accosted by French men despite the fact that

the women were not at all interested in these men, nor were they giving any kind of signal to

show interest. He was not aware that French women generally know how to handle these types

of situations. Therefore, Bill stepped in and tried to protect his women friends. He began this

discussion by saying, "It must be so hard to be a woman (in France)" (Bill, midterm interview,

March 2003). He explained that he had been out at a dance club with some French women

friends. Because their boyfriends were in a different area of the dance club, Bill took it upon

himself to take care of these women. One French man in particular bothered Bill when he (the

Frenchman) approached both of Bill's women friends and insisted on a dance, despite the fact

that the women had "made it clear" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003) that they were not

interested. The Frenchman came back, and Bill stepped in, danced with the man and told him in

French to "go away" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003). After a few minutes of trying in

French to convince the man to leave them alone, Bill reverted to English. At that moment Bill's

friend, José, who also happened to be one of the boyfriends, appeared and told Bill to relax:

> I started speaking English like go away…like if you got something to say then we can go
>
> outside…respect us. and he's like ok let's go. and then one of my friends…he came over
>
> …and he's like don't worry about it, like it's ok. just make sure you have a good
>
> time…I'm not angry, like I just wish he wouldn't do this. if he would just go away. I'm
>
> not angry or anything. I'm having a good time, such a good time…it makes me so
>
> angry…I just don't like French guys in that way…so as far as being a girl, like I kinda
>
> made it my role with the girls in the group, like I'm their protector. like I'm their brother,
>
> um and because I'm bigger ((than most French men)). (Bill, midterm interview, March
>
> 2003)

First, Bill offered to go outside with the man, presumably to fight, which showed a level of anger

on Bill's part (as well as some American machismo). Though he repeated that he was "not

angry," he then added that it makes him "so angry" that French men act in this manner. Instead

of taking the man outside, Bill funneled his anger into his role as protector, and that became one

his principal identities. Bill accepted this subject position because he was bigger, he felt, than

most French men, and because he believed that being a woman in France was hard (and, by

inference, perhaps, he believed that women in France needed his help). Though he attributed his

willingness to take on this subject position to his physical size, it was also because Bill had

ethical issues with this kind of behavior from men. To Bill, this behavior was sexual harassment.

As such, Bill felt that it was his duty to protect them as their "brother" (Bill, midterm interview,

March 2003). Most brothers would presumably protect their sisters from unwanted advances,

and taking on this subject position, and ultimately, this identity, was, according to Bill, his choice

and his duty.

This experience at the dance club was eye-opening for Bill. He was "shocked" that

women in France were put in situations like this on a regular basis (Bill, midterm interview,

March 2003). He said, "I don't see how girls <u>survive</u>…<u>especially</u> at like clubs…there's no holds

barred…<u>anything</u> goes. anything goes" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003). Because Bill was

shocked and annoyed by this cultural experience, he took it upon himself to make sure it would

not happen again to his women friends.

**Subject Position #3: A distant American and a focused, competent user and learner of
French:**

As the semester progressed, Bill remained close to his French and international friends,

and he continued to separate himself from his American friends, putting into action his plan to

"get back on track" (Bill, midterm interview, March 2003) with his French. He was positioned

by his French friends and colleagues as a learner and speaker of French. This subject positioning

permitted him to create this identity, as well as varied social networks in Dijon. Bill was

consistently invited to go out with his French friends. He positioned himself and was positioned

by others as a friend and protector, which allowed him to create more social networks. Later in

the semester, though, Bill positioned himself and was positioned in three different ways: a distant American,[53] a focused, competent user and learner of French.

Bill's primary goal while in France was to learn French, which he did successfully. To that end, Bill participated in different activities and embraced different attitudes in order to put himself in the path of French and French speakers. Bill noticed that the Americans were keeping to themselves. The American students on the Dijon program were given a small office which contained a television, computers and tables to use between classes. This room became a shelter for most of the American students. They tended to remain there at the Dijon university building during their free time, and they did not meet any other international or French students. The Americans were very closed off to non-American students, and Bill did not want to be a part of that type of mentality. He added:

> …so I just saw—immediately I thought …is what the international the French people perception of Americans are. and … I became in tune…with that…I was like in between internationals and…the Americans…I look back and I see oh they ((Americans)) really are kinda like clingy…I don't wanna seem that way…I did my best to sever ties….like I want nothing to do with them. (Bill, final interview, May 2003)

Therefore, after about two months in Dijon, Bill made the decision to separate himself completely from the Americans. Bill joined a club called Melting Potes,[54]an organization which teams up international students and French students, and began playing soccer and video games with some French students whom he met at the university. Although Bill and his American counterparts got along well, he made no effort to maintain relationships with them. As he moved

---

[53] By "distant," I mean that Bill attempted to distance himself from his American friends.
[54] "Un pote" means "buddy."

away from his American cohort, Bill moved towards his host family, their friends, and different organizations and groups at his university.

Bill felt lucky to be with a host family that included him in so many activities. Bill's host family was another way for Bill to access social networks and become familiar with different social practices. Most weekends his family invited friends over for dinner or drinks. Bill was always included in these events, and he was "brought into their personal life" (Bill, final interview, May 2003) and these host family friends engaged him in conversation as if he had been a friend for years, which astonished him. These social occasions with his host family and their friends opened up social as well as linguistic opportunities. While spending time with these people, Bill engaged in conversations about various topics and created social networks through which he could become a competent user of French. The conversations challenged Bill to become articulate about his own cultures as well as those of France. One topic about which he was challenged was the war. Different conversations with his host family and their friends helped Bill to understand that he was "blessed" (Bill, final interview, May 2003) to have been in France during the war because he was able to get different perspectives on it. Bill stated that he was "given … a different opinion of everything" (Bill, final interview, May 2003), and he appreciated these differences. He admitted, though, that at the beginning of his stay in France, he was "so caught up in it (the war)" (Bill, final interview, May 2003) that he was not able to enjoy France. Bill realized that he was so focused on the war effort that he began to waste his time in front of the computer. When he could have been out at a café interacting and engaging with people, Bill was instead inside doing research about the war. After a time, though, Bill decided that he no longer cared about the war effort. He admitted, "…I wasn't here in France to learn about what was going on in Iraq" (Bill, final interview, May 2003). For Bill, paying

attention to the war was limiting his perspective on his study abroad experience and on the world. He was so focused on Iraq that he isolated himself. However, Bill's new attitude of letting go of the war in Iraq allowed him to broaden his view and gave him time to learn about other things in France. With his family and their friends Bill also discussed local and international politics, as well as business, all of which Bill was able to talk about because he had an internship in Dijon.

At the beginning of his internship, Bill watched his colleagues closely and learned as much as he could from them. Bill and one of his colleagues, Patrick, a 33-year old man who had lived in Virginia and spoke English "pretty good" (Bill, Midterm interview, March 2003), talked together frequently. Eventually, Patrick and other colleagues at the paper soon began to talk with Bill about the war, politics, and business. This consistent engagement in linguistically challenging situations helped Bill become a more active participant in the workplace. As the semester progressed Bill came to understand some differences between American and French work environments. He took an active role in asking about business practices and, by doing that, he accessed resources and information about workplace-related social practices.

Bill was put in a context to learn the pragmatics of working in France because of his internship. For example, in France, when workers enter their workplace, it is culturally appropriate to say hello and shake hands with colleagues. This cultural requirement proved to be a challenge for Bill. Though he was certainly capable of saying hello to his colleagues, Bill wondered how he could become friends with his boss, something that is generally not done in France. Bill said:

…if I'm at work ya know I have to vous ((the formal address)) my boss and ya know

I—I can't talk about like more serious things like things that people do like I can't

really get to know him. like I don't really know where to go how can we start hanging

out. and whatnot. (Bill, final interview, May 2003)

Bill was looking to create a social relationship with his boss, not realizing that one does not

typically do that in France. At first he struggled to understand this cultural norm, but after

meeting his French colleagues in his course, Bill discovered why it was not as easy to get to

know his boss on a personal level. His French classmates explained to him that the French

generally do not become friends with their superiors at work. This cultural norm was one with

which Bill was not familiar. As time continued, Bill became more and more socialized in the

ways of French business culture.

By prioritizing his language learning, he was able to make friends and integrate himself

into the host community. Bill also had a good host family situation. They included him in social

outings with friends, and they engaged him in many different types of conversations. Through

his family, Bill was able to develop social networks in addition to the ones he had created at his

university. He made a concerted effort to separate from his American friends, which opened up

further social networks because Bill was not nested in and among his American cohort. He stood

alone, which made him more accessible to other speakers of French. At the end of his

experience, Bill said that he was not looking forward to going back to the United States.

These experiences and subject positions contributed to Bill's overall identity as a

successful language learner and social networker.

4.2.2.3. Access and agency

Bill positioned himself and was positioned by others as a competent user and learner of

French. This positioning seems to suggest that Bill began to understand culturally appropriate

behaviors and ways of speaking, among other things. Through his host family, his school friends

and his internship at *le Bien Public,* Bill was able to access different social practices and

networks, which helped him understand the different cultural and linguistic situations facing him.

Bill had access to "ongoing activity, old-timers and other members" in these social practices

(Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.101). Bill chose to seek out these social networks and practices unlike

many others in his program. He was able to start to make sense of the world around him because

he had access to more expert members of the community (his project group and Patrick from his

internship*)* to help him understand, for example, cultural differences (like why his internship

boss at would not socialize with him). Bill accessed people and information which helped him

figure out the world around him.

Bill experienced legitimate peripheral participation throughout his time in France. In

addition, Bill was conferred legitimacy by his project group and by his internship colleague,

Patrick. This conferral of legitimacy is important because, as Lave and Wenger (1991) write,

"…in shaping the relations of masters to apprentices, the issue of conferring legitimacy is more

important than the issue of providing teaching" (p.92). Moreover, the legitimate peripherality of

newcomers like Bill allows them to participate as a way of learning. That is, they engage in and

are engaged in a culture of practice, which newcomers can make their own when they are offered

"an extended period of legitimate peripherality" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.96). Though four

months may not necessarily be considered a "period of extended legitimate peripherality" (Lave

& Wenger, 1991, p. 96), Bill found and was offered this legitimate peripheral participation which

helped him to begin to see and understand how the host community functioned.

Bill was an agent in his own language learning. Though he spent some time at the

beginning of his experience speaking English, he soon started to seek out French speakers

through whom he could access social networks and knowledge about different social practices.

Bill also flouted cultural norms when, upon his arrival in one of his courses, he introduced

himself to complete strangers. Even though he knew that this was not done in France, Bill took a

chance, and this action was one way in which he accessed social networks.

4.2.2.4. Transformation of motives, goals and subject positions

Bill said that he was open to any kind of experience in France. One of his goals was to

work for an internationally-based company after graduation. Bill had gotten a job in Philadelphia

after graduation, but, in the fall of 2003, he contacted me about teaching English in France. He

wanted to work in Philadelphia for one year and then go to France to teach.

The subject positions which Bill negotiated throughout the semester show a

transformation from a learner of French to a friend and integral part of his host family to

someone who felt a true part of Dijonais culture and embraced it. Bill found and received access

to social networks and practices through different speakers of French. He was able to position

himself as a competent speaker of French, which promoted more access and more social network

creation. Bill's gender may have influenced his ability to access social networks.

Poststructuralist accounts of language learning consider how gender might impact

learners' access to that language learning. In Bill's case, his gender seemed to open doors for

him that may not have been opened to the other participants presented in the current study. In

other words, Bill viewed himself as an American man who, according to his perceptions of

French men, was physically bigger than French men. Thus, he was able to construct a subject

position and public identity as a gallant man, willing to save women who were being harassed by

men in dance clubs. Consequently, Bill became the man upon whom his women friends could

rely when they were, according to his perception of the situation, in need of defending. In his interviews, the few times that Bill spoke about his gender was when he constructed this heroic, gallant role for himself. Unlike Jada, Bill did not feel it necessary to "be French." Unlike Deirdre, who could not seem to accept what she perceived to be the role of French women in the world and, thus, withdrew all together, Bill knew he was not like French men—physically or emotionally—and he appeared to be proud of that. His perceived differences between him and French men did not make him withdraw or feel bad about himself. Rather, he embraced the differences and seemingly used them to his advantage.

4.2.2.6. Summary

In terms of language learning, Bill's study abroad sojourn can be considered a success, as demonstrated by his participation in his different communities of practice and by his test scores (see Appendix A). Bill began the experience using more English than he had wanted, so around the midterm, he decided to "get back on track" (Bill, midterm interview, May 2003) with learning French. As a result, he separated himself from his American cohort, and he became involved with an organization called *Melting Potes* and with French friends who played soccer and video games. Additionally, Bill began to spend more time with host family and engage with their friends. His internship was also a major source of access to social practices, as was his project group. His colleague, Patrick, and his project group gave Bill the access to social networks that he needed in order to learn more French.

4.2.3. Deirdre

4.2.3.1. Background

Deirdre is a native of Pennsylvania and, at the time of her experience abroad was a twenty year old junior in college majoring in information science. She began learning French in seventh grade, took four levels in high school and four semesters in college. The semester before her departure Deirdre was enrolled in a 300-level French civilization class and a 300-level French Literature classs Deirdre also learned Italian for three semesters in college.

When asked why she chose to learn French, Deirdre cited her grandmother, a former professional opera singer at the New York City Opera, whose songs, she believed, were written and sung in French. Thus, Deirdre started learning French in junior high, and she described the effort as follows: "you have to want to get to know it because most of the people that were doing it in high school wanted to go on with it" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Deirdre took five levels, through Advanced Placement French though she did not take the Advanced Placement test. As she got older Deirdre realized that it was indeed Italian her grandparents were speaking and that her grandmother was singing in the operas. She said, "so then I was like oh ok so I've been taking French all this time" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Deirdre took Italian because she knew she wanted to go abroad, and she thought learning Italian would allow her to speak with Italians:

K: so was one of the reasons you took Italian was to=

D: =yeah that was pretty much the other reason. and also because when I—I knew I wanted to go abroad, so I took Italian so I could be with (Italians) (xxxxx).

She enjoyed Italian because she was "sick of French" (Deirdre, predeparture interview,

November 2002). She had more fun with Italian.

Deirdre had the following to say about her experiences learning French in high school:

K: no? ok. um and how were your teachers?

D: they were <u>good</u>. (xxxx)

[…]

K: are there any special moments that you associate with learning French? either in the

        classroom or=

D: =uh:: I liked being able to watch <u>movies</u> in French. and <u>understanding</u> them a little bit. …

        I don't know, listening to music I guess, just different things that <u>normally</u> you wouldn't

        realize (what they meant to you) … I I don't know, just—I just like <u>knowing</u> the little

        things that some people don't know. like in crosswords whenever they have clues in

        French. (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002).

Since seventh grade Deirdre's goal was to study abroad.

um my mom did. <u>she</u> encouraged me to go abroad. a:::nd my brother also encouraged me.

basically, the <u>reason</u> that I kept on pursuing <u>French</u> was because I wanted to go abroad. I

wanted to go abroad ever since seventh grade. <u>and</u> they had like week long trips but I just

wanted to do it <u>more</u> than that, so that's basically the reason that I kept doing it. and my

brother went abroad so he was kind of encouraging me. (Deirdre, predeparture interview,

November 2002)

Deirdre stated that the entire experience of being in France would help her language

development. In her opinion, a person cannot learn a language fully while "<u>just</u> in a classroom.

you have to be there" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). She equated learning French in a classroom to learning English from the Oxford dictionary.

> oh I just think just the experience. I think you <u>can't</u> learn a language <u>fully</u> while you're <u>just</u> in a classroom. you have to be there. cuz we kinda learn like it's like if somebody learned English out of an <u>Oxford</u> dictionary. so I'm just hoping—I just wanna get out and talk. (Deirdre predeparture interview, November 2002)

To "get out and talk" meant going out in the world to meet people with whom she could speak French. Her desire to speak only French was one reason she did not choose Paris, since "<u>everywhere</u> in Paris speaks English [*sic*]" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Deirdre's assumption was that no one in Montpellier would speak English. So, going out into the Montpellier world would necessarily lead to encounters with speakers of French who would engage her in productive, educational discussions. Deirdre planned on "just getting out there" to talk to people (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002).

K: yeah yeah. and before when I asked you about what kinds of experiences do you think you need to have you said something about (just getting out there) what does that mean exactly?

D: uh I want to <u>travel</u> a lot, I wanna go pretty much <u>everywhere</u>. um::: I dunno, just to really expose myself to French.

K: um-hum.

D: cuz it's it's brand new.

K: yeah. and so for you it's not only learning <u>French</u> but it's also <u>Italian</u>.

D: yeah.

K: yeah.

D: yeah I want to get a lot better. (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Deirdre's idea of "just getting out there" was not really an attempt to get to know people in Montpellier, her classmates, and local business people. "[G]etting out there" meant traveling, meeting people in regions *other* than where she was going to live. Deirdre made it quite clear that she wanted to come back to the United States speaking French "better," which made her statement about traveling elsewhere all the more revealing (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Why did she frame traveling as the ideal way to learn more French? Deirdre claimed that she wanted to "expose" herself to French, yet she never gave a clear idea of what she meant by that. In addition to "just getting out there," Deirdre had courses with other French students (integrated courses) which she hoped would lead to productive discussions.

When asked about her images of France, Deirdre said that Paris would be "busy" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). She imagined the French countryside with its "green hills, and winding roads, or something and wine" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Clearly, Deirdre imagined a very stereotypical and somewhat romanticized notion of France with its wine, hillsides and winding roads.

Deirdre was most worried about becoming homesick. She was close to her family, and she had "a pretty serious boyfriend" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). When I pressed her further, she said:

D: […] but (hopefully it'll be fine). that's ((the boyfriend)) basically all I'm worried about.

K: and how long have you been together?

D: about 8 months almost.

(Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Though she was nervous about leaving her boyfriend, Deirdre still hoped to come away from her study abroad experience speaking French better.

D: <u>hopefully</u>, the main thing I want to get out of it, is being able to speak French better. because especially when you're at this level in college, at—of <u>French</u>. when you go into a classroom and there are people that have actually lived in France for like <u>five</u> years. and they just=

K: =here? really?

D: yeah. yeah. there are people in the classrooms that are awesome and to the other people we're all just sitting there like uh:: it's just—I don't know it kinda makes me feel a little bit too slow. so I'm <u>hoping</u> to just go over there and just kinda like make that last step. after I've learned <u>all</u> the <u>grammar</u> and <u>all</u> the like, little <u>details</u> stuff so I can just go over there and get better at it. (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Deirdre felt intimidated by the other students in her classes who had lived in France for periods of time, and, for her, speaking better was the last step in the language learning process. She felt that she had already learned "<u>all</u> the <u>grammar</u> and <u>all</u> the like, little details" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). Living in France would be the end point of her language learning exercise. Deirdre hoped that, after her study abroad experience, she would have gotten "better at it (French)" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002). However, getting better at it was not something that would impact Deirdre's career path because, to her, study abroad and speaking French would not be "a life-changing thing" (Deirdre, predeparture

interview, November 2002). It was "just an experience to have" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002).

In what follows, I discuss Deirdre's different subject positions which she negotiated throughout her study abroad experience, as noted in her journal and her interviews with me. Then, I consider the transformations of her goals, subject positions, and motives, as well as her participation in the host community.

4.2.3.2. Deirdre's positioning during study abroad

Deirdre's experience can be seen as somewhat lonely. Though she maintained a positive attitude for the first week of the experience, the remaining weeks were miserable for Deirdre. Slowly her motives for the study abroad experience changed. Deirdre went from wanting to create social networks by "just getting out there" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002) to wanting to survive the experience: after only four weeks in France, Deirdre began a countdown to the days she had left in Montpellier. Moreover, her goal to get out there and meet people was replaced by an entirely new goal: to avoid most interaction with other people. Deirdre made a conscious choice to limit her social interactions with her American colleagues, with other internationals and with speakers of French because she was only going to be in France for four months. In her opinion, there was no point in forming relationships during her stay in France. She stated, "I feel horribly guilty about counting down like this" (Deirdre, journal entry, March 1, 2003). Deirdre blamed her attitude not on her decision to limit her interactions with people, but on her relationship with her boyfriend. She maintained that, had she known him while going through the application process, she would not have applied at all. It was hard for Deirdre to be away from him, which contributed to her loneliness.

Deirdre's daily routine consisted of waking up, conducting her morning preparations alone, walking alone to class, leaving class alone, buying a sandwich at a panini shop, going to the study abroad office, writing emails and instant messages to her family and her boyfriend until 8 P.M., returning home alone, eating dinner alone, and going to bed. This cycle repeated almost every day of her life in France. Deirdre did not hide her homesick and negative feelings from her American colleagues. In fact, even if they did not know her name, most people knew her as the person who sat all day long in the study abroad office and wrote home to her boyfriend.[55] Her public identity, then, became that of a very miserable person who longed to go home to be with her family and her boyfriend.

The next section includes a discussion of Deirdre's subject positions, which perhaps affected her experiences in Montpellier. The most frequently occurring and prevalent subject positions that Deirdre experienced and wrote about to the midterm point are presented here.

Subject Position # 1: Survivor of the study abroad experience

Throughout the beginning portion of her journal, Deirdre positioned herself as a survivor of the study abroad experience. Deirdre's journals and interviews can be classified as a litany of complaints about terrifying moments in Montpellier. Though Deirdre remained somewhat positive during the first few weeks of the experience her thoughts soon turned to surviving the experience in Montpellier. Deirdre became homesick because "at this point, enough time has gone by to make me think that I'm (not) on vacation…"(Deirdre, journal entry, February 1, 2003). Of note here is that Deirdre specifically mentioned in her predeparture interview that she wanted an experience longer than and different from a vacation. Yet, as soon as her experience went beyond the time frame of a vacation, Deirdre became homesick.

---

[55] One of the program staff members told me how everyone knew of Deirdre.

the <u>reason</u> that I kept on pursuing <u>French</u> was because I wanted to go abroad. I wanted to

go abroad ever since seventh grade. <u>and</u> they had like week long trips but I just wanted to

do it <u>more</u> than that, so that's basically the reason that I kept doing it. (Deirdre,

predeparture interview, November, 2002)

She made it clear in her journal that her courses were going to give her the linguistic and

perhaps social fulfillment she needed. She added, "I don't really have anything to do yet because

we haven't started classes yet" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 1, 2003). Deirdre put all her

hopes for social engagement, not into the idea of forming relationships and social networks, but

into her courses. Instead of choosing to get involved on her own, she relied on others (teachers,

courses, and the study abroad program director). On February 8, 2003, Deirdre announced that

she was enjoying all but one of her classes. Six days later, on February 14, 2003, she announced

that she was "totally sick of classes" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 14, 2003). In particular,

her "awful grammar class" was "torture" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 14, 2003). She

strongly disliked the teacher, and she found the material to be irrelevant. Deirdre ended the entry

by writing, "I can just tell that this class is going to be a ball" (Deirdre, journal entry, February

14, 2003). Her sarcasm was evident. Her motives and goals were changing.

By March 25, 2003, the "halfway" (Deirdre, journal entry, March 25, 2003) mark,

Deirdre began her countdown to leaving France. She was convinced that, although she would

never regret the experience, she would never do it again. She wrote that she was ready for the

program to be over. "To be honest, I wouldn't mind at all if the program was one month long

rather than five" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 1, 2003). Deirdre went from wanting to get

out there and talk to hoping for the quickest program possible.

Eventually, Deirdre began to refer to the experience and being away from her boyfriend as "torture" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 14, 2003). It was at this point that Deirdre started to feel "in a rut" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 14, 2003). Time was moving very slowly for her, and with each instant message, email and telephone conversation with her boyfriend, Deirdre began to cry more and more frequently and for longer periods of time. In this same passage she reassured herself that she and her boyfriend "are not on a break or anything" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 14, 2003). It was, however, very difficult to be away from him. At this point it became clear that Deirdre was extremely lonely and unprepared for these feelings. At Mid-Atlantic University, Deirdre was with her friends, her family and, most importantly, her boyfriend, whereas in Montpellier, she was alone.

After this February 14, 2003 entry a litany of complaints followed about certain types of people in Montpellier. She experienced the attention of a man who ran his fingers through her ponytail and then made an inappropriate sexual gesture. Then, as Deirdre was eating at a local French cafeteria a man approached her to ask if he could use her fork, which she had already used. Though she told the man that she had already used it, he said that he would wash it. This exchange made Deirdre ill. Following that, as she was sitting at McDonald's, a "dirty, disheveled guy" asked to sit at her table, even though the restaurant was completely empty. "By this point," Deirdre wrote, "I was so fed up that I just said, 'Yes—I'm done'—and just walked away. It's extremely disturbing sometimes—creepy. Men here stare, smile rudely, and make comments and it really makes me nervous" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 16, 2003).

In a very honest revelation, Deirdre admitted once again, in very strong terms, that she was surprised at her negative reaction to the experience. She believed that this reaction was due to her relationship with her boyfriend.

I was sure that when I went abroad it would be such an amazing experience and I would

absolutely adore the change to be independent and on my own—like an adventure almost.

The main reason that I've had such a hard time—almost the only reason—was my

boyfriend. To get so heavily involved and in love with someone right before coming

abroad certainly wasn't a mistake or anything, but it's a lot harder when you have

someone like that to miss. We weren't together when I went through all of the

application processes, but if we had been I'm 80% sure that I would have stayed at home

this semester (Deirdre, journal entry, February 21, 2003).

Deirdre added that she noticed this same kind of behavior from other women on the program

who also had boyfriends. However, several of the women on the Montpellier and the Paris

Advancia programs had boyfriends, and few of them reacted like this.[56]

The rest of her journal entries from the beginning to the midterm can only be described as

a compilation of countdowns and complaints. Between the end of February and the beginning of

April, the midterm of this program, Deirdre acknowledged several times that she was feeling

more pessimistic than her program colleagues. She also stated several times that she was lonely

"mostly by my own fault" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 23, 2003) since she was "reluctant to

get to know anyone in the program too well because" she would never see them again after this

experience" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 23, 2003). Most of the social practices in which

she took part in French was service-oriented encounters which she interpreted as always "rude"

(Deirdre, journal entry, February 23, 2003). Deirdre complained about her encounters with

---

[56] I do not wish to invalidate Deirdre's feelings about her boyfriend. However, her reaction to missing him and to being in France was so severe that I tend to believe that this reaction had to do with issues other than—or in addition to—her boyfriend. I was familiar with many of the women to whom Deirdre referred in this passage, and I can say that Deirdre's severe reaction was unique.

"waiters, hotel-clerks [*sic*], sales-women [*sic*]" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 23, 2003) and about being alone, yet she never tried to become acquainted with anyone. She chose to remain isolated.

By the time March arrived, Deirdre was counting down the days to her boyfriend's visit later that month the days and to her departure. Though their visit "saved" her (Deiredre, journal entry, March 16, 2003), Deirdre became extremely depressed after he left. About his visit Deirdre wrote:

> I think that everyone who goes abroad should have at least one person come to visit
>
> them. It absolutely saved me—it was exactly what I needed. of course it's tough now
>
> though because his visit wasn't even halfway through the program, and after 8 days of
>
> having a constant companion, I'm very lonely. But it was also a huge relief. That was
>
> the last time that I had to say a goodbye. The next [*sic*] that I see him, I'll be home…I
>
> took a taxi for the first time here to get to the airport and I'm sure that I got ripped off
>
> (xxx) it's not like I could exactly argue my case. What am I supposed to do—defend
>
> myself with gestures? (Deirdre, journal entry, March 16, 2003).

Deirdre felt relief by having her boyfriend in France. She believed that his visit saved her. Yet, after he left, she became "very lonely" (Deirdre, journal entry, March 16, 2003). Though Deirdre said that her boyfriend's visit was a saving grace, it could be argued that it only contributed to her increasing loneliness and disdain for France, which is evidenced in her reaction to the taxi driver, cited above. Deirdre assumed that the taxi driver overcharged her. While one has to remain attentive to taxi drivers in France, it is generally not standard practice to

assume that one has been "ripped off." Deirdre's attitude at this point was extremely negative and unfortunate, to say the least.

Shortly thereafter, Deirdre explicitly stated in her March 18, 2003, entry that her goals had changed:

> I feel like, although I am getting some exposure to French through class and just witnessing it in public, I don't think I'll go home with what I was hoping to accomplish. I wanted to be fluent, not stuttering. I know that I could make myself learn it better— meet & hang out with some French people—not spend every moment of my free time communicating to people back home, etc. But it's difficult. I guess I don't really know what I was expecting when I came over here (Deirdre, journal entry, March 18, 2003).

Deirdre had hoped that "witnessing" French in public would help her improve. What she did not realize was that learning French and becoming a more active and competent user of French would entail meeting people in class or in social clubs. Deirdre stated in this same entry that she knew meeting French people would help, yet she admitted to not taking the initiative to do so. Therefore, her motives and goals transformed from wanting to get out there to speak to people to simply surviving the experience.

On March 25, 2003, Deirdre wrote, "Hooray, I'm halfway done. Not that I'm looking forward to waiting just as long as I already have—it took long enough to get here. But anyway, 60 days to go before I go home on May 24. I got my flight changed already." Deirdre had originally intended to go home on June 15. Once she discovered that her classes and exams would be done by the end of May, she changed her flight to go home early because her boyfriend

had asked her to go with him and his family to the beach in New Jersey, a vacation she did not want to miss.

The aforementioned experiences seemed to contribute to her shifting motives and goals. Instead of embracing study abroad and reaching her goal of "getting out there" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002) to talk to people, Deirdre became an unsatisfied consumer of study abroad. Throughout the journals and interviews, Deirdre took issue with not getting enough for her money. When she paid for outings with the program, Deirdre later seemed to want a full accounting of the items on which her money had been spent. If, in her view, she did not get what she paid for, Deirdre complained to other students and to me.

Subject Position # 2: Dissatisfied consumer of study abroad

Throughout her midterm interview, Deirdre complained about most everything that was going on in Montpellier. When asked directly how things were going, she gave a rather mixed answer:

D: pretty well, I'm <u>homesick</u>.

K: you're homesick?

D: yeah. that's my <u>only</u> problem here, like um … I don't know I just—it's kind of <u>made</u> me

more of a patriot to be here, I just really like <u>America</u> … beca::use, just things that I'm <u>so</u>

comfortable with, and just used to and things, that I just …like I wish I could go to a

supermarket and <u>know</u> … how many pounds per something, how many pounds per dollar

or dollars per pounds it was or <u>something</u> like that. I dunno. it's just kind of like like I

like living on my own, I think it's a good experience and everything, but it's just—I just

<u>miss</u> people so much. I dunno … I'm just—I was ready to go home after the first three

weeks … just because it just doesn't feel like I'm really studying here, not that I'm

complaining about that, but it just doesn't feel like—it felt like after a few weeks I should

have been done with a vacation, and it just felt like I dunno. (Deirdre, midterm interview,

March 2003)

Based on her previous journal entries, Deirdre's experience was not going "fine" at all. She was

feeling lost, alone and homesick. She had not created any social networks, and she was

completely dissatisfied with her classes. Deirdre's midterm interview was full of complaints:

She missed American food; the desserts in France were not sweet enough; she had no money

because she was not working and, thus, could not travel; her apartment was lonely; she should

have picked a host family; she missed her boyfriend; her French professors were unfriendly;

some of her classes were too hard, while others were too easy; her professors were often late; her

television only received six channels which were all in French (!); electricity cost too much; cell

phones turned out to be a necessity but she never purchased one; and she wished she could have

had a program assistant with her at all times. During her predeparture interview, Deirdre was

convinced that she would "get out there and talk" (Deirdre, predeparture interview, November

2002), yet when she arrived, her motives and goals shifted. She no longer viewed herself as a

language learner. Instead, she positioned herself as a survivor of the study abroad experience. In

her midterm interview, Deirdre positioned herself as an dissatisfied consumer of study abroad.

Though she said several times that she was "not miserable" (Deirdre, midterm interview, March

2003), her midterm interview told a different story.

K: so do you still feel like you're on vacation?

D: sometimes I do, because I only have classes three days a week. and so I have four day

        weekends every week, I just I dunno. I don't <u>travel</u> <u>that</u> much just because it's <u>so so</u>

        expensive. if you just do it every weekend, but … I mean I'm not <u>miserable</u> of course. it's

        so pretty here, but—and I miss <u>food</u>. I have a list of foods that I want when I get back.

        I've had the list since the first week I've been here.

K: really? like what what do you miss?

D: turkey <u>clubs</u> and donuts and they have little beignets here, I don't like the desserts here,

K: you don't?

D: they're not sweet enough, they have that like custard cream kind of stuff, kind of like real

        frosting,

K: ok. ok. huh.

        ((the waiter arrives to give us our drinks))

D: and things are definitely more expensive here, I think a <u>weird</u> thing is for me, that I'm so

        used to <u>having</u>—to being able to <u>work</u>, and like having money coming in, that I'm seeing

        coming in, and so it makes me feel more comfortable <u>spending</u> money, but now I just <u>all</u>

        I do is <u>spend</u> it. and there's <u>no</u> income at all. and so <u>every single</u> cent that I spend it's

        like…

Deirdre was certainly dissatisfied with parts of her new life in France. Traveling, one of her

main goals before her arrival was not possible because it was too expensive. Certain foods, like

turkey club sandwiches and donuts, were not available, and the desserts were not sweet enough.

Deirdre simply could not find the joy in anything, and she isolated herself from the Montpellier

community.

As the semester progressed, Deirdre's complaining took on a more candid tone. In the beginning of her journal Deirdre seemed to measure her words when complaining. Yet, the latter portions of her journal—either because of comfort or because of fatigue and loneliness—Deirdre wrote in much more unguarded manner. The change in the tone of her writing is notable. Her positioning as a consumer of study abroad became more visible.

Deirdre was comforted by the fact that the latter portion of the semester (from the midterm to the end of the semester) contained quite a few pre-planned activities offered by the Montpellier program. Deirdre confessed that "all of my weekends from here on out are scheduled with something that I'm doing through the program" (Deirdre, journal entry, April 2, 2003). Because Deirdre made few friends, she relied on the program activities and staff to keep her entertained and safe. She was comforted by the fact that she would be occupied for the rest of the semester. Despite her excitement about future trips planned by the program, Deirdre was disappointed with the trip to Barcelona, Spain. Deirdre complained in her journal that she did not get her money's worth.

> I thought the deal that they (the program coordinators) worked out, however, wasn't as good as it could have been. WE paid 130 euros each—55 of us, and the hostal [*sic*] was not very nice at all—14 people to a room. I'd imagine that for two nights in a place like that it couldn't have cost more than 30 euros per person, so that's 5,500 euros left. And I can't imagine that the bus would cost more than 500, so I'm just wondering where they spent the other 5,000. Just frustrating sometimes to not know where your money is going (Deirdre, journal entry, April 7, 2003).

Though the trip was planned for the benefit of the students, Deirdre found reasons to complain and to feel dissatisfied. Deirdre refused to entertain the idea that other costs might have been involved. Like her incident with the taxi cab driver after her boyfriend's visit, Deirdre assumed that someone took advantage of her. Deirdre rarely gave anyone the benefit of the doubt, and this attitude contributed to her feelings of doubt about people's intentions. Because she spent much of her time feeling alone, afraid and a bit lost, Deirdre was either unable or unwilling to ask for further explanations of each situation. She was quick to assume that people were out to do her harm.

In addition to complaining about her trip to Barcelona, Deirdre spent time complaining to the program director about her grammar class. She stated:

…one of my integrated classes is pretty tough and very hard to understand…many students have already voiced their complaints to the program director, and I plan to do the same…I don't know how much action will be taken…people kind of say, 'oh that's too bad' but don't do anything to fix a situation. (Deirdre, journal entry, April 9, 2003)

Deirdre's very consumer-oriented view of the experience contributed to her feelings of dissatisfaction. She expected other people to "fix" (Deirdre, journal entry, April 9, 2003) her problems and make things easier for her. Just over a week later, Deirdre wrote that she did not "know a single person" who wasn't frustrated with her grammar course (Deirdre, journal entry, April 18, 2003). She added that she had tried to talking to Catherine, the director of the program, "but she doesn't really offer solid answers" (Deirdre, journal entry, April 18, 2003). Deirdre was not getting enough for her money, and, because she felt she had the right to question the system and structures in place, she took out her feelings of dissatisfaction on the director.

Though Deirdre started the experience as a language learner and user, she ended up being a consumer of the study abroad experience. This perspective on study abroad framed the rest of her experience as an unsatisfactory time of her life, which she would never repeat again.

> As it gets closer to the end of the semester, I'm a little sorry to say that I don't think my French has improved as well as I wanted it to. I don't really know what I expected, but a little closer to fluent than I am…I just wish I was getting more out of this whole thing than just the experience. I really don't talk hardly any French---I probably speak less than most people here. (Deirdre, journal entry, May 9, 2003)

Deirdre did not seem to understand that she would have to make particular choices to create social networks which would hopefully lead to access to French and French speakers. In this section of her journal dated May 9, 2003, Deirdre was reflecting on the experience as a whole, and she felt like she did not get enough out of it. Up to this point in her journal, Deirdre took very little, if any, responsibility for her lack of development. Yet, as she was preparing to go home in two weeks, Deirdre acknowledged very candidly how the choices she had made and the activities from which she had withdrawn contributed to her lack of progress:

> It's really my own fault ((not speaking any French)), I know—I spent all of my time at the office communicating with people at home, now, going to the beach, reading English books, or going to class, which is mainly the only exposure that I get to the language. I can't be too mad about it or regretful or anything because I know that it's my own fault, and honestly, if I had to start all over again, I don't know how different it would be. (Deirdre, journal entry, May 9, 2003)

Deirdre was rather honest with herself, especially when she admitted that she was not sure if

things would have been different given a second chance. It was clear from reading this excerpt

that Deirdre was certain that these particular choices contributed to her lack of success.

In her last entry Deirdre felt very disappointed in her French, but she excused her

behavior and her treatment of the situation in the following way:

> Overall, I'm very disappointed in my French, and even though I know that I'm mostly to
>
> blame for that, I wouldn't have changed it. I was homesick and I had to deal with that
>
> like I did. I wasn't happy to go out and meet French people and practice speaking it…I
>
> wouldn't have been able to experience the actual part of living in France without the
>
> support of my family, so if the language took a second place to that, then that's just what
>
> happened. (Deirdre, journal entry, May 20, 2003)

The support Deirdre needed from her family seemed to obviate the need to go out and meet

French people. As if mutually exclusive, it was impossible for Deirdre to receive support from

her family and her boyfriend *and* create social networks through which she could receive support

and access to French and speakers of French. Because Deirdre's motives and goals shifted from

learning how to speak French better to surviving the experience, she felt as though she had

achieved those goals. She knew that she was supposed to learn more and better French, which is

perhaps why she spent so much time rationalizing her choices and her behavior during her last

journal entry.

Deirdre's complaints and criticisms of just about everything in Montpellier is one

possible reason for her isolation from other people in the community and in the program.

Deirdre decided that she would "deal with" her study abroad experience. In her final interview, she claimed that she was "done."

> I kinda knew before i came over here that I was done. there aren't any more classes that
> I'm looking forward to taking at ((my university)), so I'm not going to, um I kinda just
> considered this the final step. of learning French, and I'll take whatever I want from this,
> but I'm not really concerned about even keeping it up. (Deirdre, final interview, May
> 2003)

Deirdre made almost no friends while abroad, and she left the program about 10 days early.

4.2.3.3. Access and agency

Deirdre's was exposed to one social practice in particular which was her daily service-oriented encounters at the panini stand where she purchased her lunch. These encounters, however, hardly lead to consistent access to speakers of French, which left Deirdre alone to make sense of the world around her. She appeared scared and confused by everything, which she listed in her journals and interviews: service people were always "rude" (Deirdre, journal entry, February 23, 2003); she was always alone, yet she never created relationships with anyone and chose to live alone in an apartment; the food was not good enough—desserts were too sweet; everything was too expensive.

Deirdre was unable to create social networks and participated in few social practices which could have helped her to understand the host community in which she was living. It is perhaps because of this decision to avoid meeting people that she withdrew from France and from the study abroad experience. Deirdre's journals and interviews seem to suggest that she

never felt involved in the host community, nor did she gain a sense of identity as learner of French. That is, she positioned herself and she was positioned as a survivor of the experience and as an dissatisfied consumer of study abroad. In short, both positions contributed to her public identity as an outsider, which she felt and others observed. Consequently, Deirdre chose not to invest time in trying to gain access, nor did she intensify her effort when she realized making social connections was going to be harder than originally thought.

4.2.3.4. Transformation of motives, goals and subject positions

There was little transformation of her subject positions. Deirdre started out and remained aloof, distant and very consumer-oriented. She worried that she was not getting her money's worth, and, with each trip the study abroad program organized, Deirdre wondered how she was losing money. Moreover, she did not meet any people and spent most, if not all, of her time alone or at the study abroad office where she communicated for hours on end with her family and her boyfriend in the United States. Ultimately, Deidre lacked the desire to maintain her investment in learning French. She abandoned the study abroad endeavor all together and eventually focused on surviving the experience and on making sure she got her money's worth.

Deirdre's reaction to her study abroad experience may have to do with her personal history. But for a small trip to Quebec with her family, Deirdre had not traveled at all up to this point in her life. She was from a small town and had not spent a lot of time away from her family or her boyfriend. For Deirdre, the unwanted sexual attention she received from men in Montpellier appears to have caused her intense worry, which provoked a complete withdrawal from the world around her, thereby reducing or eliminating all together her opportunities for creating social networks. Deirdre perhaps had never been positioned as a sexual object, and,

consequently, she was not aware of how to handle such situations. Instead of telling off these offensive men, Deirdre withdrew from the study abroad experience.

4.2.3.6. Summary

Deirdre withdrew from the French language and culture and from meeting new people, French-speaking or otherwise. She had decided early on that there was little point in meeting new people since she was going to be in France for only a few months. Because Deirdre's participation in French culture revolved primarily around service encounters, it was difficult for her to access old-timers or resources needed for making sense of the world around her. Consequently, situations that were different from those with which Deirdre was familiar scared her or confused her, provoking her to withdraw more from practice and participation. Deidre seemed to have lacked the desire to do any sort of negotiation of access.

4.2.4. Jada

4.2.4.1. Background

Jada is a native of New Jersey and, at the time of her study abroad experience was a twenty-one year old junior. Jada began studying French in eighth grade and continued through high school and college. The semester before leaving for France, she was enrolled in a 300-level French civilization course, as well as a 300-level French literature course. While in Montpellier, Jada lived in a dormitory in an effort to form relationships.

Jada was encouraged by her two older brothers to excel in her studies. One brother was a star athlete "but he was smart," and the other brother was "the genius" (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002). They paved the way for her, and Jada wanted to be just like her big brothers. Her interest in French started with her old brother, Daniel, who loved French and started the French club in his high school. Although Jada was primarily interested in Spanish, she started taking French because of Daniel's French teacher who, at one of Daniel's French club events, suggested to Jada that she take French. Jada had been studying it ever since (eighth grade). Jada described this teacher as "the <u>most</u> amazing person" and most demanding teacher that she had ever had (predeparture interview, November 2002). She explained:

> (…) I had a rough time because she was very demanding she was very um she---she's very—she's not French but she's <u>very</u> French in in the sense that she expects a lot of you and she wants you to perform well and um I wasn't handling that very I well I was just like are you kidding me? (…) your not just gonna hand me an A? ya know (…) this is crazy. so I was <u>really</u> upset about the class and I wanted to drop it but uh she started to notice that I. wasn't doing well (…) and she talked to me and she said you can't give this

up you know this is something that you're good at. (Jada, predeparture interview,

November 2002)

When Jada wanted to drop the class, this teacher influenced her to remain in the class. Jada

enjoyed the class so much that she chose to take the Advanced Placement course during her

senior year in high school. In that Advanced Placement course there were only seven other girls

who became her very close friends. Jada added that she had a "very positive French experience

in high school" (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002). She said that it was during high

school that French became a big part of her life.

When Jada arrived at her university her initial experiences learning French were also

positive. Jada had one incident with a professor who saw that Jada had talent and pushed her to

do better. This situation involved some criticism which Jada was not used to, and because of the

criticism, Jada's confidence decreased, and she stopped speaking in class. Jada was disappointed

with that class, but she continued taking French. During her sophomore year in college, Jada

decided to study abroad because her sister-in-law, who had studied in Germany, told Jada that

studying abroad was the greatest experience of her life.

Part of the study abroad experience was deciding where to live. Jada had three choices: a

dorm, an apartment with other international students or a home stay. She chose a dorm through a

process of elimination. She said:

Jada: =so it's – it's a really tough decision=my sister-in-law um said do not stay with a

family … she did not think knowing me that I'd be um um I'd be good in that

situation = I think the main reason that I chose dorm was because I didn't want

the other ones [not so much that I wanted that one … because I'm not an

independent liver which it says you <u>should</u> be living in a dorm and I'm very social

I like people I like being around people… which would make you think I'd want a

family but at the same time my family is very special in that um it was my two

brothers and I •hhhh• it was a very autonomous household it was no curfew no—

no one's ever been grounded no one's ever been told to do anything really … we

just (2.0) we always did <u>well</u> … but we just never had ta—ya know so I don't=

KF: =follow rules=

Jada: =EXACTLY and I don't think that I'd be able to handle someone <u>else</u> telling me

things and =

Additionally the host families could live up to 45 minutes away from the city, and that distance

did not appeal to Jada. The apartment was not an option for her because it was very expensive,

so the only choice left was the dorm. It proved to be an experience that helped influence and

shape some of the other experiences she had in France. Jada had a positive attitude about living

in the French dorm:

I don't know I—I—I don't really feel like I was—I feel like we don't really much about

the options so it's kind of a surprise no matter what you get and I figured (.) I'm going to

another country and everything's gonna be different anyway. I'm gonna make the best no

matter what situation I'm in (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002).

Jada chose to view study abroad and living in the dorms as one big surprise, and, because

of that, she felt she would not be disappointed. Though Jada was not expecting anything in

particular in order to avoid disappointment, she was a bit apprehensive about how the French

perceived Americans and vice versa. She heard people talk negatively about France and the

French:

> =yeah I think my my biggest thing going in to this whole going abroad is that um a lot of
>
> people have negative things that they've said about France ya-ya know I've heard very
>
> few positive things about France oh French people are this oh French people are that but
>
> I think it's more so that Americans are that way… we expect them((the French)) to be the
>
> same way ya know, we expect them to be hos—like hospitable and welcoming when
>
> we're not? ya know so we just expect other people to bow down to us and I don't think
>
> that's the case and I think that when people go over there they expect it to be
>
> Disneyworld or something and that everyone's gonna be there to accommodate them
>
> (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Jada intended to speak French in France, because "they don't have to speak your language"

(Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002). Jada was sensitive to the French perspective

that it can be annoying to have American guests who assume that the French will speak English

to them.

Jada spoke about what it meant to her to do the opposite of what she felt Americans

typically do (speak English; expect France to be like the United States, etc). She offered some

insights into what it means to live in another country and how she might live in France:

J: (…) and I've told people that um the only way to enjoy this place is if you feel like

        you're a French person living in France=I don't want to be an American living in France.

        I want to be French=I want to part of their culture I know I'm gonna have a lot of trouble

with the <u>food</u> because I'm very picky but everything—I wanna be French. ya know? I don't wanna be spotted as that American girl=

(…)

K: (…) how do you conceptualize doing that?...

J: =well I think first you just have to desensitize yourself from the idea of being American ya know = I mean, I'm used to my jeans I'm used to my s(omething) I'm used to my baseball cap I'm used to all of these American things that I'm – I'm a psychology major first and foremost and I'm very interested in social psychology and I <u>watch</u> people I'm very in tune with oth-other people's actions so I think that's gonna be great for me like I can just picture myself sitting in the middle of the street just like watching people walk by and like seeing everything that they do because I know that <u>everything</u> is different you know their body gestures are different the way the say um is different… (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002)

For Jada, the differences between some Americans and some French people comprised superficial behaviors: not wearing jeans or baseball caps, eating food with the left hand rather than the more American way of switching hands after cutting food, and making animal noises differently.

Additionally, Jada felt that she had to limit her social interactions with Americans. On the other hand she had not considered how she would meet French people. Because she spent quite a bit of time reading the orientation materials, Jada realized that meeting French people was going to be very difficult and different for her. She noted that Americans tended to be fake in their initial encounters with people, while the French, she felt, were not. Because Jada was often perceived as fake by people in the States (she often says "I'll call you" as a way of saying

goodbye), she was worried about offending people. To avoid being offensive, Jada planned on being her "French self," which she explained in the following way:

 (…) and now they're [the orientation documents] talking about ya know these relationships where if you say you—you're gonna call and you <u>don't</u> then they're never gonna speak to you again (…) it's very—it's very nerve wracking cuz I don't <u>know</u> how I'm gonna make French friends I don't know if I'm gonna mess it up or uh (…) I just have to go over and I'm gonna <u>be</u> myself but at the same time I'm gonna be my French self so I have to make alterations to my personality (…) so as much as I'm bubbly I think I could tone it <u>down</u> a little bit and just wait until I've developed a friendship with someone and <u>then</u> let them know who I am. (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002)

Jada was also worried and nervous because she was "not a very independent person" (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002). Jada was apprehensive about doing things on her own because she had never had to: Jada's roommates in college tended to take care of the bill paying; she had never used public transportation; and she did not drink and was concerned about alcohol and its role in French culture.

Jada hoped that her time in France would give her some direction and perhaps help her figure out what to do with her life. However, she described herself as a "chameleon" who could change for any situation (Jada, predeparture interview, November 2002). Jada was convinced that as far as living in France and her future career were concerned she would learn to adapt and change to the situations. Jada was a very open-minded individual, who was concerned about making a good impression and having a good time.

In what follows, a brief, very general picture of Jada's experience in Montpellier is provided. Then, I will examine the interview transcripts and journals from each stage of the study to show how the notions of identity and subject positioning, as well as access to different social practices affected her experiences.

4.2.4.2. Jada's positioning during study abroad

Jada left for France on January 15, 2003, with a few students on the program. Because the university dormitories were closed when they arrived, Jada stayed at a local hotel with other program students for the first week. It was during this time that Jada got to know many of the other Montpellier program participants. After her week at the hotel, Jada moved to her dorm room near the university.

In the following section, an analysis of how Jada portrayed herself in her journals and interviews is presented in an effort to uncover how these self-representations affected her experiences in Montpellier. Jada wrote in her journal almost every day and thus accumulated over 350 pages. On the days she did not write, Jada later recapped her adventures in subsequent entries. The most frequently occurring and prevalent identities and subject positions that Jada wrote and spoke about are presented here. The selection process was subjective. My goal is to present and analyze one possible interpretation of Jada's own narration of her experience. Like Deirdre, in certain parts of her journal, Jada wrote directly to me.[57] She knew someone (or several people) would read her journals, which may have led to these particular interpretations of her life.

Jada presented herself in different ways. At times, she positioned herself as a member of her American and English cohort of friends or as a sexual object. At other times, Jada positioned

---

[57] In certain entries, Jada wrote, "This is for you, Kathleen."

herself as an independent American woman who could not (or would not) accept a certain subject position.

Subject Position # 1: Member of the English-speaking group

Jada presented herself on a daily basis as a member of a group of English-speaking study abroad students whom she had met either before leaving her university, en route to France or upon arrival in Montpellier. The group was comprised of about 8 to 10 students, primarily from the United States and the United Kingdom. Throughout most of her journals pages, Jada used the first person plural when speaking of any activity in which she participated. From the very beginning of the experience until the end, Jada spent much of her free time with this group (in addition to her French-speaking friends).

Jada's first journal entry on January 24, 2003, indicated that she met some of her fellow Montpellier study abroad students before she left Mid-Atlantic University. When she arrived at the airport in New York, Jada recognized several students with whom she would be traveling. Jada wrote, "Then, I checked into my gate and found Claire, then Jason, then some random girl, Brenda. I sat next to Jason and Claire sat behind us" (Jada, journal entry, January 24, 2003). Once they arrived in Paris, the group connected with several other program friends and went to Montpellier together. After they had arrived in Montpellier and had dropped their bags off at their hotel, the group of eight Americans went out to experience Montpellier and its nightclubs. Jada remained close to most of these students throughout her stay in France.

Right from the beginning of the experience, these students learned to lean on each other. Jada spent a bit of time examining some of the relationships and dynamics within the group in an effort to find her place within it. Claire and Brenda developed a strong bond shortly after their

arrival in Montpellier. According to her journals, Jada had been feeling very close to Claire, and this "new" bond between Claire and Brenda made Jada feel left out. The experience of feeling on the outside of the Claire-Brenda dyad provoked much reflection, examination, and anguish. She wrote:

> Claire and Brenda have become like the best of friends so now Claire pays little to no attention to me unless it benefits her in some way. I've felt so left out. She waits for Brenda to go everywhere and the other day I had to ask Catherine a quick question and asked everyone to wait. I came back out and saw everyone walking downstairs. I yelled, 'Thanks for waiting, guys.' […] Maybe I am looking into this too much, but my feelings of being left out are real, regardless (Jada, journal entry, January 29, 2003).

Jada explained that Claire's behavior had been like that for a few days, and, although Jada acknowledged feeling "petty" for being upset about this incident, she spent a considerable amount of time discussing it, which leads one to conclude that it was a significant event in her life. Jada added, at the end of this entry, "I just want to fit in and have friends" (Jada, journal entry, January 29, 2003). Jada's relationship with Claire continued along the same lines for a few weeks until they had a couple of small fights about the state of their friendship. After these incidents, Jada focused her energies on meeting other people in the program. She formed what she considered to be solid friendships with them. Jada succeeded in nurturing relationships with other Americans like Kristen, Laura, Carrie and Fred to whom she felt more connected.

Though these examples about the development of Jada's English-speaking cohort and its dynamics are short, they do permit a certain perspective about the group. When Jada felt as though individuals in the group were not helping her to adjust to France or to feel good about

herself, Jada became an agent for change. She decided to find other friends in the group. Once

Jada started spending time with Jess, Laura, Kristen, and Carrie, Claire was rarely mentioned.

Her new group enjoyed the Montpellier nightclub scene and went out as often as

possible. Jada's evenings with her friends followed a consistent pattern: the group gathered at

someone's apartment for dinner and drinks around 8 P.M; then, after a couple of hours, they

went out to a pub in the city and then, later, proceeded to nightclubs, since the women in the

group loved to dance. Jada generally returned home at around 4 or 5 in the morning. Often

during these evenings out, Jada met men from all over the world.

During her third week in Montpellier Jada wrote about a young man from Russia who

played a role in her life for a few months.[58] Jada went to a pub near the Comédie,[59] where she

met Vlad, a Russian friend of a friend. Jada wrote:

> … I told him that when I get over my 'I hate men' phase, I'm going to marry a bilingual
>
> man so that my children can speak 2 languages. He said he speaks 5. I told him we
>
> could skip dating and just get married, but he has to teach me the 3 others or else the kids
>
> will never know them. (Jada, journal entry, February 5, 2003)

The fact that someone in her group knew Vlad helped Jada to be a bit more relaxed with him

than she normally would have been. It permitted her a space for talking about herself, her

family, and her ideas about men and relationships, among other things. Jada knew that she was

safe because her friends were with her, and they would not allow her to get into trouble or be put

in any danger.

---

[58] Vlad and Jada spent time together until about mid-March.
[59] The Comédie area (often referred to as "la Comédie) is a large square in the center of Montpellier and is comprised of a theatre, a fountain, several cafés, and a main tram stop. It is a popular meeting place.

The following night the group went out again and saw Vlad with his friends. Jada was accompanied by Carrie, Jason, and Sarah. Eventually, most of Jada's friends left the bar, while she remained to dance with Vlad, during which time they kissed. On the tram ride home with Claire Jada found out that Vlad had tried to date several other women in the year-long program. This news left Jada disappointed but not surprised. In fact, she wrote, "Figures" (Jada, journal entry, February 6, 2003).

Several weeks later on St. Patrick's Day, Jada went to the beach with a friend to collect seashells. While there, they met an American university student, Nick, who was backpacking through Europe alone. They stayed at the beach for a few hours to take pictures with him and later returned to Montpellier with Nick to play cards at Kristen and Laura's apartment and to have some cocktails. After cards, they went to Fitzpatrick's to celebrate St. Patrick's Day, and soon moved on to a dance club, where Jada and Meg danced with some men until the early morning hours.

These examples of the group's typical evenings show how Jada and her friends spent most of their time together in Montpellier. Though it could be said that having a group of only English-speaking people could be a negative thing, Jada rarely allowed me to see it that way. Jada seemed to feel confident with her friends, which allowed her to pursue friendships and social networks with speakers of French whom she met while out in the city. This opportunity to meet speakers of French gave her the chance to become socialized with the French language. Had Jada not had this circle of American friends, she might have chosen to stay in her dorm room, thereby passing up opportunities to experience the local French culture. Jada presented herself as part of this group, and, as her encounter with Vlad demonstrates, being part of the group was not Jada's only subject position.

Subject Position # 2: A sexual object

During her predeparture interview, Jada presented herself as someone who was not interested in dating or having a boyfriend, either in France or in the United States. However, upon her arrival, Jada noticed the attention she was getting while out on the town with her friends. Soon enough, Jada wanted to spend time with Vlad and pursue a relationship with him. Though Jada wrote and spoke as if she were not concerned with men or a relationship, she continued to pay a lot of attention to Vlad, possibly because of the women in her group who encouraged her to pursue Vlad. In her journal entries, Jada gave the impression that it was her girlfriends who suggested she be forward with certain men. She wrote that it was because of Carrie's words ("Go for it!") that she decided to kiss Vlad. For a woman who had previously seemed indifferent to dating, this was an interesting move to make. Jada had encouragement from her friends which made pursuing Vlad easier. Jada had previously mentioned that she did things only when her friends approved. The situation with Vlad, then, seemed to be in line with Jada's need for approval from friends. Moreover, Jada made it clear very early on that she wanted to fit in with her new friends. This was one way that she was able to do that. She had conflicted feelings—she did not want to need a man, but she also enjoyed and wanted the attention. So, Jada continued to go out, meet men, speak with them in French, and be socialized into their discourse. Jada was learning to become an adult speaker of French.[60]

A few weeks later Jada was out dancing with her friend Kristen at a local dance club. At the end of the evening, a new acquaintance of theirs, Thomas, and a few of his friends asked Jada and Kristen to go back to Thomas's apartment with them. They did, until 5 A.M. Once again, Jada presented herself as a sexual object. She wrote:

---

[60] Jada stated from time to time that she felt like a child when she spoke French. These social occasions provided her the opportunity to learn to speak French like an adult French person.

However, these guys are BOTH trying to get w/us and by that I mean, to them, it doesn't

seem to matter who gets whom. However, François seems to be favoring me as Thomas

is favoring Kristen. I ward this guy off from kissing me for about a good, solid hour.

I've said everything possible to tell him <u>NO</u>! Even ask him what his definition of the

word is. I totally felt bad, but honestly! He then talked about how he's lonely & said

[*sic*] since he broke up w/his long-term ex […] I shouldn't have kissed him. But I did.

(Jada, journal entry, March 20, 2003)

Jada quickly justified her actions by saying that François complimented her eyes, and his

compliment sounded "most genuine of all" the compliments she had received that night.

Additionally, Jada suggested that she would not have kissed François had it not been for

Kristen's behavior. "[…] we went home. At Kristen's I yelled at her. I told her that if I hadn't

seen her kissing Thomas I never would [*sic*] kissed François. Oh well, c'est la vie" (Jada,

journal entry, March 20, 2003). Jada's desire to fit in permitted her to act in a manner to which

she was not accustomed. Like her situation with Vlad, Jada was seemingly not interested in

meeting a man at all and definitely not that particular night. However, because of her friend's

implicit suggestion to kiss someone, Jada presented her behavior as justified. Though her

behavior was not unusual for students studying in France, it did not necessarily connect with her

identity as a woman not interested in men.[61] Because many of her girlfriends framed the activity

of studying abroad as an opportunity to go out, enjoy the nightlife, drink and meet French men,

they tended to be more open to the advances of men. It appeared as though it was important for

---

[61] Comments made about study abroad students' behavior are made based on observations while in the different
cities in France and on entries in the various student journals which contain information about which students are
'hooking up' with which.

Jada to fit in with her group, particularly the women. This "openness" was one reason why she got involved with a few men while she was there.

In this final example of Jada's positioning as a sexual object she was alone. She went out with her friend, Hakim, whom she had met in the dorm. Jada had known him for about a week when he stopped by her room to ask her out for dinner. They went to Jada's favorite pizza place and then continued on to a dance club. Jada and Hakim danced together, and, after a few minutes, he kissed her. Though she was not a fan of kissing in public, Jada allowed it to happen since it "seems to be socially acceptable here in Europe" (Jada, journal entry, March 25, 2003). After that kiss, Jada and Hakim left and walked back to the dorms, where they "hung out" (Jada, journal entry, March 25, 2003) together.[62] Jada was comfortable with Hakim in her room; she was comfortable with his kisses, but she drew the line at anything more. She wrote:

> I was fine just kissing him, but he kept trying to put his hands elsewhere. He tells me to 'Envlève les [*sic*] pantalons.' I'm thinking, 'Are you honestly KIDDING me?' I won't let your hands anywhere near me, but sure, why not take off my pants to make it even harder for me to keep your hands to themselves! Oy vey! Men! But, I can't blame anyone but myself for picking winners! (Jada, journal entry, March 25, 2003)

Though Jada seemed to frame this as a negative experience, she admitted that it was not too awful. She wrote, "I had a good night. I must be on drugs" (Jada, journal entry, March 25, 2003). Moreover, she continued to see Hakim for several more weeks and quite often. Jada enjoyed Hakim's company. He helped Jada with her homework, gave her short vocabulary lessons, showed her around town, and introduced her to his friends. Jada said that she was

---

[62] Jada used this expression "to hang out" in several different contexts. Based on the journal entry in which it was found, in this context, it means "to chat, to spend time together."

comfortable with him almost immediately, though she did not know why. Because of this comfort level, Jada allowed Hakim into her world. They went out a lot together, and they spent the night together several times.

Jada's position as a sexual object is significant because it influenced her social networking and with whom she spoke French. Though Jada spoke no French with her American cohort, once she was away from them (even if it was just a few feet away from them at a nightclub) and with Hakim, she did speak French. When Jada was out at bars and clubs with her English-speaking group, she found the courage to speak to other French-speaking people. In these situations, because she was socializing with people her own age, Jada began to learn how to be a competent speaker of French.

Jada focused much of our midterm discussion on what she thought to be differences between American and French women. Hakim and his friends instructed Jada on what they believed to be the role of women (and how women should look).

Subject Position # 3: The Fat American

Throughout the semester Jada questioned and wondered about her role in French society. She noted that French women typically dressed differently and looked different from her (primarily "skinny") (Jada, midterm interview, March 2003). Jada believed that French women dressed for their men, while American women did not. She felt bombarded with images of skinny French women, and while she was outside with friends, she observed how French women exhibited their sexuality through their dress ("tight clothes"), among other things.[63] The clothing choices were salient for Jada, and after just a few outings to a favorite lunch spot, she began referring to herself and her friends as "fatty Americans" (Jada, journal entry, March 20, 2003).

---

[63] Jada noted that French women walked differently, but in this discussion she focused on their clothes.

She also had several discussions with Hakim and his male friends, Ahmad and Fateen, all of whom were very honest with her about their views on women in general and American women in particular:

> (…) and um they're just like well you have to be thin. I'm like ok so is it more important to have a woman who is thin and beautiful than intelligent? and they said yes. like flat out. it's not like a guy in the States who would be like oh not but it's the <u>attraction</u> at first. and like make an excuse. (Jada, journal entry, March 20, 2003)

Jada's interpretation of her friends' opinions encouraged her to believe that women were decorations on the cake. Women were supposed to look good, make a nice home, be thin and pretty and be dressed in tight clothing to show off their thin bodies. Additionally, Jada's interpretation of the conversation led her to believe that intellect was not important to men. When the discussion began, Jada expected her French and Francophone male interlocutors to react and interact as an American man would--by making excuses. The conversation continued:

> […] and I'm like I know that I'm fat here, it's ok, and they're like yeah you are. and I'm like wow thank you for <u>cushioning</u> that a little bit for me.(…) and um they're just like well you have to be thin. I'm like ok so is it more important to have a woman who is thin and beautiful than intelligent? and they said yes. like flat out. it's not like a guy in the States who would be like oh not but it's the <u>attraction</u> at first. and like make an excuse. they're like yeah it's important. it's more important. like why do you need to be intelligent? I'm gonna work, you're gonna stay at home and look pretty. I'm like—I'm like ok I understand my American-ness. right now. because I'm gonna <u>respond</u> to that. […] oh. cuz they were like we see these movies and all these American women are so

beautiful but they come here and they're fat and ugly, […] they were like introduce me to your friends but <u>only</u> the pretty ones. I was like what? like they have <u>no</u> qualms about saying stuff like that. […] I'm not really skinny like the French girls. and they're like nope not at all. a little bit on the chubby side. and I'm like don't hold back now. (Jada, midterm interview, March 2003)

She started the discussion with a self-deprecating comment ("I know I'm fat here"), assuming they would disagree. However, they agreed with her and went further to say that, in their opinions, it is required of women to be thin. Her reaction to this commentary left her more in touch with her "American-ness," which, for Jada was responding to what they said and telling why they were wrong. Her male friends, however, seemed unable to remove themselves from their culture. These notions were too ingrained. Their honesty with Jada was not necessarily meant as an insult to her personally. Rather, it was a commentary about their personal expectations about women and, in particular, American women, about whom they had certain assumptions because of Hollywood and the movies. However, in their experiences, the Hollywood American woman and the actual American woman were completely different. Their confusion with the idea of *the American woman* was perhaps taken out on Jada. This discussion with Hakim and his friends left her feeling insecure and more attentive to her weight.

Because of these discussions and what she observed in her daily life, Jada's identity as a "fat American" became relevant to her. Her discussions with Hakim, Ahmad and Fateen made her believe that she was not physically or emotionally similar to French women. She referred to this difference as her "American-ness" (Jada, midterm interview, March 2003) which to Jada, meant that she was intellectually and emotionally strong and that she would not accommodate men. Jada would respond to her male counterparts, whereas a French woman, in her opinion,

might not. Jada would not allow herself to be influenced by men and their desires. She added, "I understand my American-ness. right now. because I'm gonna <u>respond</u> to that. whereas a French woman might not. and I'm gonna tell you how <u>wrong</u> I think that is. whereas a French woman might not"(Jada, midterm interview, March 2003).

Jada seemed to feel that she would never understand Hakim and his friends. Jada and Hakim continued to see each other for the next few weeks, until Jada went on spring break for two weeks. After that break, she rarely saw him. Additionally, after that break, Jada wrote very little in her journal. According to Jada, this gap in writing was due to the beautiful spring weather and spending time at the beach.

In this final part of her experience in France, Jada spent most of her time with a new French friend, Sophie, whom she met through an American friend on her program. Sophie was someone from whom Jada learned a great deal. The women spoke French together all the time, except when Sophie was drinking and would try speaking English. Though Jada and Hakim remained friendly, they did not see each other regularly during this period. Jada stated during the final interview that, after she came back from her spring break in Greece and Italy, she spent most of her days at the beach with her girlfriends, and that left little time for Hakim. Because she did not write much in her journals after spring break, it is not known if Jada continued to go out dancing on a regular basis as she had done previously. To recall, it was through these excursions to local dance clubs that Jada met many of her French interlocutors, thereby creating social networks, which is why her continuation, or not, of the activity is relevant here.

Several new subject positions emerged through the journals and the final interview. Since identity and positioning as seen through the lens of poststructuralism are dynamic and ever-changing, it follows, then, that Jada would experience new identities on a regular basis.

Two of Jada's subject positions will be discussed: A friend to Sophie and an unwilling friend (and sexual object) to Malik.

Subject Position # 4: A friend to Sophie

On April 2, 2003, Jada and Sophie were introduced to one another through their mutual friend, Bradley. Even though Sophie was dating Bradley, she and Jada became inseparable from the moment they met. Sophie, who spoke only French with Jada, included Jada in most of her daily and nightly activities, and Jada tried to do the same for Sophie. Jada remarked that, even though Bradley and Sophie were together romantically, Sophie preferred calling Jada to go out.

J: (…) but it's it's funny cuz like even though they're kind together like she calls me and stuff like she just passed her driver's license test so she wants me to come out tonight, and she wanted me to meet her little brother and her mom so we went to the zoo together like <u>without</u> them

K: so you met her through Bradley and then you guys=

J: =but now

K: like developed a relationship.

        (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

Jada believed that the relationship developed quickly because she made so many attempts to include Sophie in her group of friends. Jada had always had a hard time meeting new people and joining new groups of friends, so she wanted to make Sophie's transition to their group as easy as possible. That Jada took Sophie under her wing meant a lot to Sophie, which is why she felt particularly close to Jada.

yeah and it's nice because there's been-there's so many of us girls but like i'm the one that she always calls because when she came into the group she was like i was so afraid people wouldn't like me and i'm as much as i'm a very shy timid person like when i meet her friends (…) it's it's just really fun hanging out with her cuz she's not at all a shy person but um but because i'm usually the shy person when i—i'm not shy amongst my friends, or people i'm comfortable with but when i'm the new one going into the group, so i make a conscious effort when like there's a new person to be ya know their friend. so she was like you're so sweet thank you so much. (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

Jada and Sophie became very close, and they ended up introducing each other to some of their family members. Jada became friends with Sophie's friends, and Jada introduced her friends to Sophie. Jada felt that, with Sophie, she was "always meeting new people" (Jada, final interview, May 2003). In fact, they were often mistaken for sisters:

like but they're like oh yeah you're from America, and and like people think we're sisters sometimes so she's like oh yeah this is my sister from New Jersey and i'm like ok like she actually made me talk to some guy one night i was like Sophie come on you need to stop with this cuz she was like i didn't know anymore English (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

By spending time with Sophie, Jada was able to improve her French. She became very accustomed to Sophie's way of speaking, which helped her become more confident with other speakers of French. Her friendship with Sophie offered her many different contexts in which to speak French. For example, Jada had never spoken French with a young child before. When

Sophie's mother and younger brother came to visit the two women, Jada learned how to communicate with younger children. It was only upon seeing Sophie's younger brother that Jada realized she had not been socialized in the language of children. Sophie's brother was an opportunity for this type of socialization:

> um but I've been able to understand a lot more I actually I hung out with um Sophie's mom came from Corsica with her little brother last weekend and like it was my chance to like talk to a little like French kid, ya know, and I was like oh you're so cute and it's so— it's so weird like how do you speak to a little French kid I don't do that ya know what I mean? (…) but um he was so cute I was like tickling him and stuff and he was like what's your name and I was like Jada and he's like arrête arrête what's your name Jada arrête arrête Jada and I was like oh you're precious so like that's that's been something new for me too talking to little kids. um but I think I definitely like um the fact that I'm learning kind of casual speaking and stuff like when I go home I wanna be able to not just say things like hi how are you I like my hat on my head ya know like dumb stuff. (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

This passage shows that Jada was becoming more socialized into different ways of speaking French. It was more satisfying for her to talk with a child than it was to utter sentences that she had apparently been taught in her classes in the United States ("…I like my hat on my head"). Sophie and Jada maintained their friendship even after Jada left France. Sophie visited Jada and Bradley in May 2004 in the United States. Jada and Sophie are in regular contact to this day via telephone and email.

Subject Position # 5: An unwilling friend (and sexual object) to Malik :

Jada's friendship with Malik is important to this study because it demonstrates how Jada learned to reject her positioning as a sexual object. With Hakim, Jada tended to manifest her independence from him in her journal and in private conversations with me. With Malik, Jada manifested her independence directly to him in conversations and in cell phone text messages. This capacity to reject Malik and her positioning with such firmness could be because of the time she had spent with Sophie, who taught Jada how to function in the world in analogous situations. Jada's reaction to some of the advances and attentions of particular male suitors at this point in the semester was quite different from her reactions just after her arrival in France. As she became more and more socialized into the culture of France and male-female relationships, Jada was able to negotiate—linguistically and physically—her way in and out of these situations.

Jada met Malik, a young man from the Ivory Coast at the end of March. Jada and her friends were at a dance club when she noticed Malik who, according to Jada was a really good dancer. She danced with him, and he then invited her and her friends to a party at his friend's place. Jada was surprised at how much Malik seemed to like her. In fact, that first night, Malik took her photo with his cell phone, and then used it as the wallpaper on his cell phone display. She wrote, "So, basically, everytime [*sic*] this kid used his phone, he'd see himself w/this chick he barely knows. Whatever floats your boat, I guess" (Jada, journal entry, March 28, 2003). She was not as smitten with him as she was with Vlad or Hakim. However, she seemed to enjoy spending time and dancing with Malik, and this interest seemed to be the basis of their friendship.

On Friday April 4, 2003, Jada and the rest of the study abroad program group went to Barcelona for the weekend. On Sunday April 6, Jada awoke to a text message from Malik that

said, "Tu me manques!" (*I miss you*!). Jada's only comment in her journal was "Weird" (journal

entry, April 6, 2003). This reaction was unusual coming from Jada because she was normally

quite receptive to the attention of her male and female friends because she wanted to fit in, and

she wanted her friends to like her.

> A few days later Jada saw Malik at their favorite dance club. Of the evening she wrote:
> "We went out to (xxxx) and Malik was there. Is it that you don't notice how much
> people touch you or do they really only touch you in places that hurt on purpose!?! B/c
> ALL night Malik kept grabbing my ears. Who grabs ears?! Honestly!" (Jada, journal
> entry, April 10, 2003).

From her journal it is not clear if she said something to him immediately about how annoying

she felt he was. However, in her previous journal entries about her male suitors, she rarely ever

spoke ill of them or criticized their behavior. This was a first for Jada. She tried to distance

herself from Malik and talking about him in such a way was one way to do that.

> Soon after the experience mentioned above, Jada went out to dinner and dancing with

Malik. She had a horrible night with him because she was frustrated with her French.

Additionally Malik critiqued some of Jada's behaviors which upset her. She wrote:

> …he told me how to hold my fork when using my knife. How rude is that, telling
> someone how to eat? Honestly, I've gotten by the last 20 years on my own, thanks…He
> asked if I was mad at him or upset and instead of being a typical girl, batting my
> eyelashes and coyishly turning my head away, I stared him in the eyes and said, 'Yes!'
> (Jada, journal entry, April 16, 2003).

This seems to be an attempt to establish boundaries. In that moment with Malik, Jada defined herself as someone who would not take a man's criticism. Not only did Jada find it rude, she thought that Malik was insinuating that she was not capable of eating on her own, and that she needed help and instructions as would "a typical girl" (Jada, journal entry, April 16, 2003). Because she spent much time throughout each of the interviews and in her journals differentiating herself from French women, one wonders if she was not acting like a "typical (French) girl" or a "typical (American) girl" or just a "typical girl," treading on the stereotype that women are more emotional, more sexual (batting one's eyelashes) and more sensitive than men. Since, according to Jada, a woman would bat her eyelashes and "coyishly" (Jada, journal entry, April 16, 2003) turn her head, then an implicit suggestion is that a man would have spoken the truth to Malik, which was what Jada did. She chose her position in that moment-- a woman who would not be pushed around.

As their evening wore on, Malik became sad because Jada was leaving the next day for two weeks in Italy and Greece. Malik said repeatedly how much he would miss her. Jada wrote the following:

> He got all sad waiting at the tram stop saying how much he'd miss me in the 2 weeks that I'd be gone. Dear Lord, suck it up! The kid barely knows me. Despite all of this, he continues to reject the 3 bisous b/c 'if it's not on the lips, I don't want it.' Well, if he's going to bite off his nose to spite his face…Anyway, so yeah. No kisses for him (Jada, journal entry, April 16, 2003).

The way Jada wrote about Malik was quite different from the way she wrote about Vlad and Hakim. She had perhaps been socialized with Sophie's help to interact and react in a stronger

way to men and their advances. Jada chose to present herself in a much more dominant way. When asked if this was the last time, to Jada's recollection, that she saw Malik. She wrote:

> You know what? To tell you the truth, I don't remember. I remember getting really annoyed during that 'date' but I do also recall talking to him afterwards. I do believe that any other contact I've had with him was via telephone and we never got to meet back up. I think he was going somewhere for a while for his birthday (like to visit his mom in Toulouse or his Dad in Africa or something), and then I was going off with Mom or the Bills [her friends] or something. So, I don't think that we ever saw much of each other again. Sad. (Jada, personal communication, August 24, 2004)

Jada's situation with Malik tends to show that Jada learned quickly how to defend herself from unwanted sexual advances. At one point during a visit to an Internet café, a young man suggested he could tutor Jada in French. She responded curtly, saying, "Je parle très très bien, merci" (Jada, final interview, May 2003). Because Jada was often placed into the position of sexual object, she became quite adept at fending off these advances when she wanted. In her journals she wrote that "no" was her most common retort to men. At a certain point, though, Jada did learn to use culturally appropriate and gender-specific actions when women do not want the attention of a man: talking on the phone, reading, window shopping, etc. For some women this unwanted sexual attention is enough to cause them intense worry such that they withdraw completely from the study abroad experience, thereby reducing or eliminating all together their social networks (see Deirdre's case study). Jada simply found other ways to cope with the advances, allowing her to nurture social networks with speakers of French and with her own group of friends.

4.2.4.3. Access and agency

One way that Jada gained access to some social networks was by using her sexuality. Though she was often positioned as a sexual object, Jada also chose to put herself in situations where her sexuality was on display because she seemed to think that this sexuality would help her earn the interest of different French-speaking men, thereby creating access to social networks. In the beginning of her stay, Jada met Vlad, a Russian student of French who spoke French with her at a dance club where she was dancing with friends. A few weeks later she met Hakim, a French-speaking man of North African descent. Hakim and Jada spent a lot of time together and, for a time, were dating one another. Hakim introduced Jada to his friends, all of whom told Jada what they believed a French woman should be. Even though she was somewhat put off upon hearing their opinions, Jada soon seemed to use Hakim's instructions ("dress in tight clothes and prance around for men," Jada, midterm interview, March 2003) to form her own image of what a woman in France should be. She then used this image as a strategy to meet and attract the attention of French-speaking men. Shortly thereafter, Jada met a French woman, Sophie, through her American friend, Bradley. Sophie offered Jada access to ways of refining her strategy of attracting men. Thus, when Jada was later confronted with a man (Malik) with whom she only wanted friendship, she was able to express that preference to him. Malik refused this offer of friendship, and Jada, instead of getting upset or feeling rejected, never spoke to him again.

4.2.4.4. Transformation of motives, goals and subject positions

During her predeparture interview Jada stated that her only goals were to change and "become French" (predeparture interview, November 2002). She wanted to take advantage of

France, to travel and to become more independent and more comfortable with herself. With the exception of traveling a lot, Jada felt that she had accomplished her goals. She was nervous to return home because she did not want to revert to her old ways like allowing her ex-boyfriend, Paul, to push her around and dictate her feelings and her accomplishments. Jada knew that she had changed, and when Paul confronted her on the phone, saying that she had not changed, Jada became very angry. She told him that he was wrong. This reaction to Paul is something Jada would not have had prior to studying abroad:

> um I mean just for instance like there was a guy that I was <u>kind</u> of dating back home,(…) no um it's just that like I was talking to him last night (…) we got into a talk or whatever one night, and he was like oh well you haven't changed. and I was like—I fr—I flipped I was like you know what. <u>maybe</u> a couple of months ago if you told me that would have put me down <u>a lot</u> and I woulda been <u>sad,</u> but that's the <u>one</u> thing that has changed about me, like I <u>know</u> that I've gotten something from this and I <u>know</u> that I have changed and whether you believe it or not like that's not for you to believe I was like that's for me and you can't take that away from me now ya know like and I was <u>really</u> proud of myself for that. (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

Jada felt a sense of pride for being able to tell Paul that he was wrong and that he could not put her down. For her, an insinuation that she had not changed at all was a put down. Jada knew that their relationship would have to be different from that point forward.

Jada also felt that she was able to read her moods better. She was able to understand when she needed to be with people and away from people. Being alone gave Jada time to reflect

on her life, which she loved doing with her journal in hand. Being with her friends allowed her to have fun and not worry about her mother back home:[64]

> so um I—I've done a little bit of like growing up I guess from living on my own and stuff and I have that ability to ya know hang out with my friends when I want to, but I also have my free time when I need it. so <u>now</u> I think I know ... not that ... I guess I know when I need to be away from people (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

Jada felt that her goal of growing up and living on her own had been attained.

Her other goal was to become French. She did not want "to be an American living in France" (Jada, final interview, May 2003). She wanted to "try and be French" (Jada, final interview, May 2003). Soon after her arrival Jada realized that would be very difficult to do. Thus, she had to modify and transform that particular goal:

> um I wanted ... my goal was the one I think I told you about at the beginning I didn't want to be an American living in France, I wanted to be—I wanted to try and be <u>French</u> but like I realized that was <u>really</u> difficult to do. um so instead of being a French girl living in France. I was an American who accepted the French culture I think. and which is—I'm really proud of myself for it. (Jada, final interview, May 22, 2003)

Though it could have been disappointing to Jada, she instead chose to look at this transformation of goals in a positive light. Because she decided to "accept the French culture," (Jada, final interview, May 2003) Jada felt that she was able to integrate into France a lot better than some of

---

[64] Jada's stepfather, to whom she was very close, died unexpectedly in early February 2003. She was very worried about her mother.

the other students. Jada understood that life is different in France, and because she accepted

these differences, Jada enjoyed her experience and gained much from it.

> if there's one thing that I can say that I think I have above other people is the fact that
>
> I've integrated into the culture <u>a lot</u> better than a lot of people have ya know (…) or like
>
> people take forever at the ya know the cash register and I'm like we're in France I'm like
>
> they'll stop and leave you in line to go have a cigarette and come back ya know what I
>
> mean like you just gotta get used to it you know and I think I've integrated into that a lot
>
> better (…) (Jada, final interview, May 22, 2003)

Jada once again stated that she did not know what to expect in France, so it was hard for her to

set goals before she left the United States. However, once Jada arrived in France, she felt it was

important to create some goals like following through on things, traveling to Greece and Italy,

learning how to continue on with an activity even when it was not going well, staying busy and

avoiding boredom. Jada made decisions about how she wanted the semester to go, and she did

her best to make that happen. She felt a sense of pride:

> (…) but when I got here there were certain things that I really wanted to do um and then
>
> there's a lot of things that I wanted to do that I didn't like traveling you know what I
>
> mean so but um I think I've accomplished a lot nonetheless (…) and I was I was <u>really</u>
>
> proud of myself because that that's a big thing in my family we have a tendency to not
>
> follow through we make big plans and stuff ya know (…) that was my goal I think I think
>
> I wanted I wanted to follow through that's a big thing for me. like I wanted to go to
>
> Greece and I got to Greece I wanted to see Italy I saw Italy. um a lot of time I would turn
>
> things down in my life, just because it's easier to be like oh no I don't feel like doing that

but like I was like no let's do this like when we were gonna um continue on in Italy after

May 1st I—Kristen was just like do you just wanna go home I was like no let's keep

going ya know we were so tired we actually had to go home because like the hostels were

all booked. but (xx) but like I was proud of myself that I said no let's keep going and (…)

I hope that I take that home with me that motivation to do things that I don't just sit on

my butt like I think about how there's so much stuff to do here and it's harder to do stuff

at home (…) but I hope that I go home and never say I'm bored. like I wanna find stuff to

do like I've found here. and um so like those are the little goals that I've I've really have

liked that I—I've seen change in myself that I really want to take back with me like my

motivation to do stuff. (Jada, final interview, May 2003)

Though things did not always go as she wanted (her relationship with Paul, the death of her

stepfather, having to leave Italy early because the hostels were full), Jada found ways to keep

herself occupied. She learned more about herself and was able to help herself when she was in

unfortunate and sad situations (when her stepfather died, Jada found out that she could not be

alone, so she stayed with friends). As Jada got to know herself better she felt a certain power

that helped her be strong when it came to men and their advances. Jada learned to be blunt with

men, and this bluntness came across in her dealings with Malik.

Over time, Jada began to reject her positioning as a sexual object in certain

circumstances. Her friendship with Malik demonstrated this rejection. In the beginning of her

experience, Jada allowed men to position her as a sexual object. Vlad, Thomas and Hakim

positioned her as such, but when Malik arrived in her life, Jada seemed to reject this position.

She asserted her independence from men and her identity as an American woman (which to Jada

meant strong). Jada did not allow Malik to tell her what to do, which was demonstrated when he tried to tell Jada how to hold her fork and knife.

In her predeparture interview Jada stated that she had had no expectations for the study abroad experience. She had been taught to enter all situations with an open mind. Therefore, it seems, Jada was surprised by very little in her new life in France. She seemed to accept Hakim's instructions and perceptions about what makes a French woman, and she tried her best to perform that perceived "French woman" identity. It is perhaps because of her open mind that Jada accepted what she needed to do in order to access speakers of French. Whereas Deirdre rejected what she perceived to be the role of women in France, Jada accepted it and embraced it. Like Deirdre, Jada had only traveled to Canada.

4.2.4.6. Summary

Though Jada spent the first few weeks of her experience with English-speaking friends, she soon found ways to access different French-speaking social networks. One way in which Jada accessed these networks was through her sexuality. Jada noticed very early on in her experience that French women seemed to get a lot of attention from men. She realized that she could use this to her advantage when she was out at the local dance clubs with her friends. Jada met many men in this way. Additionally, Jada noticed that keeping her dorm room door open and sitting alone was an easy way to access French-speaking men, who were often intrigued by her. She met her friend, Hakim, as she was sitting at a table in the yard behind her dorm. Hakim became one of Jada's closest friends and, for a while, her boyfriend. He showed her what he believed French men expected from their women (women need to "prance around in tight clothes"), and, though Jada initially put up a fight about those expectations, she began to use this

information to her advantage. While out dancing or in bars, she began to use her sexuality to meet more men, leading to more social networks and more participation therein.

Jada also spent a lot of time with her French friend, Sophie, whom she met through an American on her study abroad program. Sophie and Jada became close friends, and Sophie showed Jada how to refine her strategies for meeting men. Jada's access to Sophie and Hakim helped her to take part in legitimate peripheral participation. Jada's sojourn in France relates very closely to what Polanyi (1995) found in her study: that women who have experiences like Jada's might develop linguistic strategies and capabilities that are not documented in official assessments like the OPI or the TFI.

Each student presented here had a unique experience and made progress in different ways in terms of language development. Presented below are the language data for each student.

4.3. The Language Data

The language data presented below is meant only to provide support for the experiences recounted by all of the students in their interviews and journals. Results from the Test de Français International data, the TU/VOUS test data (from the Language Awareness test), the colloquial words test data (from the Language Awareness test), and the logbook data will be considered. The test results for the participants can be found in Appendix A. The logbook data can be found in Appendix B.

4.3.1. The Test de Français International (TFI) scores

The scores for the TFI were calculated by subtracting the predeparture score from the postexperience score. For example, Benjamin's predeparture Listening (L) score of 385 points

was subtracted from his postexperience Listening (L) score of 430, showing an increase of 45 points in Listening. The same method is used for each skill (L= listening; R = reading) and each students.

Benjamin

Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
385	430	345	370	730	800	45	25	70	Basic working proficiency

Benjamin made a 70 point increase in his TFI scores.[65] Benjamin spent at least half of his experience in the company of his American cohort, which could be one reason for these modest gains.[66] Benjamin's listening increased by 45 points while he made a 25 point gain in reading. His larger gain in listening may be a result of listening and note-taking in class, as well as listening to his family at dinner. Benjamin's smaller gains in reading could be attributed to his limited reading in French while in Paris. He admitted to reading French for only about 10 minutes on the metro each morning.

Bill

Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
150	235	165	270	315	505	85	105	190	Intermediate

Bill's gains on the TFI were dramatic. He had a 190 point gain, going from "Elementary" (315 points) to the "Intermediate" level. His listening score improved by a

---

[65] Of the 24 students tested during the predeparture phase, only 4 had "Advanced Working Proficiency" (according to Test de Français International-Test of English for International Communication guidelines). Benjamin was one of the four.

[66] I am not suggesting causality, which is why I state that this reason is one possibility.

dramatic 85 points, going form 150 (pre) to 235 (post), and his reading score went from 165

(pre) to 270 (post). One possible explanation for Bill's impressive gains is that he developed

awareness in academic language, which is consistent with his stories of his classroom and

internship success.

Deirdre

Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
255	315	290	270	545	585	60	-20	40	Intermediate

Deirdre's TFI total score indicates a 40-point gain overall. More specifically, her

listening comprehension score rose from 255 (predeparture) to 315 (postexperience). Her rise in

listening comprehension could be a result of listening and taking notes in courses. Deirdre's

reading score dropped from 290 to 270, resulting in a 20-point decline. Of note is the fact that

Deirdre owned no French books, and she never bought French newspapers or magazines. Her

apartment was, however, replete with English language books.

Jada

Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
290	325	285	305	575	630	35	20	55	Basic working proficiency

Jada's predeparture TFI score was 575 which was the "Intermediate" level. Her

postexperience total was 630, the "Basic working proficiency" level. Her 55 point gain was

composed of a 35 point gain in listening and 20 point gain in reading. Jada's TFI scores show

improvement in her academic language.

4.3.2. The TU/VOUS Data

Benjamin

This section of the Language Awareness test (Appendix C) tested students' awareness of the two different address forms, *tu* and *vous*, by presenting students with six different situations in which they would need to choose between *tu* or *vous*. His postexperience rationale for situation #1 of the TU/VOUS Language Awareness test is based on his observations ("it's the impression that I get from most young people here") while his predeparture rationale appears to come directly from a textbook (when all else fails use *vous* with strangers). In France, Benjamin often ate lunch at the school cafeteria where, from time to time, he would greet French students whom he recognized from the school hallways. Though these conversations rarely went beyond basic greetings, Benjamin did seem to acquaint himself with the appropriate form *tu*. These TU/VOUS results suggest that his experiences may have helped his language development in this particular area of language awareness.

In his TU/VOUS role play data, Benjamin modified his predeparture answer during his postexperience role play, saying that, when requesting to see a girlfriend, he would use *tu* not *vous* as he had said before departure to France. Like the first situation in the TU/VOUS section of the Language Awareness test, this setting demonstrated peer to peer talk, and Benjamin seems to have observed that, in peer to peer talk, *tu* is the more common form of address.

Bill

Bill's TU/VOUS data from the Language Awareness test show a development in address form awareness. Though there is only one response (situation # 1) that changed from pre- to postexperience, Bill's rationale for each choice of form of address appears to be based on

personal experiences and observations while abroad. For example, in situation # 1, Bill's predeparture response, *vous*, is justified by a textbook caveat: with most strangers your age or older, use *vous* just to be safe. Bill's response ("don't know him/her, *tu* is definitely for good friends or family") reflects this caveat. However, in the postexperience interview, Bill stated emphatically that *tu* should be used because the person is "my age." Bill's rationales suggest that he had observed and heard these situations and was, perhaps, faced with situations similar to these.

In his TU/VOUS data from the role plays, Bill's predeparture responses seemed to be, once again, based on the caveat 'when in doubt use *vous*.' With a girlfriend, he chose *vous* and with a French professor he chose *vous*, then switched to *tu* and then went back to *vous*. In his postexperience role plays, Bill used culturally appropriate address forms for a girlfriend (*tu*) and for a French professor (*vous*). These results are in concert with Bill's stories about his French women friends and his French boss at his internship.

Deirdre

Deirdre's responses for the address forms in each situation did not change between her predeparture and her postexperience tests. In a few situations, however, her rationales evolved and became more nuanced accounts of how *tu* or *vous* should be chosen. For example, in situation # 3b (addressing the bakery owner's daughter), Deirdre's pre-experience rationale for her choice of *tu* was "my age." In her postexperience interview, Deirdre's rationale for her choice of *vous* was that their business relationship supercedes their age similarities, thereby requiring *vous*, which was most culturally appropriate in a business relationship.

In her role plays, Deirdre mixed her answers at both stages of the study. In her predeparture and postexperience formal and informal roles plays, Deirdre started with *tu* and then changed mid-sentence to *vous*. These results indicate some awareness on Deirdre's part, but it seems that her investment in French began to wane, which may have affected her development. Also, when Deirdre was forced to speak French in the role plays, she mixed up *tu* and *vous* which seems to suggest that she did not engage in many French discussions since even ordinary daily exchanges requires *tu* or *vous*.

Jada

In only two of the 6 situations in the TU/VOUS portion of the Language Awareness test did Jada's answers change. In the first situation, Jada's predeparture answer was *tu*. During the postexperience portion, she stated that she would follow her interlocutor's lead or use *tu* if she and her interlocutor had interacted before. Jada would use *vous* if she was not sure which form to use or if they had not previously interacted. This postexperience rationale, upon first glance, seemed to be a bit more nuanced in terms of social appropriateness in that she understood that it depended on the context in which one finds oneself. However, after further examination, it also seems that her response had more to do with a textbook answer (when you are not sure, use *vous*).

Jada's TU/VOUS role play data indicate some changes. In her predeparture 'formal request' role play, Jada used *tu* and then quickly changed to *vous*. This change seemed to suggest an awareness of TU/VOUS address form. In her postexperience data, Jada was consistent in her choice of *tu* and *vous* for each situation.

4.3.3. The colloquial words data[67]

For the colloquial words test, participants were asked three questions about each word: 1) Do you know the word?; 2) Can you translate the word; and 3) Would you use it? The third question, a hypothetical one, was intended to elicit participants' knowledge of the register of the word (i.e., 'putain' is vulgar, whereas 'flic' is informal, but not vulgar). Scores were then tabulated by adding up the "yes" and "no" responses in each predeparture and postexperience column (see Appendix A) and comparing the differences.

Benjamin

For each of the three questions, Benjamin had gains of at least ten. For example, in the predeparture phase Benjamin knew 7 of the 25 words, while postexperience, he knew 22 of the 25 words, resulting in a gain of fifteen. In the second category (can you translate the word?), Benjamin went from responding "yes" to 7 of the 25 words to responding "yes" to 19 of the 25 words, showing a gain of twelve. In the third category (would you use this word?), Benjamin said "yes" to 7 of the 25 words while in his posttest he said "yes" to 17 of the 25 words, a gain of ten. These gains in his colloquial word test suggest exposure to various forms of language, from academic to everyday language. These results are consistent with Benjamin's use of the television to improve his French since he was not interacting enough, he felt, with speakers of French (other than his host family).

Bill

Bill's gains in the colloquial word portion of the Language Awareness test suggest access to these forms of language through the social networks he created: his French-speaking friends,

---

[67] Please see Table 3-2 on page 76 for a list of the words.

his co-workers, his teammates, and his videogame friends, among others. In response to each of

the three questions asked, Bill had gains of at least fourteen. His predeparture results showed

that he knew 4 of the 25 words, while his postexperience showed a jump to 19 out of 25,

indicating a 15-word gain. His predeparture results showed that he was able to translate 3 of the

25 words, and his postexperience data showed that he was able to translate 17 of the 25, resulting

in a 14-word gain. Bill was able to use only 1 of the 25 words in his predeparture, and he was

able to use 15 of the 25 in his postexperience testing, showing a 14-word gain.

Deirdre

Deirdre's gains in the colloquial words portion of the test were rather modest. In

response to each of the three questions asked during the test, Deirdre made gains of a maximum

of six words. During the predeparture phase of the test, she knew 3 of the 25, while during the

postexperience phase she knew 9 of the 25, resulting in a 6-word gain. During the predeparture

phase, she was able to translate 2 of the 25 words. The postexperience results indicate that

Deirdre was able to translate 8 of the 25 words, resulting in a 6-word gain. The predeparture

results show that she was able to use 2 of the 25 words, while her postexperience results indicate

that she was able to use 5 of the 25, resulting in a 3-word gain.

Jada

In response to each of the three questions asked during this test, there is improvement by

at least seven words. During the predeparture phase, Jada knew 9 of the 25 words, while during

the postexperience phase, she knew 18 of the 25 words, resulting in a 9-word gain. Jada was

able to translate 7 of the 25 words before her departure, and in the postexperience phase, she was

able to translate 14 of the 25 words, demonstrating a gain of seven words. In her predeparture test, Jada said that she would use 7 of the 25 words, and during the postexperience phase, she said she would use 14 of the 25 words, resulting in a gain of seven words. Jada's results seem to show an improvement in awareness of everyday language.

4.3.4. The logbook data

Benjamin

Benjamin's logbook indicates a steady increase in his interaction with French. His primary community of practice was his host family. He spent quite a bit of time talking with his host brother in the afternoon and talking with his host family during dinner three to four times per week. During his 2nd week, Benjamin spent about 30.25 hours interacting with his host family or different media in French, and 57.5 hours speaking English. During his 8th week he spent 45 hours interacting with his host family or different media in French, and this rise is due to an increase in the amount of television he watched. In his 2nd week, he watched almost no television, while in the eighth week he spent 15 hours in front of the television. Benjamin recounted in his journals and interviews that after the first few weeks in France he felt that he was not speaking or hearing enough French. Thus, he began to use the television as a tool through which he could engage in social practices with French.

In his 16th week, Benjamin interacted in French for 44.25 hours, a slight decrease from his eighth week. Between the 8th and 16th weeks it appears as though Benjamin continued his ritual of watching television in the afternoons and evenings, before and after classes.

Bill

Though he was not very conscientious or detailed when keeping his logbook (most likely because he was so busy with his life in Dijon), he did write enough so that we were able to piece together what happened during the weeks he spent in France. Consequently, some of the hours noted here are approximations.

During the 2nd week, Bill spent about 39.25 hours speaking or interacting in French and 55.5 hours speaking or interacting in English. Most of his time spent in French centered on dinners with his host family, his classes, and his internship interview which lasted two hours. During this time, his host family was his major community of practice, and they seemed to engage him in discussions on a regular basis. Bill recounted that he and his host mother spent most mornings speaking in French together, catching up on the overnight news. He also spent a considerable amount of time reading French.

During the 8th week, Bill spent 38.5 hours interacting in French, a slight decrease from his second week. However, his English use dropped by about 20 hours, going from 55.5 hours in the second week to 35 hours during the 8th week. His time spent in French at this point in the semester was mostly used for creating social networks. For example, he went to church, to class, had dinner several times with his host family, worked at his internship for eight hours, and went out with French-speaking friends.

Bill's 16th week was rounded out by a three day party about which he remembered little. Thus, we have no records of which languages he used. However, Bill did state in his final interview that he remembered using about 75% English, even though most of the students at the party were French. Bill's use of French that week (for the 3 days he tracked) totaled roughly 23 hours, and his English totaled about 16 hours.

Deirdre

Deirdre's logbook shows a small increase in use of French between weeks two and six. During her 2nd week Deirdre used French for 21.5 hours, while her English use was around 45 hours. These 21.5 hours were mostly class hours, with the exception of about 8 hours which were spent watching television. During the 6th week, Deirdre used French for 31 hours, and 17 of these hours were spent in class. Thus, only 14 of the hours were spent outside of class engaging in different communities of practice. She spent 20.5 hours during the 6th week speaking English.

During the 16th week, Deirdre spent only 16 hours speaking or interacting with French and 65 hours speaking English. A portion of her 16th week happened to be spent in England and Scotland, which most likely contributed to her limited use of French at that point. When Deirdre did speak French during this week it was primarily during service encounters in Paris.

Jada

Jada's 2nd week indicated that a majority of her time was spent using English. In fact, during this 2nd week, she spent 19 hours interacting in French and 57 hours interacting in English. As Jada stated in her journal, she spent the first weeks in Montpellier in a hotel with other Americans until her dorm was ready. When she did use French during week two, it was primarily in class and in service encounters, like buying a poster and a tram pass.

During her 8th week, Jada continued to spend a majority of her time in English, though it is notable that, at this point, she had created some social networks, which was indicated in her logbook as "chatted with fr in French"[68]. Jada interacted in French for 26.5 hours and in English for 55 hours, indicating an increase in French between the 2nd week and the 8th week.

---

[68] fr = friend

Additionally, towards the end of her 8th week, she spent a considerable amount of time using French with Michel, a new French friend.

Her 16th week indicates a very substantial increase in the use of French: 36 hours (up from 19 during week 2 and 26.5 during week 8). She spent 32 hours in English. Though the difference between her English use (32 hours) and her French use (36 hours) in week 16 is slight, the increase in French is notable between weeks 2 (19 hours), 8 (26.5 hours) and 16 (36 hours). Moreover, at this point in the semester, Jada was spending more time with speakers of French and was creating social networks, particularly with her friend, Sophie, with whom she spent a great deal of time.

4.4. Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to show how the diverse study abroad experiences of my participants, as well as their subject positions and identities, mediated their access to different—or any—social networks. I have shown that these students were able to access French speakers with whom they could interact. However, whether or not they chose to accept the access was variable. The language data, though not examined in detail in the present study, seems to demonstrate changes over the course of the semester. Finally, I have not only shown how my participants' subject positions contributed to their overall public identity but also how these various subject positions and identities were created and narrated by my participants and told or written to me.

When we look at Bill's case study, we see a young man who embraced and was embraced by the cultures and social networks in which he found himself. He made friends and created social networks, had an internship, and became an active participant in his host family.

Deirdre, on the other hand, is a different story. Unlike Jada, who accepted as her own a stereotypical image of women in France (Jada's interpretation of being a French women meant wearing tight clothes and prancing around, at which she became very adept), Deirdre completely rejected that role. She felt that French women were snobby and dressed up too much. Deirdre soon felt as though she did not fit in anywhere. She therefore removed herself from contact with French speakers by sitting at the study abroad office during her spare time and eating alone at a panini stand in town or in her apartment. Deirdre surrounded herself with English books and music and she counted down the days until she could go home to her boyfriend. Her primary source of interaction was service-oriented encounters. Deirdre stated that she was "done" with French (Jada, final interview, May 2003). She had no intention of returning to France or taking additional French courses.

Jada, on the other hand, embraced what she learned about France. She understood that she could use her sexuality to find access to speakers of French, which encouraged further legitimate peripheral participation. Jada created social networks with men and women, and she was insistent that she would return to France one day.

Finally, there is Benjamin who remained with his American cohort during the first part of his experience in Paris. Eventually, he realized that he needed to distance himself a bit, which he did by spending more time with his host family and, in particular, his host brother. Benjamin, knowing it would be hard for him to meet friends on his own, began to watch television and absorb what he saw. He was then able to discuss more fully the day's news when he was at dinner with his host family and their friends. Benjamin's primary social network was his host family, but he also used the television as a tool to access more French culture and language.

One of the more salient aspects of identity in this study is that of gender, and it may have mediated my participants' access to different social practices. Poststructural research on L2 socialization in study abroad has helped to clarify identity-related effects such as the findings on gender. Bill, for example, positioned himself and was positioned as a protector of women, which encouraged creation and maintenance of social networks. His gender clearly worked to his advantage, allowing him access to French people and different social practices. Through this subject position, Bill was also positioned as an adult user of French. He believed that his women friends relied on his protection, which gave him a sense of adult responsibility, as if these women's safety rested in his hands. In his own mind and in his accounts of his experiences, Bill's gender was highlighted as a source of personal gallantry.

By contrast, Benjamin did not comment at all on his gender in his personal accounts. He was a member of his American cohort and of his host family. However, he never mentions his gender in relation to his life and experiences in France.

Jada used her sexuality as a tool with which she accessed male speakers of French. This access allowed her to create social networks and participate in social practices. Jada's image of what a woman in France should be was crafted by observing others in dance clubs and after talking with Hakim, one of her North African friends. Jada dressed and walked the part of their version of a woman, which led to further social networking and engagement. Jada's discussion of her gender in her personal accounts is very salient, and is linked to sexuality and public performance of what she perceives to be, through her friends' accounts of women in France, a "French woman."

Deirdre, on the other hand, rejected what she perceived to be the role of women in France. She removed herself from the host community, and she spent most of her time alone.

Deirdre could not accept this perceived role, which led to her further isolation from engagement

in the social world. Deirdre's gender contributed to her alienation from the rest of the social

world.

Chapter Five:

Conclusion

The research reported herein shows that study abroad can be a very beneficial, yet challenging, experience for students' linguistic and personal development. It is clear that some learners who take part in study abroad are able to access more experienced users of the second language. Bill embraced and was embraced by the cultures and social networks in which he found himself. He accessed social networks, created relationships with speakers of French, had an internship, and became an active participant in his host family. This access helped Bill negotiate his participation in different social practices and create social networks. Deirdre, on the other hand, either did not find access or rejected it once it was offered. Deirdre rarely participated in the host community's social practices, created few, if any, social networks and made slight linguistic gains. One possible reason for Deirdre's apparent rejection of access and for her withdrawal from Montpellier was her conceptualization of women in France. Unlike Jada, who accepted as her own a stereotypical image of women in France (Jada's interpretation of being a French woman meant wearing tight clothes and prancing around, at which she became very adept), Deirdre completely rejected that image. She soon began to feel as though she did not fit in anywhere. She therefore exercised her agency and removed herself from contact with French speakers by sitting at the study abroad office during her spare time and eating alone at a panini stand in town or in her apartment. Deirdre surrounded herself with English books and music and she counted down the days until she could go home to her boyfriend. Her primary source of interaction was service-oriented encounters. Deirdre stated that she was "done" with

French (Jada, final interview, May 2003). She had no intention of returning to France or taking additional French courses.

Jada, on the other hand, embraced what she learned about France. She understood that she could use her sexuality to find access to speakers of French, which encouraged further legitimate peripheral participation. Jada created social networks with men and women, and she was insistent that she would return to France one day.

Finally, there is Benjamin who remained with his American cohort during the first part of his experience in Paris. Eventually, he realized that he needed to distance himself a bit, which he did by choosing to spend more time with his host family. Benjamin, knowing it would be hard for him to meet friends on his own, began to watch television and absorb what he saw. He was then able to discuss more fully the day's news when he was at dinner with his host family and their friends. Benjamin's primary social network was his host family, but he also used the television as a tool to access more French culture and language.

One of the more salient aspects of identity in this study is that of gender, and it may have mediated my participants' access to different social practices. Poststructural research on L2 socialization in study abroad has helped to clarify identity-related effects such as the findings on gender. Bill, for example, positioned himself and was positioned as a protector of women, which encouraged creation and maintenance of social networks. His gender clearly worked to his advantage, allowing him access to French people and different social practices. Through this subject position, Bill was also positioned as a user of French. He believed that his women friends relied on his protection, which gave him a sense of adult responsibility, as if these women's safety rested in his hands. In his own mind and in his accounts of his experiences, Bill's gender was highlighted as a source of personal gallantry.

By contrast, Benjamin did not comment at all on his gender in his personal accounts. He was a member of his American cohort and of his host family. However, he never mentions his gender in relation to his life and experiences in France.

Jada used her sexuality as a tool to mediate her access to male speakers of French. This access allowed her to create social networks and participate in social practices. Jada's image of what a woman in France should be was crafted by observing others in dance clubs and after talking with Hakim, one of her North African friends. Jada dressed and walked the part of their version of a woman, which led to further social networking and engagement. Jada's discussion of her gender in her personal accounts is very salient, and is linked to sexuality and public performance of what she perceives to be, through her friends' accounts of women in France, a "French woman."

Deirdre, on the other hand, rejected what she perceived to be the image of women in France. She refused that positioning and removed herself from the host community, choosing to spend most of her time alone. Deirdre could not accept this perceived role, which led to her further isolation from engagement in the social world. Deirdre's gender contributed to her alienation from the rest of the social world.

5.1. Research questions revisited

The data presented and analyzed in the previous chapter answers the research questions presented in chapter one.

1) Do learners access social networks during study abroad?

2) How do learners go about accessing these social networks?

3) What impact do learner identity, subject positioning, and agency have on their ability to access and create social networks?

The data in the present study suggest that some learners are able to access social networks during study abroad, while others do not. Students who are able to access social networks do so in different ways.

Students who did access, or were offered access, to social networks participated in different social practices in various ways. Learners in the current study relied on their American colleagues, host families and media sources for legitimate peripheral participation. The host families included the students in their daily lives and routines and introduced the learners to their friends. One student in particular, Benjamin, chose to use the media in order to interact more with French. By watching the television, he was able to update himself on the current events, which made participating in his host family's dinner discussions much easier.

Other students, like Jada and Bill, relied on their American friends, at least in the beginning of their experiences, to help them create their social networks during their evenings out at dance clubs. In this way, the English-speaking students engaged in an activity (dancing) in which many speakers of French also engaged. The American cohorts often helped the learners find the courage to engage with speakers of French.

Bill participated in social organizations like clubs and churches, thereby creating access to even more social practices. Like Benjamin, Bill felt an investment in his French learning. Both men hoped to work overseas or teach French once done with their undergraduate studies. They also tended to accept the norms of the host community because they had access to more experienced users of the L2 to help them make sense of the world.

Deirdre did not access many social networks in France and seemed to participate in only service-oriented encounters which she always considered to be rude. Her interactions and engagements with speakers of French were, therefore, limited and often construed as negative. As a consequence, she did not invest any time in trying to gain access. In the end, she stated that she was "done" with French.

The students' identities and subject positions mediated the ways in which they accessed social networks. For example, at one time, Deidre positioned herself as a consumer of study abroad, which left many of her program colleagues and the staff members feeling as though she was not at all interested in the experience. They soon began to position Deirdre as a consumer as well, which left Deirdre isolated from the other students. She accepted this isolation since she did not want to create friendships for such a short four-month period. Bill, on the other hand, was able to engage with French-speaking people because he positioned himself and was positioned as an eager learner of French. With the encouragement of his study group and his host family he established more social networks. The ways in which the participants exercised their agency in order to position themselves and the ways in which they were positioned by others mediated how they accessed, and were offered access, to the host community and its social practices.

From a Poststructuralist perspective, second language learners are treated as people, which means "we need to appreciate their human agency. As agents, learners actively engage in constructing the terms and conditions of their own learning" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p.145). Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) state that their view of human agency is about more than just "performance, or doing; it is intimately linked to significance….things and events matter to people—their actions have meanings and interpretations" (p.146). Human agency, in fact, "links

motivation, more recently conceptualized as investment by Norton Peirce (1995), to action and defines a myriad of paths taken by learners. Agency, in turn, is socially and historically constructed…" (p.146). The participants in the present study exercised their agency in various ways: Benjamin decided to use the television as a way to practice his French and positioned himself as a learner of French; Bill chose to flout cultural norms and introduce himself to classmates and position himself as a learner of French; Deirdre rejected the position of "sexual object" (when different men tried to objectify her) and began to isolate herself from others; Jada accepted her positioning as a sexual object and chose to befriend (and maintain contact with) Sophie.

As can be seen from the above examples, there is interplay among learners' identity (identities), subject position(s), and agency (agencies). Poststructuralist researchers consider language learners to be "agents in charge of their own learning" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.293). Their agency is:

> … the key factor in their learning: in many cases they mad decide to learn the second, or any additional, language only to the extent that it allows them to be proficient, without the consequences of losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world. (Pavlenko, 2002, p.293)

Learners may choose to reject a particular subject position because it will, in a sense, force them to lose their "old" ways of being in the world. However, individual choice is only one part of the whole picture. That is, "individuals may act upon their wishes only if their present environments allow for such agency" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.293). It "is not an 'anything goes proposition', but is

instead shaped and reshaped by a learner's unique concrete history" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p.156).

To demonstrate the interaction of agency, positioning and identity, Davies and Harré (1990) give the example of two friends whom they call "Sano" and "Enfermada" (p.55). Enfermada is sick and needs to find a pharmacy in order to get medicine. Sano accompanies his friend on this search. Sano stops in at several stores to ask if the store has the needed medicine. After some time, it is clear that there is no such store in the area, so they stop looking. Sano says to Enfermada, "I'm sorry to have dragged you all this way when you're not well" (p.55). Enfermada responds, "You didn't drag me, I chose to come" (p.55). Davies and Harré take this as a point of departure from which they address the issues of positioning, identity and agency.

Sano feels responsible, and his statement places Enfermada "in the position of one who is not responsible, and by implication, that she is one who is incapable of making decisions about her own well being" (p.55). Sano believes in the obligation that "the healthy take charge of the care of the ill," (pgs.55-56), but Enfermada "refuse(s) Sano's claim of responsibility" (p.56) because "in her feminist framework it is both unacceptable for another to position her as merely an accessory to their actions, rather than someone who has agency in her own right, *and* for her to accept such a positioning" (p.56). Sano has unintentionally placed Enfermada into a subject position that she does not want. Her refusal to accept the subject position which Sano offered to her "positions Sano as sexist, a positioning which he in turn finds offensive" (p.56). Eventually, Sano accuses Enfermada "of working off a worst interpretation principle which he claims is characteristic of the kind of ultra-sensitive response that feminists…engage in when responding to 'fancied slights'" (p.56). Enfermada is bothered by this more than by the original exchange "because she sees herself not only robbed of agency but as trivialised and silly…The whole point

of her original protest was that his words robbed her of access to that equitable world whether he intended it or not" (p.56). With this example, Davies and Harré show the "relational nature of positioning" (p.57). In this particular scenario, Sano positioned himself as responsible for the action (looking for and, eventually, not finding a pharmacy). Assuming responsibility, however, made Enfermada feel as though she were not responsible for the action. Enfermada, thus, took up the position of "being aggrieved" (p.58), which positioned Sano as "a perpetrator of the injustice" (p.58).

As speakers, individuals take on "beliefs about themselves which do not necessarily form a unified coherent whole" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p.58). That is, the way in which individuals think about themselves changes as the discourse in which they engage changes. Then, "…their positions within varying story lines are taken up. Each of these possible selves can be internally contradictory or contradictory with other possible selves located in different story lines" (p.59). Within each story individuals tell, they have many different "possible coherent selves" (p.59). Being able to choose from among these possible selves "provides people with the possibility of acting agentically" (p.59). For example, at the beginning of her semester abroad, Deirdre seemed positive about the experience. Eventually, though, she began to feel as though 'her vacation' was over. As she engaged with people, she took up the position of consumer of study abroad, making it clear to other students that she was counting down the days until she could go home.[69] Full participation in the host community was seemingly not an aim for Deirdre.

For some researchers (Block, 2003) it is thought that "full participation" is, or should be, a goal for second language learners. To demonstrate this position, Block draws on research from Goldstein (1996, 2000, cited in Block, 2003) who focused on the creation and development of

---

[69] Deirdre makes a statement in her journal about counting down the days until she can go home. Additionally, Catherine, the program director in Montpellier, told me that Deirdre spent a bit of time at the study abroad office telling people how much she missed her boyfriend and could not wait to go home.

"social and cultural identities of female immigrants in Canada" (Block, 2003, p.132). Goldstein

examined membership in Portuguese-based communities of practice and how this membership

"shaped the choice not to participate in English-based communities or practice" (p.132).

Additionally, Block states, this "non-participation served to guarantee a secure sense of identity

at the price of never obtaining full the cultural capital necessary to gain greater political and

economic power in Canada" (p.132). It appears, then, that, in this scenario, not fully

participating in the political and economic structures of Canada serves to disadvantage the

Portuguese women. However, Pavlenko (2002) demonstrates how not acculturating or joining a

"TL" (target language) group can benefit people. She writes:

> A related problem [to the monolingual and monocultural bias of traditional SLA and
>
> sociopsychological approaches to language learning] is the assumption that in the process
>
> of learning a second, or any additional language, L2 learners aspire to acculturate to or to
>
> join a particular group. (p.279)

Drawing on Breitborde (1998), Pavlenko (2002) explains how English in Liberia distinguishes

the Kru in Monrovia in a positive way because English is "becoming a symbol of civilisation and

of their ethnic identity" (p.279). The Kru are not, however, trying to approximate "native

speakers of English" (p.280). They are, in fact, "becoming speakers of a new nativised variety of

English" (p.280).

In the present study, full participation was a predeparture goal for Jada. She wanted to

"be French," though she did not know how to go about attaining that goal. After her arrival in

France, her goals shifted because she realized that she being French was "difficult to do" (Jada,

Final interview, May 2003). So, she decided to be "an American who accepted the French

culture" (Jada, Final interview, May 2003). To her, full participation was not possible, so she modified her goal. The fact that she did not become a full participant seemed to work to her advantage. When she went out at night with her English-speaking friends, Jada set herself apart from her American friends. That is, she was seemingly much more open to engaging in conversations with men, who were apparently interested in getting to know an American woman. Her "otherness" was a way for her to access linguistic resources. The decision not to participate fully, or to become a full participant, worked to Jada's advantage.[70]

5.2. Advantages and limitations

One of the advantages of the Poststructuralist-Language Socialization approach taken in this dissertation is that it considers the language learning process to be a social one. That is, language learning is not simply a cognitive process, but a process of "socialization into specific communities of practice" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.286). The present study has shown that second language learning is a constant negotiation and re-negotiation of access, agencies, subject positions and identities between learners (my participants) and more experienced users in the host language community (host families and French classmates, for example). There are also institutional practices and language ideologies which inhibit or encourage access to social networks and, as a result, linguistic and interactional opportunities. Deirdre, for example, had intense ethical issues with what she perceived to be the attitude and treatment of women in the

---

[70] Unlike Pavlenko's (2002) and Block's (2003) examples, study abroad students' experiences are not immigrants. They are not, in fact, going to live in the host country for the rest of their lives. Though many study abroad students do want access to cultural and symbolic capital, the stakes are different for them. Whereas immigrants are potentially creating new lives in their host country, meaning that they perhaps need to find housing and ways of generating income, study abroad students can view the experience as something temporary. This is not to say that study abroad is not valuable. It is simply to say that the endeavor for study abroad students and for immigrants is different.

host culture. This reaction perhaps inhibited her access to social networks and language learning opportunities.

A key finding in this dissertation is that study abroad students do not have unlimited access and interactional opportunities. Traditional *SLA/Study Abroad* studies tend to assume the opposite. That is to say, the common belief in those studies is that access to interactional opportunities is unlimited and easy to gain and maintain. The current study has shown that interactional opportunities are not a given. The process by which learners find and receive, or do not, access to more experienced users of French is a truly complex endeavor, complicated not only by the students' linguistic limitations, but also by their own reactions to the host community, their gender (i.e., Deirdre, Jada), and their background, among other things. Thus, being socialized into a second language community is not always an easy task because the host community is not always a language-rich environment. The current study shows that L2 users struggle to develop social networks.

The present study has shown itself to be rather different than many of the previous research in *SLA/Study Abroad*. Rather than focus on students as *subjects* and as bundles of variables (Kinginger, 2004), I have focused on "L2 users as legitimate speakers in their own right, rather than as failed native speakers" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.295). I have considered the participants highlighted here as people with histories, stories, and goals and motives for the language learning experience. The Poststructuralist perspective taken here has allowed me to show that "languages delineate and constitute identities of the speakers. … [Poststructuralism] allows us to account for ambiguities and complexities in the learning process" (p.296). It is imperative, then, to understand that the onus for language learning cannot be left solely with the

language learning. It is a co-constructed event which requires the participation of experienced and novice members of the host community.

Many of the *SLA/Study Abroad* studies rely upon motivation questionnaires and aptitude tests, achievement and proficiency tests, and language contact profiles (Freed, 1990) in order to better understand their subjects and determine which aspects of language have been acquired. The *SLA/Study Abroad* research promotes the learner-as-computer metaphor through which the learner is seen "as an information processor that receives input from caretakers, teachers and peers, processes this input into intake, and, ultimately, produces output of a measurable kind" (Kramsch, 2002, p.1). The machine metaphor has focused the efforts of many researchers on language acquisition as an information-processing activity "where what gets negotiated is not contextual meaning, but input and output" (Kramsch, 2002, p.1). However, Poststructuralist approaches insist upon an "emic (participant-relevant) view of phenomena, gathered through interviews and the study of diaries" (Pavlenko, 2002, p.297). With its journals, logbooks, interviews and on-site observations, the present study has done just that: focus on learners from *their* perspective. Learners are, in fact, an integral part of the language socialization process.

In research from a Language Socialization viewpoint, there is an emphasis on the context in study abroad. Chapter Two demonstrated that the conceptualization of context has evolved throughout the years. From the Schumanns' diary studies to the quantitative study abroad projects through to the language socialization literature, the conceptualization of social context has been varied. The Schumanns' research tried to put into a positivistic framework some very interesting diary studies. The *SLA/study abroad* studies focused on language acquisition and not on the process of becoming a participant and/or apprentice in a given culture. Researchers working in these paradigms tend to see an end to the language learning process. The qualitative

studies examined in the second chapter report on the experiences of the students, but there is little discussion of the problems students encountered.

Even though gaining access to language learning situations during study abroad is not easy, the majority of my participants did their best to access what they could within the 'constraints' of their personal histories and experiences. Benjamin was able to access his host family and their friends, as well as the television. When he realized that he was not interested in meeting new friends at school or in the pubs which he frequented, Benjamin began to draw upon the social practice of his family to help him be a more competent user of French. Benjamin observed the social practices of his host family, and he eventually decided to take part in those practices, which helped him make linguistic and social networking gains.

Bill began his experience by speaking too much English, he decided to flout cultural norms and introduce himself to French students in one of his integrated classes. Bill was soon assigned a project group, and they became one of his first social networks. Bill consistently took risks in order to meet and befriend new people. When he realized he was speaking too much English, he stepped away from his American cohort to whom, at that point, he was very close. Bill knew that it would be hard to engage in adult discussions with speakers of French, but he persevered and his experience in Dijon was marked by a network of friends and colleagues and by his language gains.

Deirdre, on the other hand, rejected any kind of access she was offered. Though Deirdre rarely entered bars, clubs, or other settings explicitly designed to foster social interaction, she did have opportunities to engage with speakers of French during her daily service encounters. However, she decided to characterize these experiences as rude, therefore leaving her feeling scared and angry and somewhat disgusted with life in France. These feelings only encouraged

her isolation, and she remained alone throughout her experience. Deirdre even decided to leave

the program immediately upon completion of her courses instead of staying in France to travel to

Italy, which had been one of her original predeparture goals.

Initially, Jada used her sexuality to access male speakers of French. Once the access was

gained, these men instructed Jada about what they believed a woman in France should look like

and how she should behave. With this experience and her other observations of public behavior,

Jada formed a very superficial image which she used as the basis for a strategy to continue to

attract the attention of men, thereby gaining more access to French. Shortly thereafter, she was

offered access to interaction with Sophie, a French woman whom Jada had met through an

American friend. Jada realized that her public image would get her what she wanted: attention

from male speakers of French with whom she could interact.

Some of the participants, particularly Jada and Bill, became very adept at gaining access

to speakers of French. Before their departures to France, the participants seemed to think that

finding speakers of French would be easy. Deirdre stated that she wanted to "get out and talk"

(Deirdre, predeparture interview, November 2002), though she had not, at that point,

conceptualized how she would go about doing that. Upon their arrival in France, my participants

were confronted with the reality of living there and gaining access to speakers of French. This

endeavor was not easy. All of them claimed that they had spent the initial weeks of their

experiences speaking "too much" English. Three of the four decided to make learning French a

priority, so they distanced themselves from their American cohorts. Benjamin and Bill made

concerted efforts to leave their American friends behind, while Jada seemed to maintain

relationships with her English-speaking friends in order to establish a sense of security and

safety. Within a few weeks, Jada began to experience life in France alone with Hakim. Though

she maintained contact with her English/American cohort, she reduced the amount of time she spent with them.

There are, however, some limitations in this project. There were only a small number of participants, so it is hard to say what would happen with other participants in other cities and countries. Additionally, the subject positions analyzed in chapter four were chosen subjectively.

Furthermore, I was dealing with the students' interpretations of their experiences. Thus, we can never know if these experiences actually happened as they were told, either in the interviews or in the journals. In at least two of the journals there is evidence that the participants were writing directly to me, and that effect of the audience may have also influenced the way they remembered their experiences. Moreover, one student in particular, did not maintain his journal, leaving only his interviews as the major source of his experiences. Even though these interviews were full of stories, it is a possibility that I am missing some of his daily experience.

5.3. Directions of further research

The overarching goal of this study was to show if and how students accessed social networks and communities of practice while abroad. The analysis conducted herein is only one avenue I have pursued. As stated earlier, my study is *one* part of a larger research project housed at a NFLRC. In all, Dr. Kinginger and I collected data from 23 students, and I have access to the data of all 23 participants. Throughout the data collection and analysis process for my study, I identified other research areas which can be examined. They are presented below.

First, an important research avenue to pursue is student ethnicity and its mediation of the study abroad experience. As Talburt and Stewart (1999) demonstrated, African-American students who find themselves in particular countries (Spain, in Talburt & Stewart's study) can be

positioned in negative ways because of the way the host community historically views particular ethnicities. Further research is needed to understand how students' of color experience sojourns abroad.

Second, an examination of students' reactions to their classroom experiences in France needs to be done. Study abroad programs offer both integrated and nonintegrated courses. Examining the make-up of the different classrooms and how these classrooms mediate students' experiences is an important research effort in which to engage. Integrated courses, though seemingly a productive option, do not actually seem to be integrated. That is, American students tend to isolate themselves from their French peers even when they are sitting right next to them. This non-interaction between the French and American students then raises the question, is the class really integrated? Furthermore, how does that non-integration impact the perceptions of Americans about the French students, and vice versa? In addition, the value of 'all-American' classrooms can be questioned as well. In this case, it would be interesting to examine how students' nationalities perhaps serve to isolate them even further from the host community. Students in the current study, who sat in 'all-American' classrooms, interacted with each other for roughly eight hours a day. So, what happens to them when they leave their classroom? Does their nationality become more salient to them and to the host community? Does the classroom context serve to discourage interaction with their French-speaking peers? What, then, is the ideal option? Is there one? It is also important to understand, in this discussion of classrooms, that ultimately human agency plays a role. Students often *choose* to isolate themselves. The more important question is, however, why do they isolate themselves? In the current study, it was shown that Deirdre did not like one of her courses, which gave her added reason to isolate herself from the host community. Though Deirdre was not alone in her distaste for her grammar course,

she was, to my knowledge, the only one who used her dislike as an excuse to withdraw mentally and emotionally from the course.

Third, it would also be valuable to conduct research with French students in the United States, England and Canada to see how different Anglophone cultures, at various geographical distances from France itself, relate to and welcome French students. Additionally, it is worth examining how French students interact with, react and relate to the different host communities, particularly in these socio-politically charged times.

Finally, examining the experiences of American students in French-speaking Canada is of interest to me. Because the geographical distance between the two countries is much less than the distance between France and the United States, it is worth investigating if the geographical proximity has any impact on the experiences of American students. Would students feel less fearful or worried since they would stay in North America? Furthermore, I would like to examine how students' gender, social class, and ethnicity mediate their experiences in Canada.

I intend to examine the current data for the specific influence of socio-political environments that students encountered, such as the ambiance of Franco-American mistrust following the U.S. invasion of Iraq. While my participants were in France, the war in Iraq had just begun, and the tensions between the United States and France were high. Having been there myself at that time, I can attest to the fact that it was not an easy time to be an American in France. I intend to examine the effects of this climate on my participants. Poststructural approaches allow for an understanding that access to social networks and practices is "mediated by the learner's race, class, social status, gender, age, linguistic background (Pavlenko, 2002, p.287).

In addition to their race, class, social status, and gender, my participants' nationality had an effect on their experiences. Benjamin recounted situations in which he felt nervous and upset with his American cohort because they were expressing their pro-war views loudly and in public. This was part of the impetus for the distance he ultimately put between himself and his "fellow Americans" (Benjamin, journal entry, March 25, 2003). The war in Iraq and its implications for the study abroad experience can show us further that being socialized into a second language community will not always be an easy task, particularly in times of political conflict.

Finally, another possible direction of future research with the data is a more detailed analysis of language gains. I intend to focus on specific sociolinguistic features using different theoretical frameworks in order to examine students' awareness of these features. In using the role plays, for example, I will examine the use of colloquial expressions the students used when inviting a friend or French professor to participate in an activity with them.

5.4. Concluding remarks

This dissertation has shown the importance of study abroad in the lives of my four participants. Their experiences demonstrate how diverse the study abroad endeavor can be: Three of them enjoyed it, learned from it, and made significant progress in their language development while one other remained scared, confused and isolated. Study abroad cannot therefore be considered a ready-made language learning experience.

There are record numbers of learners studying abroad. In fact, since the 1991/92 school year, there has been a 145% increase in the number of students going overseas (Open Doors 2004 Press Release, The Institute of International Education, ¶ 2). This increase demonstrates the need for more research to find out what kinds of experiences these students are having while

abroad and what kind of language development they are having. Although students are generally studying abroad for shorter periods of time, the value and importance of the experience for most students cannot be denied.[71]

Based on the numbers offered by the Institute of International Education, it is likely, though not certain, that these numbers will continue to increase, offering researchers more opportunities to focus on issues in study abroad. It is essential, though, that we continue to understand the problematic and challenging nature of the study abroad experience. Poststructural views of second language socialization during study abroad permit us a lens through which we can view, analyze and begin to understand these problems and challenges.

---

[71] "Open Doors 2005 data show that American students continue to study abroad in larger numbers but for shorter time periods, with a continued decline in popularity of traditional semester and year-long programs. Only 6% of students who studied abroad did so for a full academic year (compared to 14% a decade ago in 1993/94), while 38% studied abroad for a semester. The majority (56%) of U.S. students elected Summer, January term, and other programs of less than one semester. These short-term programs have played an important role in increasing the popularity of study abroad, offering international study opportunities to students who might otherwise have been unable to afford to participate in traditional-length programs" (Open Doors 2005 Press Release, The Institute of International Education, ¶ 11)

References

Atkinson, J. Maxwell & Heritage, J. (Eds.) (1984). *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bayley, R. & Schecter, S.R. (Eds.) (2003). *Language socialization in bilinguals and multilingual societies*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Brecht, R., Davidson, D. & Ginsberg, R. (1993)*. Predictors of foreign language gain during study abroad* (NFLC Occasional Paper). Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center.

Brecht, R., Davidson, D., & Ginsberg, R. (1995). Predictors of foreign language gain during study abroad. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 37 – 66). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Brecht, R. & Robinson, J. (1995). On the value of formal instruction in study abroad. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context*. (pp.317-334). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Breen, M. (ed.) (2001), *Learner contributions to language learning,* London: Longman.

Collins, L., Halter, R., Lightbown, P., and Spada, N. (1999). Time and the distribution of time in L2 instruction. *TESOL Quarterly, 33,* 655-80.

Davies, B. and R. Harré. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior* 20(1), 43-63.

Dewaele, J.-M. & Regan, V. (2001). The use of colloquial words in advanced French interlanguage. *EUROSLA Yearbook,* 1, 51 – 67.

Duff, Patricia A. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics* 23 (3), 289-322.

Freed, B. (1990). Language learning in a study abroad context: The effects of interactive and noninteractive out-of-class contact on grammatical achievement and oral proficiency. *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*, 459-477.

Freed, B. (1993). Assessing the linguistic impact of study abroad: What we currently know- what we need to learn. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 4, (4),151-166.

Freed, B. (1995). Language learning and study abroad. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 3 - 33). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Freed, B., Segalowitz, N., & Dewey, D. (2004): Context of learning and second language fluency in French: Comparing regular classroom, study abroad, and intensive domestic immersion programs. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 26, 275-301.

Ginsberg, R. and Miller, L. (2000). What do they do? Activities of students during study abroad. In Lambert, R. & Elana Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in honor of A. Ronald Walton*. (pp.237-260). Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins North America.

Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography.* London: Longman.

Kinginger, C. & Farrell, K. (2004). Assessing development of meta-pragmatic awareness in study abroad. *Frontiers: The International Journal of Study Abroad*, 10, 19-42.

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and renegotiated identity. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 219 – 242). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kline, R. (1998) Literacy and language learning in a study abroad context. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 4, 139 – 165.

Kramsch, C. (Ed.) (2002). *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives*. New York: Continuum.

Labov, W. (1989). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In Bauman, R. & Sherzer, J. (Eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking* (2nd ed. pp. 28 – 66). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lafford, B. (2004). The effect of the context of learning on the use of communication strategies by learners of Spanish as a second language. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,*26, 201-225.

Langman, J. (2003). Growing a *bányavirág* (Rock Crystal) on barren soil: Forming a Hungarian identity in Eastern Slovakia through joint (inter)action. In R. Bayley & S. Schecter (Eds.), *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies* (pp.182-99) Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Lantolf, J. and Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity Theory: Undestanding second language learners as people. In M.Breen (ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp.141-158). London: Longman.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lennon, Paul. (1995). Assessing short-term change in advanced oral proficiency: Problems of reliability and validity in four case studies. *I Review of Applied Linguistics*, 1995, 109-110, 75-109.

Luria, A. R. (1979). *The making of mind. A personal account of Soviet Psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Meara, P. and Jones, G. (1988). Vocabulary size as a placement indicator. In Grunwell, P. (Ed.), *Applied linguistics in society.* London: CILT.

Miller, L. & Ginsberg, R. 1995. Folklinguistic theories of language learning. In Freed, B. (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context (pp.293-315).* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Miller, J. (1999). *Speaking English and social identity: Migrant students in Queensland high schools*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Queensland, Australia.

Milton, J and P. Meara, (1995). How periods abroad affect vocabulary growth in a foreign language. *Review of Applied Linguistics*, 107-108: 17-34.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly,* 29 (1), 9-31.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity, and educational change*. London: Longman.

Ochs, E. (1990). Indexicality and socialization. In J.W.Stigler, R. Shweder and G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural Psychology: Essays on comparative human development* (pp.287-308). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In J. J. Gumperz & S. J. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity.* (pp. 406-437). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (2002). Becoming a speaker of culture. In C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives.* (pp.99-120). London: Continuum.

Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (1979). *Developmental pragmatics.* New York: Academic Press.

Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (1984).Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories. In R. Schweder & R. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion.* (pp.276-320). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language learning and use. In V. Cook (Ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user* (pp. 277-302)*.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pennycook, (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction.* Mahway, NJ: Erlbaum.

Polanyi, L. (1995). Language learning and living abroad: Stories from the field. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 271 – 291). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents.* London: Longman.

Ratner, C. (1997). *Cultural Psychology and qualitative methodology: Theoretical and empirical considerations.* New York: Plenum Press.

Reddy, M. (1979). Metaphor, induction, and social policy: the convergence of macroscopic and microscopic views. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 284-324). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenberg, S., Tobin Houston, M., Carr, R., Hyde, J. Moody, M., Najam, E. (1983). *Harper's Grammar Of French*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle Publishers.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). *The ethnography of communication: An introduction.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Schieffelin, B.B. & Ochs, E. (1986a). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15,163-191.

Schieffelin, B. B. & Ochs, E. (1986b). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schumann, F.(1980). Diary of a language learner: a further analysis. In R. Scarcella and S. Krashen (Eds.), *Research in second language acquisition* (pp. 51-57). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schumann, J. (1976a). Social distance as a factor in second language acquisition. *Language Learning*, 26 (1), 135-43.

Schumann, J. (1976b). Second language acquisition: The pidginization hypothesis. *Language Learning*, 26 (2), 391-408.

Schumann, J. (1986). Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 7 (5), 379-392.

Schumann, J.H. & Schumann, F. (1977). Diary of a language learner: An introspective study of second language learning. In H.D. Brown, C. Yorio, and R. Crymes (Eds.) *On TESOL '77: Teaching and learning English as a second language: Trends and practice.* (pp.241-249). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Segalowitz, N. & Freed, B. (2004). Context, contact, and cognition in oral fluency acquisition: Learning Spanish in at home and study abroad contexts. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 26, 173-199.

Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics* 17 (3), 356 – 382.

Statistics on Study Abroad from the Institute of International Education . (2004, November 15). Retrieved August 24, 2005, from http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=50138

Talburt, S. & Stuart, M.A. (1999). What's the subject of study abroad? Race, gender and 'living culture.' *Modern Language Journal* 83 (2),163 –175.

Twombly, S. B. (1995). Piropos and friendship: Gender and culture clash in study abroad. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 1, 1 – 27.

vanLier, L. (1988). *The Classroom and the language learner*. New York: Longman Publishing.

Vorster, J. (1980). *Manual for the test of oral language production (T.O.L.P.).* Pretoria: South African Human Sciences Research Council.

Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist practice and Poststructuralist theory.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Wilder, B. (Producer, Writer, & Director). (1954). Sabrina [Motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.

Wilkinson, S. (2002). The omnipresent classroom during summer study abroad: American students in conversation with their French hosts. *The Modern Language Journal*, 86, ii, 157-173.

Wilkinson, S. (2001). Beyond classroom boundaries: The changing nature of study abroad. In R.Z. Lavine (ed.): *Beyond the boundaries: Changing contexts in language learning*. New

York: MacGraw Hill, pp. 81 – 105.

Wilkinson, S. (2000). Emerging questions about study abroad. *ADFL Bulletin*, 32,1, 36-41

Wilkinson, S. (1998a). On the nature of immersion during study abroad: Some participants'

    perspectives. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 4, 121 –138.

Wilkinson, S. (1998b). Study abroad from the Participants' Perspective: A challenge to common

    beliefs. *Foreign Language Annals, 31*, 1, 23-39.

Wilkinson, S. (1995). *Foreign Language Conversation and The Study Abroad Transition: A*

    Case Study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University,

    University Park.

Willett, J. (1995). Becoming first graders in an L2: An ethnographic study of language

    socialization. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (4), 473-504.

Appendix A

Participants' Test Results

BENJAMIN

Test de Français International

Name	Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
Benjamin	385	430	345	370	730	800	45	25	70	Basic working proficiency

Colloquial words (from the Language Awareness test)

WORD	Know word pre-test	Know word post-test	translate word pre-test	translate word post-test	use word pre-test	use word post-test
Truc	NOT SURE	YES	NOT SURE	YES	DEPENDS	YES
Copain/ Copine	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sympa	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Bouquin		YES		YES		NO
Bagarre		YES		YES		NO
Bisous		YES		YES		YES
Chouette	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Con		YES		YES		YES
Dégueulasse		YES		YES		YES
Chameaux		YES		NO		NO
Débouler						
Fichu		YES		NO		NO
Flic	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Marre		YES		YES		YES
Trac						
Bac		YES		NO		NO
Marrant		YES		YES		YES
Mec	HEARD IT	YES	NOT SURE	YES	NOT SURE	YES
Moche		YES		YES		YES
Fac		YES		YES		YES
Boulot	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Laisse tomber	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Je m'en fous	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Keuf						
Putain		YES		YES		YES

TU/VOUS Data (from the Language Awareness test)

	Predeparture			Postexperience	
Situation	V/T	Rationale	V/T	rationale	
1) classmate at lunch	V	don't know him/her well enough politeness w/strangers	T	"it's the impression that I get from most young people here" (personally prefers V out of politeness to strangers) *mentioned that he sometimes uses V with host siblings (and confuses them) out of habitual politeness	
2a) babysitting job mother	V	older don't know her respect trying to get a job	V	older don't know her	
2b) babysitting kid	T	younger "little less formal with a six year old"	T	(obviously) younger "that's the custom"	
3a) bakery mother	V	politeness business setting	V	older	
3b) bakery daughter	V	politeness business setting	V	personal preference (despite convention) (might use T out of social convention)	
4) party acquaintance	T	party situation my age (would use V if limited interaction at party)	T	my age informal social situation	

Role Plays (TU/VOUS)

Role Play Situation	*Predeparture*	*Postexperience*
Having a bad day; need to see new French boy/girlfriend ASAP; ask to see him/her for coffee within the hour (informal request)	**VOUS**	**TU**
Meet MID-ATLANTIC French prof at a cocktail party; start a conversation and then ask him/her out to dinner after party (formal invitation)	**VOUS**	**VOUS**

BILL

Test de Français International: Bill's results:

Name	Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
Bill	150	235	165	270	315	505	85	105	190	Intermediate

Colloquial words data (from the Language Awareness Test)

WORD	Know word pre-test	post-test	translate word pre-test	post-test	use word pre-test	post-test
Truc		YES		YES		YES
Copain/ Copine	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Sympa	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Bouquin		HEARD		NO		NO
Bagarre						
Bisous		YES		YES		YES
Chouette	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Con		YES		YES (*)		YES
Dégueulasse		YES		YES		YES
Chameaux						
Débouler						
Fichu		HEARD		NO		NO
Flic		YES		YES		YES
Marre		YES		NO		NO
Trac						
Bac		YES		YES		YES
Marrant		YES		YES		YES
Mec		YES		YES		YES
Moche		YES		YES		YES
Fac		YES		YES		YES
Boulot		YES		YES		YES
Laisse tomber		YES		YES		NO
Je m'en fous		YES		YES		NO
Keuf		YES		NO		NO
Putain	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

TU/VOUS Data (from the Language Awareness Test)

	Predeparture			Postexperience	
Situation	V/T	Rationale	V/T	rationale	
1) classmate at lunch	V	don't know him/her ("tu is definitely for good friend or family")	T*	my age * emphatic	
2a) babysitting job mother	V	my superior older woman	V	older mom trying to get a job	

2b) babysitting kid	T	"he's six" (even though I don't know him)	T*	younger * emphatic
3a) bakery mother	V	not acquainted enough "exchanging pleasantries" respect	V	no reason stated (would use T if they started to use T with me)
3b) bakery daughter	V	not acquainted enough "exchanging pleasantries"	V	I'm an American (would use T if they started to use T with me)
4) party acquaintance	T	informal atmosphere "I probably hang out with the dude or girl"	T	my age "I don't *vous* as much as I probably should. I don't guard the *vous*."

Role Plays: TU/VOUS

Role Play Situation	Predeparture T/V	Postexperience T/V
Having a bad day; need to see new French boy/girlfriend ASAP; ask to see him/her for coffee within the hour (informal request)	VOUS	TU
Meet MID-ATLANTIC French prof at a cocktail party; start a conversation and then ask him/her out to dinner after party (formal invitation)	Mix: starts with VOUS, goes to TU, back to VOUS	
Met an interesting woman at a cocktail party; she works in banking; a few days after the party you call her and ask her out for dinner.[72] (formal invitation)		VOUS

---

[72] The reason Bill has three situations is that, during the final interview / testing, I gave him the wrong situation to play. The formal invitation situations themselves are rather similar, which is what caused the mix-up.

DEIRDRE

Name	Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
Deirdre	255	315	290	270	545	585	60	-20	40	Intermediate

Colloquial Words data (from the Language Awareness Test)

WORD	Know word pre-test	Know word post-test	translate word pre-test	translate word post-test	use word pre-test	use word post-test
Truc	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Copain/ Copine		YES		YES		YES
Sympa	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Bouquin						
Bagarre						
Bisous		YES		YES		YES
Chouette		YES		YES		NO
Con						
Dégueulasse						
Chameaux						
Débouler						
Fichu						
Flic						
Marre		YES		YES		NO
Trac						
Bac						
Marrant						
Mec						
Moche						
Fac		YES		YES		YES
Boulot						
Laisse tomber		YES		YES		NO
Je m'en fous	YES	YES	SORT OF	NO	NO	NO
Keuf						
Putain						

TU/VOUS Data (from the Language Awareness Test)

Predeparture			Post-departure	
Situation	V/T	Rationale	V/T	rationale
1) classmate at lunch	T	my age (would wait to see what the other used) (would use V on first day to be polite)	T	peer

2a) babysitting job mother	V	my boss	V	"she's paying me" older my boss
2b) babysitting kid	T	"I'm in charge of him"	T	younger "I'm his authority"
3a) bakery mother	V	older business relationship	V	business relationship older
3b) bakery daughter	T	my age	V	she only works sometimes business relationship (despite my age)
4) party acquaintance	T	peer	T	peer "on the same level"

Role Plays: TU/VOUS

Role Play Situation	Predeparture T/V	Postexperience T/V
Need to borrow a book from a new friend (informal request)	Mix; starts with TU then shifts to VOUS	Mix: starts with TU, then says VOTRE (appartement)
Met an interesting woman at a cocktail party; invite her for dinner afterwards (formal invite)	Mix: starts with TU then shifts to VOUS	Mix: starts with TU (je t'ai recontré), then VOUS

JADA

Test de Français International

Name	Pre L	Post L	Pre R	Post R	Pre TOT	Post TOT	Diff L	Diff R	Total	Score Interpretation
Jada	290	325	285	305	575	630	35	20	55	Basic working proficiency

Colloquial Words data (from the Language Awareness Test)

WORD	Know word pre-test	post-test	translate word pre-test	post-test	use word pre-test	post-test
Truc	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Copain/ Copine	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sympa	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Bouquin		YES		NO		NO
Bagarre						
Bisous	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Chouette	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Con		YES		YES		YES
Dégueulasse		YES		YES		YES
Chameaux		NO		NO		NO
Débouler						
Fichu						
Flic		RECOGNIZES		NO		NO
Marre		YES		NO		YES
Trac		YES		NO		NO
Bac	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Marrant						
Mec		YES		YES		YES
Moche	SORT OF	YES	SORT OF	YES	YES	YES
Fac	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Boulot		YES		YES		YES
Laisse tomber	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Je m'en fous	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Keuf						
Putain	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO

TU/VOUS Data (from the Language Awareness Test)

Predeparture			Post-departure	
Situation	V/T	Rationale	V/T	rationale
1) classmate at lunch	T	American openness self-disclosure so that they'll be friendly	variable	follow the other's lead T if have interacted before V if not sure if acquainted or not

		"level playing field"		
2a) babysitting job mother	V	trying to get a job respect older politeness good impression	V	respect trying to get a job don't know her very well
2b) babysitting kid	T	younger than me	T	younger than me
3a) bakery mother	V	respect (despite closeness)	V	respect
3b) bakery daughter	T	same age being friendly	variable	follow the other's lead V at first T after a couple of weeks T out of habit w/peers
4) party acquaintance	T	already met them "on a level with them" (would use V to communicate dislike)	T	casual party atmosphere of first meeting

Role Plays: TU/VOUS

Role Play Situation	Predeparture T/V	Postexperience T/V
Invite a new friend out for lunch. You know his/her restaurant preferences (informal invite)	TU throughout; no change	TU
Going on vacation to Marseilles. Call the youth hostel and old woman answers. Ask for information about the hostel: what it has, doesn't have. (formal request)	Says TU then quickly corrects self to VOUS	VOUS

Appendix B: Participant Logbook Data

Benjamin

DAYS	Saturday Jan. 18	Sunday jan. 19	Monday jan. 20	Tuesday jan. 21	Wednesday jan. 22	Thursday jan. 23	Friday jan. 24
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready+ metro	Sleeping	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready
9.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Class – FR	Sleeping	Sleeping	Class – FR
10.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready	Class – FR	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready	Class – FR
11.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Metro + read-FR e-mails –Eng	Class – FR	Sleeping	Metro + music – Eng	Class – FR
Noon	Sleeping	Woke up	Lunch with friend-Eng	Lunch with friend- Eng	Sleeping	Lunch with friend-Eng	Lunch with friend-Eng
1.00 pm	Woke up	Read-Eng	Class- FR	Computer lab (e-mail) Eng	Sleeping	Computer lab (e-mail) Eng	Computer lab (e-mail) Eng
2.00 pm	Chatted with host family – FR	Chatted with host son-FR	Class- FR	Chatted –Eng	Sleeping	Class – FR	Sightseeing-Eng
3.00 pm	Metro+ read –Eng	Homework-FR	Class- FR	Homework- FR	Chatted with host family -FR	Class – FR	Sightseeing-Eng
4.00 pm	Sightseeing –Eng	Wrote journal –Eng	Class- FR	Sightseeing -Eng	Listened to music –Eng	Class – FR	Sightseeing -Eng
5.00 pm	Sightseeing –Eng	Listened to music – Eng	Shopping –Eng	Sightseeing -Eng	Read –FR	Chatted with friends-Eng	Sightseeing-Eng
6.00 pm	Dinner-Eng	Listened to music – Eng	Shopping –Eng	Sightseeing -Eng	Read-Eng	Chatted with friends-Eng	Sightseeing-Eng
7.00 pm	Dinner-Eng	N/A	Listened to fr music in metro	Dinner –FR	e-mails-Eng	Chatted with friends-Eng	Sightseeing-Eng
8.00 pm	Movie –Eng	Watched football – Eng	Dinner – FR	Dinner - FR	Dinner-FR	Dinner-FR	dinner - FR
9.00 pm	Movie –Eng	Watched football – Eng	Read –Eng	Read-Eng	Listened to music –Eng	Read-FR	Out- Eng
10.00 pm	Movie –Eng	Watched football – Eng	Homework-FR	Read-Eng	Out- Eng	Homework-FR	Out- Eng
11.00 pm	e-mails –Eng	Watched football – Eng	Played chess –FR	Listened to music –Eng	Out- Eng	Read-Eng	Out- Eng
midnight	Read –Eng	e-mails –Eng	e-mails –Eng	Bed	Out- Eng / bed	Bed	Out- Eng
Total	**FR=1h/Eng=9h45**	**FR=3 h /Eng= 8h45**	**FR=7 h45 /Eng= 4h45**	**FR= 5h30 /Eng= 9h**	**FR= 4h / Eng= 6h45**	**FR= 5h/Eng= 7h**	**FR= 4h /Eng=11h30**

DAYS	Saturday March 1	Sunday March 2	Monday March 3	Tuesday March 4	Wed. March 5	Thurs. March 6	Friday March 7
7.00 am	Sleeping	N/A	Sleeping	N/A	N/A	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	N/A	Got up+ got ready	N/A	N/A	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	Sleeping
9.00 am	Sleeping	N/A	Class – FR	N/A	N/A	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	Sleeping
10.00 am	Sleeping	N/A	Class – FR	N/A	N/A	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	Sleeping
11.00 am	Got up+ got ready	N/A	Class – FR	N/A	N/A	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	Sleeping
Noon	Chatted w/host family-FR	N/A	Lunch with friend-Eng	Lunch with friend- Eng	Lunch with friend- Eng	Spoke Eng with girlfriend –Eng	With girlfriend-Eng
1.00 pm	Chatted w/host family-FR	N/A	Errands-Eng	Scheduling-Eng	Computer lab-Eng	Class- FR	With girlfriend-Eng
2.00 pm	Chatted w/host family-FR	N/A	Errands-Eng	Class- FR	Bought plane ticket-FR	Class- FR	With girlfriend-Eng
3.00 pm	Read-Eng	N/A	Listened to music-Eng	Class- FR	Errands-Eng	Class- FR	With girlfriend-Eng
4.00 pm	TV-FR	Phone-Eng	e-mails-Eng	Errands-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR	With girlfriend-Eng
5.00 pm	TV-FR	Phone-Eng	TV-FR	Errands-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR	With girlfriend-Eng
6.00 pm	TV-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR	Homework-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR
7.00 pm	Chatted w/host brother-FR	TV-FR	Dinner-FR	TV-FR	Homework-FR	Chatted w/girlfriend-Eng	TV-FR
8.00 pm	Dinner-FR	Dinner-FR	Read-FR	Homework-FR	Dinner-FR	Out-Eng	Out-Eng
9.00 pm	Out-Eng	TV-FR	Wrote journal –Eng	Watched soccer-FR	TV-FR	Out- Eng	Out-Eng
10.00 pm	Out-Eng	TV-FR	Homework-FR	Dinner-FR	TV-FR	Out- Eng	Out-Eng
11.00 pm	Out-Eng	TV-FR	Chatted online-Eng	Surfed web-Eng	Listened to music-Eng	Out- Eng	Out-Eng
midnight	Out-Eng	Bed	Bed	Bed	Bed	Out- Eng	Out-Eng
Total	**FR=8h/Eng=4h30**	**FR=6 h/Eng=1h30**	**FR=7h30/Eng = 7h30**	**FR=9h30 /Eng= 3h30**	**FR= 6h/Eng= 5h**	**FR= 6h/Eng= 12h**	**FR= 2h/Eng= 12h**

DAYS	Sat. April 12	Sunday April 13	Monday April 14	Tuesday April 15	Wednesday April 16	Thurs. April 17	Friday April 18
7.00 am	N/A	N/A	Sleeping	N/A	Got up+ get ready	N/A	N/A
8.00 am	N/A	N/A	Read –Eng	N/A	Read in metro-Eng	N/A	N/A
9.00 am	N/A	N/A	Class – FR	N/A	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR
10.00 am	N/A	Spoke Eng w/ friends	Class – FR	N/A	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR
11.00 am	N/A	Spoke Eng w/ friends	Class – FR	N/A	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR
Noon	N/A	Listened to music on train-Eng	Lunch with friends – Eng	Lunch with friends -Eng	Lunch with US friends - Eng	Lunch with US friends -Eng	Lunch with US friends -Eng
1.00 pm	w/ US friends-Eng	Listened to music on train-Eng	Lunch with friends – Eng	Class – FR	Lunch with US friends - Eng	Lunch with US friends -Eng	Played football-Eng
2.00 pm	w/ US friends-Eng	Listened to music on train-Eng	Read-Eng	Class – FR	Studied-FR	Played boules – Eng	nap
3.00 pm	w/ US friends-Eng	Listened to music on train-Eng	Chatted w/host family-FR	Class – FR	Studied-FR	Played boules – Eng	Nap
4.00 pm	w/FR friends-FR	Read-Eng	Chatted w/host family-FR	Worked w/classmate-Eng	Scheduling-Eng	Played boules – Eng	Listened to music-Eng
5.00 pm	w/FR friends-FR	Read-Eng	Homework-FR + wrote in journal -Eng	Read- Eng	Scheduling-Eng	Chatted w/host brother-FR	TV-FR
6.00 pm	Spoke English	e-mail-Eng	Read- Fr	TV-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR	TV-FR
7.00 pm	Spoke French	e-mail-Eng	TV-FR	TV-FR	Chatted w/host brother-Fr	TV-FR	TV-FR
8.00 pm	N/A	Dinner -FR	Dinner –FR	Dinner –FR	Chatted w/host brother-Fr	Dinner –FR	Dinner-FR
9.00 pm	Out –Eng	Read-Eng	TV-FR	Scheduling-Eng	Watched fr soccer-FR	Read-FR	Read-FR
10.00 pm	Out –Eng	Read-Eng	TV-FR	Scheduling-Eng	Watched fr soccer-FR	TV-FR	Surfed web-Eng
11.00 pm	Out –Eng	Bed	TV-Eng	Read- Eng	Read-Eng	Surfed web-Eng	Surfed web-Eng
midnight	Out –Eng	Bed	TV-Eng	N/A	Bed	Bed	Surfed web-Eng
Total	**FR=3h30/Eng=11h**	**FR=1h30/Eng=10h**	**FR=10h/Eng= 5 h30**	**FR= 5h45 /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 9h30 /Eng= 4h30**	**FR= 8h30 / Eng= 6h30**	**FR= 5h30/Eng= 9h30**

Bill

DAYS	Monday Jan. 27	Tuesday jan. 28	Wednesday jan. 29	Thursday jan. 30	Friday jan. 31	Saturday feb. 1	Sunday feb. 2
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Got up+ get ready	Got up+ get ready	Got up+ get ready	Got up+ get ready	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
9.00 am	Breakfast with family-FR	Breakfast with family-FR	Breakfast	Breakfast with family-FR	Got up+ get ready	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready
10.00 am	N/A	Class – FR	Ran+ work out	Chated with host mum-FR	Internship interview-FR	Woke up	Church-FR
11.00 am	N/A	Class – FR	Shower + e-mails-Eng	TV-Eng	Internship interview-FR	ran	Church-FR
Noon	N/A	Lunch with friend - Eng	Lunch with friend- Eng	TV-Eng	Lunch with friend - Eng	Breakfast + chat with host brother-FR	Lunch with family-FR
1.00 pm	Class –FR	Class-Eng	Lunch with friend-Eng	Lunch alone	Class-FR	Chat with family-FR	Lunch with family-FR
2.00 pm	Class- FR	Class-Eng	Class- FR	German / English	Class-FR	Chat with family-FR	Lunch with family-FR
3.00 pm	e-mails-eng	English	Class- FR	German / English	Nap	N/A	N/A
4.00 pm	Homework-FR	English	Class- FR	German / English	Nap	N/A	N/A
5.00 pm	Class- FR	English	Class- FR	Class- FR	Nap	N/A	N/A
6.00 pm	Class- FR	English	Class- FR	Class- FR	Dinner w/US friends-Eng	N/A	N/A
7.00 pm	Dinner with family – FR	e-mail-Eng	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner w/US friends-Eng	Dinner w/US friends-Eng	N/A	Dinner-FR
8.00 pm	Dinner with family – FR	Dinner+Date-Eng	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner w/US friends-Eng	N/A	N/A	Dinner-FR
9.00 pm	Dinner with family – FR	Dinner+Date-Eng	Hung out with Americans-Eng	Dinner w/US friends-Eng	N/A	N/A	Read-FR
10.00 pm	Date-Eng	Dinner+Date-Eng	Hung out with Americans-Eng	Disco-Eng	N/A	N/A	Read-FR
11.00 pm	Date-Eng	Dinner+Date-Eng	Hung out with Americans-Eng	Disco-Eng	N/A	N/A	Read-FR
midnight	Bed	Dinner+Date-Eng	Hung out with Americans-Eng	Disco-Eng	N/A	N/A	bed
Total	**FR=8h15/Eng=2h30**	**FR=3 h /Eng= 13h**	**FR=7 h /Eng= 7h**	**FR= 4h /Eng= 10h**	**FR= 4h / Eng= 3h**	**FR= 3h/Eng= ?h**	**FR= 10h /Eng=0h**

DAYS	Sunday March 9	Monday March 10	Tuesday March 11	Wed. March 12	Thursday March 13	Friday March 14	Sat. March 15
7.00 am	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Breakfast-FR	Got up+ got ready	Got up+ got ready	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready
9.00 am	Got up+ got ready	Internship-FR	Breakfast	Workout	Internship-FR	Got up+ got ready	in Lyon –Eng
10.00 am	Church –FR	Internship-FR	Class – Eng	Workout	Internship-FR	Chatted with host mum-FR + ran	in Lyon –Eng
11.00 am	Church –FR	Internship-FR	Class – Eng	Shower	Internship-FR	Shower	in Lyon –Eng
Noon	N/A	Lunch with friend-Eng	Class – Eng	Lunch with friend- FR	Lunch –Eng	Lunch	in Lyon –Eng
1.00 pm	N/A	Class-FR	Lunch with friend-Eng	Computer lab-Eng	Computer lab-Eng	Class- FR	in Lyon –Eng
2.00 pm	N/A	Class-FR	Class-Eng	Class- FR	Internship-FR	Class- FR	in Lyon –Eng
3.00 pm	workout	e-mail-Eng	Class-Eng	Class- FR	Internship-FR	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
4.00 pm	workout	Class-FR	Class-Eng	Class- FR	Class- FR	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
5.00 pm	Walked around Dijon	Class-FR	Study group –Eng	Class- FR	Class- FR	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
6.00 pm	Walked around Dijon	Class-FR	Study group –Eng	Class- FR	Class- FR	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
7.00 pm	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner alone	Dinner w/family-FR	e-mails + chat-Eng	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
8.00 pm	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner w/family-FR	Study	Dinner w/family-FR	e-mails + chat-Eng	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
9.00 pm	French	N/A	Out-FR	N/A	Dinner alone	N/A	in Lyon –Eng
10.00 pm	French	N/A	Out-Eng	N/A	Out- FR	N/A	N/A
11.00 pm	N/A	N/A	Out-Eng	N/A	Out- Eng	N/A	N/A
midnight	N/A	N/A	Bed	N/A	Out- Eng	N/A	N/A
Total	**FR=6 h/Eng=?h**	**FR=11 h/Eng=2h**	**FR=1h30/Eng = 10h**	**FR=8 h /Eng= 1h**	**FR= 9h /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 3 h / ?Eng= 3h**	**FR= h/Eng= 13h**

DAYS	Sunay April 13	Monday April 14	Tuesday April 15	Wednesday April 16	Thursday April 17	Friday April 18	Saturday April 19
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	N/A	N/A	Party	Party
8.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Got up+ listen to fr news-FR	N/A	N/A	Party	Party
9.00 am	Got up+ listen to fr news-FR	Sleeping	Breakfast-FR	N/A	Party	Party	Party
10.00 am	Church -FR	Got up+ listen to fr news-FR	Fixed computer –Eng	N/A	Party	Party	Party
11.00 am	Church –FR	Chatted with family-FR	Fixed computer –Eng	N/A	Party	Party	Party
Noon	Café w/ family-FR	Research-Eng	Research	N/A	Party	Party	Party
1.00 pm	Museum –FR +Eng	Research-Eng	Research+ lunch	N/A	Party	Party	Party
2.00 pm	Museum –FR +Eng	Research-Eng	Research	N/A	Party	Party	Party
3.00 pm	Museum –FR +Eng	Lunch + Research-Eng	Research	N/A	Party	Party	Party
4.00 pm	Museum –FR +Eng	Research-Eng	Computer lab –FR+ Eng	N/A	Party	Party	Party
5.00 pm	Museum –FR +Eng	Research-Eng	Computer lab –FR+ Eng	N/A	Party	Party	Party
6.00 pm	Homework-Eng	Research-Eng	Computer lab –FR+ Eng	N/A	Party	Party	Party
7.00 pm	Homework-Eng	Dinner w/family -FR	Read-FR	N/A	Party	Party	Party
8.00 pm	Dinner w/family-FR	Dinner w/family-FR	Read-FR	Dinner w/family-FR	Party	Party	Party
9.00 pm	… (cannot read!) –FR	N/A	Read-FR	N/A	Party	Party	Party
10.00 pm	… (cannot read!) –FR	N/A	Read-FR	N/A	Party	Party	Party
11.00 pm	… (cannot read!) –FR	N/A	Read-FR	N/A	Party	Party	Party
midnight	Bed	N/A	Bed	N/A	Party	Party	Party
Total	**FR=10h/Eng=5h**	**FR=4h/Eng=7h**	**FR=8 h /Eng= 4h**	**FR= 1h /Eng= ?h**	**FR= ? h /Eng= ?h**	**FR=? h / Eng= ?h**	**FR= ?h/Eng= ?h**

Deirdre

DAYS	Sunday Feb. 2	Monday Feb. 3	Tuesday Feb. 4	Wednesday Feb. 5	Thursday Feb. 6	Friday Feb. 7	Sat. Feb. 8
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Got up	Got up	Got up	Sleeping
9.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Class-FR	Class-FR	Class-FR	Sleeping
10.00 am	Got up	Got up + spent time in apartment	Got up + read –Eng	Class-FR	Class-FR	Class-FR	Sleeping
11.00 am	N/A	N/A	Read-Eng	Lunch with friend- Eng	Class-FR	Class-FR	Sleeping
Noon	N/A	N/A	N/A	Lunch with friend- Eng	Class-FR	Lunch with friend - Eng	Got up+ cleaned
1.00 pm	At cafe w/friends- Eng + Fr w/waiter	Went to office +e-mail-Eng	N/A	Class-FR	Class-FR	Class-FR	Cleaned
2.00 pm	At cafe w/friends- Eng + Fr w/waiter	Groceries shopping	Met americans + watch TV-FR	Class-FR	Lunch with friend- Eng	Class-FR	Lunch with US friend-Eng
3.00 pm	At cafe w/friends- Eng + Fr w/waiter	TV-FR	Met americans + watch TV-FR	Class-FR	Lunch with friend- Eng	N/A	Lunch with US friend-Eng
4.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	TV-FR	Met americans + watch TV-FR	N/A	Walked home with Miranda-eng	e-mails-Eng	Internet café –Eng
5.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	TV-FR	Met americans + watch TV-FR	Went groceries shopping	Homework -FR	e-mails-Eng	N/A
6.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	Went home + dinner- Eng	Met americans + watch TV-FR	Chat with fr neighbour-FR	Read –Eng	home	Home
7.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	N/A	N/A	At home for the night	Read –Eng	home	N/A
8.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	N/A	N/A	N/A	Read –Eng	home	N/A
9.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	N/A	N/A	N/A	TV- FR	Out- Eng	N/A
10.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	N/A	N/A	N/A	TV-FR	Out- Eng	N/A
11.00 pm	Back to apartment- Eng	N/A	Bed	N/A	Bed	Out- Eng	N/A
midnight	Bed	Bed	Bed	Bed	Bed	Out- Eng / bed	N/A
Total	**FR=1h/Eng=10h**	**FR=2h/Eng=8h**	**FR=1h /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 6h /Eng= 4h**	**FR= 5h30 /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 5 h/ Eng= 7h**	**FR= 1h /Eng= 4h**

DAYS	Sunday March 16	Monday March 17	Tuesday March 18	Wed. March 19	Thursday March 20	Friday March 21	Sat. March 22
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	sleeping	Got up	Got up	Got up	sleeping
9.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	sleeping	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR	sleeping
10.00 am	sick	In apartment	Got up+ breakfast	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR	Woke up
11.00 am	sick	N/A	e-mail –eng	Class – FR	Class – FR	Class – FR	Met Laura for lunch-Eng
Noon	sick	e-mail –eng	e-mail –eng	Class – FR	e-mails-Eng	Lunch with friend - Eng	Met Laura for lunch-eng
1.00 pm	sick	Lunch w/US friend-Eng	Shopped	Class – FR	Lunch in appartment	Class – FR	at Laura's TV-FR
2.00 pm	sick	Fr conversation at post office-FR	IMed at office-Eng	Lunch with friend - FR	N/A	Class – FR	at Laura's TV-FR
3.00 pm	sick	TV- FR	IMed at office-Eng	Worked on project-FR	Class – FR	Class – FR	at Laura's TV-FR
4.00 pm	sick	TV- FR	N/A	Worked on project-FR	Class – FR	IMed-Eng	N/A
5.00 pm	sick	TV-FR	N/A	Went to friends'house	Class – FR	IMed-Eng	N/A
6.00 pm	sick	IMed -Eng	N/A	Went to friends'house	IMed-Eng	Studied -FR	Chatted with Laura's host family-FR
7.00 pm	sick	IMed -Eng	Home	Went to friends'house	IMed-Eng	N/A	home
8.00 pm	sick	Home	Home	Went to friends'house	home	N/A	home
9.00 pm	sick	Home	Home	Went to friends'house	home	N/A	home
10.00 pm	sick	Home	Home	Went to friends'house	home	N/A	home
11.00 pm	sick	Home	Home	Went to friends'house	home	N/A	home
midnight	sick	Home	Home	Went to friends'house	home	N/A	home
Total	**FR=9 h/Eng=1h30**	**FR=3h/Eng = 5h**	**FR=2 h /Eng= 5h**	**FR= 10h /Eng= ?h**	**FR= 6h / Eng= 4h**	**FR= 7h/Eng= 3h**	**FR= 3h/ Eng=2h**

DAYS	Sunday April 13	Monday April 14	Tuesday April 15	Wednesday April 16	Thursday April 17	Friday April 18	Saturday April 19
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Airport	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
8.00 am	Got up	Got up	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
9.00 am	Breakfast with mum-Eng	Breakfast with mum-Eng	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
10.00 am	driving –Eng	N/A	Dealt w/ ticket clerk-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
11.00 am	driving –Eng	N/A	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
Noon	driving –Eng	Walked around Paris-Eng	Arrived in Beauvais	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
1.00 pm	driving –Eng	Walked around Paris-Eng	Missed flight+talked to clerks –FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
2.00 pm	driving –Eng	Walked around Paris-Eng	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
3.00 pm	driving –Eng	Walked around Paris-Eng	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
4.00 pm	driving –Eng	Walked around Paris-Eng	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
5.00 pm	Dealt with hotel clerk	Walked around Paris-Eng	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
6.00 pm	N/A	Walked around Paris-FR	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
7.00 pm	N/A	Walked around Paris-FR	Chatted w/girl-FR	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
8.00 pm	Dinner –Eng + FR w/ waiter	Dinner -Eng	Flew to Glasgow	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
9.00 pm	N/A	N/A	In plane	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
10.00 pm	N/A	Conversation w/clerk about room-FR	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
11.00 pm	N/A	Bed	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
midnight	N/A	Bed	N/A	Glasgow-Eng	Glasgow-Eng	London	London
Total	**FR=2h/Eng=9h**	**FR=4h/Eng=8h**	**FR=10 h/Eng= ?h**	**FR= 0 h /Eng= 12h**	**FR= 0 h /Eng=12h**	**FR= 0 h / Eng= 12h**	**FR= 0h/Eng= 12h**

Jada

DAYS	Sunday Feb. 2	Monday Feb. 3	Tuesday Feb. 4	Wednesday Feb. 5	Thursday Feb. 6	Friday Feb. 7	Sat. Feb. 8
7.00 am	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Tram + moved in dorm	Picked up Caroline+ walked to class-Eng	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping
9.00 am	Sleeping	Walked to class	Class-FR	Class-FR	Sleeping	Class- FR	Sleeping
10.00 am	Sleeping	Class- FR	Class-FR	Class-FR	Sleeping	Class- FR	Sleeping
11.00 am	Sleeping	Class- FR	Class- FR	Lunch with friend - Eng	Sleeping	Class- FR	Sleeping
Noon	Woke up	Lunch with friend - Eng	Class- FR	Computer lab-Eng	Got up+ got ready	Ran home + bought poster -FR	Got up+ got ready
1.00 pm	Got ready	Downtown to get tram pass-FR	Lunch with friend – Eng	Back to dorm –slept	Lunch- Eng	Lunch-Eng	Met jon for beach trip-Eng
2.00 pm	Lunch at McDo-Eng	Tram	Ran into Tyler-Eng	Nap	Internet café –Eng	Walked around comedie-Eng	Beach -Eng
3.00 pm	Cybercafe –Eng	Class- FR	Wrote journal-Eng	Woke up +got ready	Internet café –Eng	Walked around comedie-Eng	Beach -Eng
4.00 pm	Cybercafe –Eng	Class- FR	Nap	Class-FR	Shopping –Eng	Went to office + chatted in FR	Beach –Eng
5.00 pm	Cybercafe –Eng	Class- FR	Nap	Class-FR	Shopping –Eng	Went to office - Eng	Beach -Eng
6.00 pm	Phone –Eng	Went dowtown to get luggage	Nap	Went to office	Went home+ showered	Home +showered	Beach -Eng
7.00 pm	TV–Eng	Shopping -FR	Hung out with Caroline –Eng	Dinner with Molly-Eng	Dinner with liz –Eng	Met Tyler –Eng	nap
8.00 pm	Hung out with US friends –Eng	Dinner -Eng	Dinner –Eng	Dinner with Molly-Eng	La cour du roi –Eng	Dinner-Eng	nap
9.00 pm	Hung out with US friends –Eng	Unpacked + hung out with Caroline –Eng	Wrote in journal-Eng	Oxymore for salsa	La cour du roi –Eng	Out –Eng	Wrote postcards-Eng
10.00 pm	Hung out with US friends –Eng	Unpacked + hung out with Caroline –Eng	Phone-Eng	Oxymore for salsa	Out -Eng	Out –Eng	Wrote postcards-Eng
11.00 pm	Hung out with US friends –Eng	Unpacked + hung out with Caroline –Eng	Club Oxymose	Shaekspare pub	Out -Eng	Out –Eng	Out-Eng
Midnight	Bed	Bed	Club Oxymose	Shaekspare pub	Out-Eng	Out –Eng	Out-Eng
Total	**FR=0h Eng=10h**	**FR=7h/Eng=5h**	**FR=4 h /Eng= 8h**	**FR= 4 h /Eng= 4h**	**FR= 0h /Eng= 11h**	**FR= 4h/Eng= 9h**	**FR= 0h /Eng = 10h**

DAYS	Sunday March 16	Monday March 17	Tuesday March 18	Wednesday March 19	Thursday March 20	Friday March 21	Sat March 22
7.00 am	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
8.00 am	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready	Sleeping	Got up+ get ready	Sleeping	Sleeping	Sleeping
9.00 am	Sleeping	Walked to school	Sleeping	Class-FR	Got up+ get ready	Sleeping	Sleeping
10.00 am	Awake in bed listening to music	Class - FR	Sleeping	Class-FR	TV news-FR	Sleeping	Sleeping
11.00 am	Wrote journal-Eng	Class - FR	Sleeping	Chatted with fr -FR	Slept again	Sleeping	Sleeping
Noon	Exercised	Lunch with friend-Eng	Sleeping	Chatted with fr -FR	Slept again	Got up	Got up
1.00 pm	Got dressed for opera	e-mails -Eng	Got up + got ready	Chatted with fr -FR	Slept again	TV-Fr	Read-Eng
2.00 pm	Got dressed for opera	e-mails -Eng	Breakfast with friend-Eng	Chatted with fr -FR	Practiced play –FR	TV-Fr	Went home-Eng
3.00 pm	Opera –FR	Read-Eng	Cut friends hair-Eng	Ate at café –FR	Chatted –Eng	Shopping –Eng	Read-FR
4.00 pm	Opera-FR	With friends-Eng	Errands-Eng	Class-FR	Home wrote in journal –Eng	Shopping –Eng	Chatted with Mathieu-FR
5.00 pm	Opera-FR	With friends-Eng	Laundry-Eng	Class-FR	Home wrote in journal –Eng	Lunch –Eng	Flunch-Eng
6.00 pm	Phone –Eng	Hung out at Liz's place-Eng	Laundry-Eng	Listen to US music	Went to Kristen's –Eng	Watched dancer	Internet café –Eng
7.00 pm	Dinner alone	Hung out at Liz's place-Eng	Laundry-Eng	Went to Kristen's-Eng	Went to Kristen's –Eng	Walked around town-Eng	N/A
8.00 pm	Read –Eng	Dinner at McDo – Eng	Dinner –Eng	Dinner –Eng	Dinner-Eng	Nap	N/A
9.00 pm	Talked to neighbors – FR	Drinking –Eng	Dinner –Eng	Out-Eng	Chatted +got ready – Eng	Nap	N/A
10.00 pm	Talked to neighbors – FR	Drinking –Eng	Out-Eng	Out-Eng	Chatted +got ready – Eng	Dinner at Notre Dame-Eng	N/A
11.00 pm	Bed	Drinking –Eng	Out-Eng	Out-Eng	Out -eng	Drinking at Kristen's-Eng	N/A
midnight	Bed	Drinking –Eng	Out-Eng	Out-Eng	Out –fr	Out-Eng	N/A
Total	**FR=6h30/Eng=4h30**	**FR=2 h/ Eng=13h30**	**FR=0h30 /Eng =11h**	**FR= 9h /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 3h /Eng= 9h**	**FR= 3 h3/ Eng= 7h**	**FR= 2h/Eng= 4h**

DAYS	Sunday May 18	Monday May 19	Tuesday May 20	Wednesday May 21	Thursday May 22	Friday May 23	Saturday May 23
7.00 am	Sleeping	Got up+ got ready (strike)	Got up+ got ready	N/A	Woke up at Liz's	Got up+ went home	Got up+ get ready
8.00 am	Sleeping	Computer lab-Eng	Finished HW-FR	N/A	Wnet home to shower	Homework-FR	Studied –FR
9.00 am	Sleeping	Class-FR	Class-FR	N/A	Got ready	Class – FR	Class-FR
10.00 am	Got up+ get ready	Class-FR	Class-FR	N/A	Interview with Kathleen – FR	Class – FR	Class-FR
11.00 am	Zoo with Sophie -FR	Class-FR	Class-FR	N/A	Interview with Kathleen – Eng	Chatted –FR	Class-FR
Noon	Zoo with Sophie -FR	Lunch	Lunch FR +Eng	N/A	Interview with Kathleen – Eng	Went to Port Marianne-Eng	Class-FR
1.00 pm	Beach –FR	Nap	Wrote postcards-Eng	N/A	N/A	Went to Port Marianne-Eng	Showered
2.00 pm	Beach –FR	Nap	Wrote postcards-Eng	N/A	N/A	Went to Sophie's	Packed
3.00 pm	Beach –FR	Nap	Nap	N/A	N/A	Went to Sophie's	Cleaned
4.00 pm	Beach –FR	Read –FR	Nap	N/A	N/A	e-mail –Eng	Went to Kristen's-Eng
5.00 pm	Dinner at McDo-FR	Homework-FR	Nap	N/A	N/A	Dinner	Dinner-Eng
6.00 pm	Dinner at McDo-FR	Homework-FR	Nap	N/A	N/A	Played games	Dinner-Eng
7.00 pm	Read –FR	Talked to Paul and tim –Eng	Phone –Eng	N/A	Dinner Mc Do –Eng	N/A (sorry she didn't wrote any times next to the activities or languages…?)	Airport flew to UK
8.00 pm	Read –FR	Homework-Fr	Phone –Eng	Dinner with Liz –Eng	Shopping –Eng	N/A	Bus
9.00 pm	Went to Liz's-Eng	Cleaned room	Homework-FR	TV –FR	Went to Oxymore-Eng	N/A	TV-Eng
10.00 pm	Went to Liz's-Eng	Helped Liz with HW-Fr+Eng	Homework-FR	Out-Eng	Went to Oxymore-Eng	N/A	TV-Eng
11.00 pm	Internet café –Eng	N/A	N/A	Out-Eng	Went to Oxymore-FR	N/A	Bed
midnight	Internet café –Eng	N/A	N/A	Out-Eng	Went to Oxymore-FR	N/A	Bed
Total	**FR= 10h/Eng=4h**	**FR=6h30/Eng=3h30**	**FR=6h30 /Eng= 4h30**	**FR= 1 h /Eng= 4h**	**FR= 3h /Eng= 6h**	**FR= 4 h / Eng= 5h**	**FR= 5h/Eng= 5h**

Appendix C

Language Awareness Interview/Test:

Colloquial Words Section
Part One:
We ask students:
1) Do you know any slang in French?

They look at:
2) List of colloquialisms in French IL (from Dewaele & Regan, 2001)

We ask students:
3) Do you recognize / can you define / do you use any of these words? (SHOW STUDENT SHEET OF WORDS)

Truc
Copain/ copine
Sympa
Bouquin
Bagarre
Bisous
Chouette
Con
Dégueulasse
Chameaux
Débouler
Fichu
Flic
Marre
Trac
Bac
Marrant
Mec
Moche
Fac
Boulot
Laisse tomber
Je m'en fous
Keuf
Putain

Colloquial Words Section
Part Two:
We ask students the following questions:
1) Do you recognize these words?
2) Can you define any of these words?
3) Do you use any of these words?

We then check off their answers.

Word	Participant knows the word	Participant can translate word	Participant would use the word
Truc			
Copain/Copine			
Sympa			
Bouquin			
Bagarre			
Bisous			
Chouette			
Con			
Dégueulasse			
Chameaux			
Débouler			
Fichu			
Flic			
Marre			
Trac			
Bac			
Marrant			
Mec			
Moche			
Fac			
Boulot			
Laisse tomber			
Je m'en fous			
Keuf			
Putain			

Colloquial Words Section
Part Three:
We ask students:
1) How do you rate the politeness involved in using the words from this list that you know?
Then, students fill out chart

Word	Very impolite. (Rude, vulgar)	Impolite	Slightly impolite	Neutral	Polite	Very polite
Truc						
Copain/Copine						
Sympa						
Bouquin						
Bagarre						
Bisous						
Chouette						
Con						
Dégueulasse						
Chameaux						
Débouler						
Fichu						
Flic						
Marre						
Trac						
Bac						
Marrant						
Mec						
Moche						
Fac						
Boulot						
Laisse tomber						
Je m'en fous						
Keuf						
Putain						

Tu/Vous (T/V) Section:

T/V choice situations :
We tell students: For each of the situations, explain whether you would call the person you are talking to "tu" or "vous" and how you decide.

You are eating lunch in the university cafeteria when one of your classmates sits down across the table from you and greets you. The classmate is about your age but you are not yet personally acquainted with them.
STUDENT RESPONSE   (T/V)
HOW THEY DECIDE :

You are being interviewed for a part-time job babysitting for a 6 year old boy. When you meet the boy's mother, do you call her "tu" or "vous"? When you meet him for the first time do you call the boy "tu" or "vous"?
STUDENT RESPONSE   (T/V)
HOW THEY DECIDE :

You have been frequenting the same bakery for several weeks and the lady at the counter now recognizes you and often exchanges pleasantries with you when you visit the bakery. She is about 50 years old and has a daughter your age who sometimes works at the bakery after school. What do you call the older woman? What do you call the younger woman?
STUDENT RESPONSE   (T/V)
HOW THEY DECIDE :

You are walking down the street when you run into someone you met at a party last week.
STUDENT RESPONSE   (T/V)
HOW THEY DECIDE :

Appendix D

Project: The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad

Investigators: Dr. Celeste Kinginger and Kathleen Farrell, Department of French
Contact Information: Dr. Kinginger; Kathleen Farrell

Explanation of the study:
This study is about French language learning during study abroad. We are attempting to find out what you learn, how you learn it, and the social circumstances surrounding your learning. We hope that the findings of the study will be useful for enhancing the experience of students who go abroad to learn French in the future.

The details:

The study will consist of two major parts:
1) A testing phase
2) A journal writing phase.

How you can participate:
You can participate in either the testing phase OR the testing and journal writing phase. If you choose to participate in the testing phase only you will be paid a stipend of $100. If you choose to participate in the testing and the journal writing you will be paid a stipend of $200. It may also be possible to negotiate a related research project for which you can receive academic credit.

The testing:
Testing will start in early November. It will focus on grammar, pragmatic awareness (how people actually use the language in various settings), speaking, writing, and narrating a story. You will be tested at the end of your stay in France as well. The testing will take a total of approximately 5 hours.

The Interviews:
For those who choose to participate in the testing and the journal writing, Dr. Kinginger and I will conduct interviews before departure, during the study abroad experience, and at the end of the experience. The interviewing will take a total of approximately 3 hours.

The Journals:
 For those who choose to participate in the testing and the journal writing portion of the study, you will be required to write and submit journal entries at least two times per week. You may submit these journal entries via email (studyabroadproject@yahoo.com) or you may keep your entries in a journal book, which we (Dr. Kinginger and I) will provide to you. You will then submit the journal book to me (Kathleen) during the final interview, which will take place at the end of your study abroad experience, before you leave France.

The Logbooks:

For those who choose to participate in the testing and the journal writing portion of the study, you will be required to enter in the amount of time you spend each day speaking French and/or English. An example is provided:

October 2, 2002:

8am-9am: FR at breakfast with friends

9am-10am: FR during class

10:00-Noon: Eng. at café with friends family

 Noon-2pm: FR in class

2pm-5pm: FR with host family

5pm-7pm: devoirs in FR

7pm-10pm: FR at dinner with host

10pm-midnight: Eng. with friends

 TOTAL for 10/02/02: FRENCH= 12 hours; ENGLISH=4 hours

Appendix E

Human Subject Forms

FORM B
FORMAT FOR PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY
PROTECTION OF HUMAN RESEARCH SUBJECTS

Project: The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad
Investigator: Dr. Celeste Kinginger, Department of French

A. This study will examine the development of language competence and awareness of the pragmatic features of language in the study abroad context. The study will examine factors predicting gain in language proficiency, the development of proficiency over time, and the qualities of social interaction and access to social networks of study abroad participants.

B. This study is sponsored by the Mid-Atlantic University Center for Language Acquisition. The Principle Investigator for this study, Dr. Celeste Kinginger, holds a Ph.D. in French and Second Language Acquisition, and is on the faculty of the Department of French, Mid-Atlantic University University, where she specializes inApplied Linguistics. Dr. Kinginger has extensive experience in research on foreign language development in a variety of contexts.

C. There are no prescribed characteristics of the subjects, other than qualification for enrollment in a study abroad program.

D. Subjects for the study will be recruited from among the students participating in language–focused study abroad programs sponsored by Mid-Atlantic University and affiliate organizations.

E. The study will involve a three-part "hybrid" methodology combining quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Quantitative data analysis will focus on: 1) pre- and post-test scores on measures of language proficiency (the language proficiency tests developed by the University of Minnesota's Language Resource Center); and 2) a questionnaire detailing previous language learning experiences, including formal study at home or abroad, and other lived experiences of multilingualism (see attached draft questionnaire). A factor analysis will be performed to determine predictors of gain scores (e.g., gender, previous language study, bilingualism in the home, predeparture proficiency) in the entire group of participants. In addition, a small number of focal participants will be asked to provide: 1) journals in their first language recording key language-learning aspects of their study abroad experience; 2) journals in their second language demonstrating their language development. A narrative analysis of the first language journals will focus on the contexts for development of language awareness, and the qualities of access to language learning opportunities in social interaction, social networks and literacy events. The second language journals will be used to construct a database (or "corpus") of learner language for investigation of development in specific linguistic domains across time.

Funding for this study is provided by the United States Department of Education grants for Language Resource Centers (CDFA 84.229). The scope of the study will depend on the level of grant funding provided. A letter of modification detailing the precise scope of the study (number of languages involved, number of participants, research staff for each language) will be provided when the level of funding has been determined.

F. This study will be directed supervised by Dr. Celeste Kinginger, Associate Professor of French and Applied Linguistics and Dr. James Lantolf (Director, Center for Language Acquisition). The Research Assistant will be Kathleen Farrell. She will assist in the administration of pre- and post tests, in the construction of the corpus of learner language and in the narrative analysis of journals. The study involves minimal use of special equipment: computers for data storage and software packages for statistical and corpus-based analysis.

G. Informed consent will be obtained from students wishing to participate in the study through a permission form (attached) to be distributed to all students. There will be two informed consent forms, one for focal participants (Form 1), and another for participants who will provide test scores only (Form 2).

H. The only risk involved is that of individuals being personally identified as the language students whose contribution is under study.

I. N/A

J. The goal of this research is to document the qualities of study abroad as a context for language learning. The results of the study will provide insight on the social, educational and demographic factors affecting gain in language proficiency during study abroad, and will contribute to the design and implementation of programs for study abroad participants.

K. Prior to beginning the analytic phase of the study, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym to be used in all working materials and publications associated with the study. Hence, the risk that individual students or their language may be identified will be minimal.

L. N/A

M. N/A

Informed Consent Forms for Those Participating in Journaling and Testing

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR A LANGUAGE ACQUISITION STUDY

Mid-Atlantic University

Title of Project: The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad

1. This section provides an explanation of the study in which you will be participating:

A. The study in which you will be participating is part of an ongoing effort to assess the benefits and disadvantages of language learning through study abroad. By conducting this study, we hope to gain insight into the development of advanced language ability that takes place when students participate in study abroad programs. This information will be beneficial in the planning of future study abroad programs where language learning is a desired developmental outcome.

B. If you agree to take part in this research, your test scores will be examined for the light they may shed on the above questions. Your written accounts of your study abroad experience will be examined for the insights they provide about language development and access to social interaction during the study abroad experience.

C. You will be asked to take tests examining your proficiency in the language you are studying before and after your study abroad experience. In addition, you will be asked to keep a journal in your first language of the significant experiences of your language learning. You will also be asked to write your impressions of your study abroad experience in a weekly journal in your second language. Your participation will take approximately 40 hours.

D. If you do not wish to participate in this study, your participation in the study abroad program will not be affected in any way.

E. The study will involve test scores and journals demonstrating the development of proficiency before, during and after you study abroad. These records will be destroyed two years after the research project has ended.

2. This section describes your rights as a research participant:

A. You may ask any questions about the research procedures, and these questions will be answered. Further questions may be directed to Professor Celeste Kinginger, Department of French, Mid-Atlantic University University, Telephone: 865-1492. If you have questions about the rights of research participants, please call the Office for Research Protections (814-865-1775).

B. Your participation in this research is confidential. Only the qualified researchers associated with this project will have access to your identity and to information that can be associated with your identity. In the event of publication of this research, no personally identifying information will be disclosed. To make sure your participation is confidential, you will be assigned a pseudonym to be used for all aspects of data handling.

C. Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop participating in the research at any time, or to decline to answer any specific question without penalty. This form will be placed in a sealed envelope to be opened only when the final grades for this course have been submitted.

D. This study involves minimal risk; that is, no risks to your physical or mental health beyond those encountered in the normal course of everyday life.

E. You will receive a stipend of $200 at the end of the data collection process, after you have completed the testing and journal writing associated with the study. If you are an employee of Mid-Atlantic University University, the compensation you receive for participation will be treated as taxable income and therefore taxes will be taken from the total amount. If you are not employed by Mid-Atlantic University University, total payments within one calendar year that exceed $600 will require the University to annually report these payments to the IRS. This may require you to claim the compensation that you receive for participation in this study as taxable income.

3. <u>This section indicates that you are giving your informed consent to participate in this research:</u>

<u>Participant:</u>

I agree to participate in an investigation of "The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad," as an authorized part of the education and research program of Mid-Atlantic University

I understand the information given to me, and I have received answers to any questions I may have had about the research procedure. I understand and agree to the conditions of this study as described.

To the best of my knowledge, I have no physical or mental illness or difficulties that would increase the risk to me of participation in this study.

I understand that I will receive a stipend for participating.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, and that I may withdraw from this study at any time by notifying the person in charge.

I am 18 years old or older.

I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

<u>Researcher:</u>

I certify that the informed consent procedure has been followed, and that I have answered any questions from the participant as fully as possible.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

Informed Consent for Those Participating in Testing Only

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR A LANGUAGE ACQUISITION STUDY

Mid-Atlantic University

Title of Project: The Social Context of Language Development in Study Abroad

1. This section provides an explanation of the study in which you will be participating:

A.   The study in which you will be participating is part of an ongoing effort to assess the benefits and disadvantages of language learning through study abroad. By conducting this study, we hope to gain insight into the development of advanced language ability that takes place when students participate in study abroad programs. This information will be beneficial in the planning of future study abroad programs where language learning is a desired developmental outcome.

B.   If you agree to take part in this research, your test scores will be examined for the light they may shed on the above questions. You participation will take approximately 6 hours.

C.   You will be asked to take tests examining your proficiency in the language you are studying before and after your study abroad experience.

D.   If you do not wish to participate in this study, your participation in the study abroad program will not be affected in any way.

E.   The study will involve test scores demonstrating your proficiency before and after you study abroad. These records will be destroyed two years after the research project has ended.

2. This section describes your rights as a research participant:
A. You may ask any questions about the research procedures, and these questions will be answered. Further questions may be directed to Professor Celeste Kinginger, Department of French, Mid-Atlantic University University, Telephone: 865-1492. If you have questions about the rights of research participants, please call the Office for Research Protections (814-865-1775).

B. Your participation in this research is confidential. Only the qualified researchers associated with this project will have access to your identity and to information that can be associated with your identity. In the event of publication of this research, no personally identifying information will be disclosed. To make sure your participation is confidential, you will be assigned a pseudonym to be used for all aspects of data handling.

C. Your participation is voluntary. You are free to stop participating in the research at any time, or to decline to answer any specific question without penalty. This form will be placed in a sealed envelope to be opened only when the final grades for this course have been submitted.

D. This study involves minimal risk; that is, no risks to your physical or mental health beyond those encountered in the normal course of everyday life.

E. You will receive a stipend of $75 at the end of the data collection process, after you have completed the testing associated with the study. If you are an employee of Mid-Atlantic University University, the compensation you receive for participation will be treated as taxable income and therefore taxes will be taken from the total amount. If you are not employed by Mid-Atlantic University University, total payments within one calendar year that exceed $600 will require the University to annually report these payments to the IRS. This may require you to claim the compensation that you receive for participation in this study as taxable income.

3. <u>This section indicates that you are giving your informed consent to participate in this research:</u>

<u>Participant:</u>

I agree to participate in an investigation of "The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad," as an authorized part of the education and research program of Mid-Atlantic University.

I understand the information given to me, and I have received answers to any questions I may have had about the research procedure. I understand and agree to the conditions of this study as described.

To the best of my knowledge, I have no physical or mental illness or difficulties that would increase the risk to me of participation in this study.

I understand that I will receive a stipend for participating.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, and that I may withdraw from this study at any time by notifying the person in charge.

I am 18 years old or older.
I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

<u>Researcher:</u>

I certify that the informed consent procedure has been followed, and that I have answered any questions from the participant as fully as possible.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

Appendix F

Detailed Project Timetable
Project: The Social Context of Language Development During Study Abroad
Investigators: Dr. Celeste Kinginger and Kathleen Farrell Department of French, Center for Language Acquisition

Thank you very much for your willingness to help us with our project. As we begin, we would like to provide for you a detailed explanation of the study, how it will unfold and what it is we will ask of you during your stay abroad. Please note that the **WHEN** section of Phases 2, 3, and 4 depends on your specific program (the program is noted in parentheses), since the various programs start and end at different points during the semester. We have done our best to consider each program's time frame.

Phase One: PREDEPARTURE TESTING

WHEN: End of October through the beginning/mid November

WHERE: University Park, PA

Beginning Friday October 25, 2002 and throughout the months of November and early December we will conduct interviews and testing. As mentioned during the brief meetings at Irving's, the tests will focus on grammar, language awareness (how people actually use the language in various social settings), speaking, writing, and narrating a story. We will break up the testing into two days: the interviews and the speaking tests will be done on one day, while the writing and grammar tests will be done on another day. For participants who have agreed to testing only, the oral section will include a test of speaking and the language awareness test, but no interview.

In brief:

Day 1 (scheduled on an individual basis with one or both of us):

  Tests of speaking and of language awareness, interviews

Day 2 (chosen from a selection of group sessions TBA)

  Test de Français International, Test of writing

Here is a very brief explanation of each of the tests:

  --The speaking test will be done in French. For participants involved in keeping journals, this test will be combined with the first round of interviews.

  --The test of language awareness will be done in English; you will be asked to comment on your knowledge of how French is used in various situations.

  --The grammar test of French that we hope to use will be a standardized multiple choice test, for which you will receive a certificate of your level of proficiency.

--The writing test will be done in French on the same day you do the grammar test.

Phase Two: JOURNALS AND LOGBOOKS

WHEN: **From the day of your arrival in France until the final interview in France; the journal is to be done two-three times per week. The logbook is to be done every day during the second, eighth and fourteenth weeks of the semester, more if you desire.**

WHERE: In France
If you have consented to keep a journal during your study abroad experience there are two ways to do so. One way is to submit your entries via email to studyabroadproject@yahoo.com, which only we (Dr. Kinginger and Kathleen Farrell) will see. The other way is to keep a journal book, which we will provide to you if you have chosen to do the journal this way. If you maintain a journal book, the book will be yours to keep; at the end of the semester we will ask you to provide photocopies of all sections that you give us permission to read. The logbook will be provided to you by the investigators. We ask that you record a general outline of your activities for each day of the week, including where you went, what you did and with whom, and which languages you used.

LANGUAGE IN WHICH TO WRITE ENTRIES: You may write your journal entries in French and/or English. That is, you may switch between the two or you may decide to write in *only* one or the other.

TOPICS OF THE JOURNAL: You may include any thoughts and experiences that relate to your French language development. One way to look at this task is by asking yourself what you think others should know about your experiences. That is, if you were doing this research, what would you want to know about language development during study abroad? What kinds of experiences **do you think** are important for your language learning? Ask yourself these questions when beginning your entries. If you write about specific events, please explain when, where and with whom and in what language you were interacting. If you feel that there are other documents closely related to your experience as a language learner (papers, readings, etc.) we would be pleased if you include them.

Phase Three: MIDTERM INTERVIEWS
WHEN: Beginning of March (Paris Advancia); Mid-March (Dijon IES, Nantes IES, Paris IES); End of March (Strasbourg program); Beginning of April (Montpellier); ;

WHERE: France
Midterm interviews will be conducted in France. These will take approximately one (1) hour.

Phase Four: POST-PROGRAM TESTING AND FINAL INTERVIEWS
WHEN: Beginning of April (Paris Advancia); Beginning of May (all IES programs and Strasbourg); Mid- to end of June (Montpellier)
WHERE: France and MID-ATLANTIC
Within the last 2-3 weeks of your stay in France, we will begin interviewing and testing all of you. The tests used will be the same as those used during the predeparture phase (Phase One) of the project.   As with the predeparture testing, we will break up the testing in to two days: the interviews and the speaking tests will be done on one day, while the writing and grammar tests will be done on another day. We will try to conduct as many of these in France as possible, but we may need to contact some of you to complete the testing once you have returned to State College.

Appendix G

Personal / Language History Interview
Question guidelines

Why did you decide to learn French? Can you describe your experience of learning French to date? Were there any special moments that you associate with learning French?

How would you characterize your language learning experiences in the past? Were they mostly positive? Negative? Can you give examples?

Did anyone in your life encourage you to excel in your studies? To learn other languages?

What kinds of experiences do you think will help you learn French?

What are your images of France and what do you think it will be like when you get there? When you think of France what do you think of?

Is there anything about living in France that worries you or that you feel apprehensive about?

How do you think this experience will change you/ your life/ your career path?

In what ways do you think you will be different when you come back?

Please describe your travel experiences in general and in countries where other languages are used.

Appendix H

Explanation of the Journal and Logbook Task

WHEN:

- Two to three times per week you will record your experiences (see "Topics of the Journal" below for details). You may also feel free to begin your language-learning journal before you go and continue after your sojourn is complete.
- During weeks two, eight and fourteen, you are asked to record in your logbook (also called an "agenda") a general outline of your activities for each day of the week, including where you went, what you did and with whom, and which languages you used. Here is an example (FR=French; Eng= English). If you speak other languages besides French or English, you need to record those as well. This is just an example from my own experience.

December 10, 2002:
6:15am-6:30: Woke up to French music
6:30am-7:30: Sang in French in shower
8am-9am: FR at breakfast with host family
9:30am-Noon: reading FR during class; took notes in French
Noon-2pm: FR on TV; watched the news and a soap opera in French
2pm-5pm: read *Le Monde* at a café; spoke French with the waiter; I was there alone
5pm-7pm: devoirs in FR with friends; spoke French while doing this
7pm-10pm: FR at dinner with host family
10pm-midnight: Emails to my family in Pittsburgh in English.
 TOTAL for 12/10/02: FRENCH= 12 hours 45 minutes; ENGLISH=2 hours

To summarize: The *journal* is to be done two to three times per week. The *logbook* is to be done every day during the second, eighth and fourteenth weeks of the semester, more if you desire.

WHERE: In France
   If you have consented to keep a journal during your study abroad experience there are two ways to do so. One way is to submit your entries via email to studyabroadproject@yahoo.com, which only we (Celeste and Kathleen) will see. The other way is to keep a journal book, which we will provide to you if you have chosen to do the journal this way. If you maintain a journal book, the book will be yours to keep; at the end of the semester we will ask you to provide photocopies of all sections that you give us permission to read.

TOPICS OF THE JOURNAL:
   You may include **any** thoughts and experiences that relate to your French language development: If you write about specific events, please explain when, where, with whom and/or with what medium (TV, radio, email, cell phone, Internet, etc.) and in what language you were interacting. If you feel that there are other documents closely related to your experience as a language learner (papers, readings, etc.) we would be pleased if you include them.

One way to look at this task is by asking yourself what you think others should know about your experiences. That is, if you were doing this research, what would you want to know about language development during study abroad? What kinds of experiences **do you think** are important for your language learning? Ask yourself these questions when beginning your entries.

LANGUAGE IN WHICH TO WRITE ENTRIES: You may write your journal entries in French and/or English. That is, you may switch between the two or you may decide to write in *only* one or the other.

Appendix I

Mid-term interview guidelines

So far, how has the experience been for you?
Have you been or are you able to fulfill the goals that you set for yourself before coming to France?

What classes are you taking?
Are you in integrated classes? Or are you with other Americans and / or Internationals?

How do you spend your time? Why?
What do you do on the weekends?
--With whom do you go out?
--Where do you go out?
--What's an 'ideal weekend' for you?

What is a typical weekday like? What is a typical weekend like

Are you involved in any 'extracurricular' activities? Soccer clubs? etc.
    --How did you find out about this activity?
    --Do you see the people from the (club, activity) outside of that set time?

Has the world situation impacted your study abroad experience? If so, how?

How much time do you spend on:
    --Email, chat or IM?
    --Cell phone
    --With whom do you communicate?

In your predeparture interview you said:
    --has this happened?
    --is that how you went about it?

Is there anything that you were or are surprised about? Anything that shocked you?

What has been the most interesting thing that has happened since your arrival?

How are you doing with your host family?
    --Who are the members of your host family?
    --How old are they?
    --Do you go out with them? If so what do you do?

Appendix J

End of experience guidelines:

How was the experience overall?

How will you remember this experience? How will you describe it to people?

What were your predeparture expectations for your time in France? Did the experience fit these expectations? If so, how? If not, how did it not?

How do you spend your spare time? With whom?

What is a typical weekday like?

What do you do on the weekends? With whom do you go out? Where do you go out?

Are you involved in any 'extracurricular' activities? Soccer clubs? Volleyball clubs?
    --How did you find out about this activity?
    --Do you see the people from the (club, activity) outside of that set time?

In an average day, how much time do you spend on:
    --Email,
    --Chat
    --IM?
    --Cell phone
    --With whom do you communicate?
    --How have these devices impacted your use of French and English?
    --Where do you check your email? Internet café? The Study Abroad office? Home? Other?

Do you feel that you dealt well with the war situation?
    --When you were asked about it or confronted about it, how did that make you feel?
    --Do you feel like you were sheltered from the war talk at all? That is, because you are in a foreign country, listening to 'different' news, do you think that you are less aware of the American view of the war? Did France give you shelter, in a sense, from the war?

Did you ever try to 'pass yourself off as 'French'' (i.e., try to blend in)? Did it work? How do you know? How did you go about this 'blending in'? Why did you 'want' to blend in?

What were the goals you set for yourself and for your experience as a whole? Did you attain the goals you set for yourself? Why or why not?

If you could re-do anything, what would you redo?

Do you feel as though you integrated into your French community?
    --If yes, why? What did you do to integrate?

--If not, why not? What could you have done differently, do you think, to integrate more?

Has your French level/ability helped or hindered the ways in which you find French people with whom to converse? Why is this?

Have you been able to find French/Francophone people with whom you can speak and spend time conversing/hanging out/walking around town? If so, how did you go about doing this? If not, why do you think this is?

Did you end up making French friends?
    --If so, how did you go about doing this?
    --If you did not, why do you think you were unable to do so?

Now that you've been here a few months, what do you think it means to 'be French'? Or what does it mean to 'be American'?

What does it mean to be a woman (man) in France? Is it different than in the US? How?

What recommendations would you give to future study abroad students?

Do you sense that your French has improved over the course of the semester? How can you tell? In what areas has your French improved, or not?

Are you motivated to keep learning French? Has your experience in France encouraged you to keep learning? Or has it discouraged you? Why?

Has your desire to learn (more) French since being in France increased or decreased? Why do you think that is?

Are you excited/looking forward to going home? Why or why not?

Do you think you'll ever come back to France? Why or why not?

How do you think it will be to be back in the U.S.? Do you think you'll have trouble adjusting to being back? Why or why not?

Appendix K

Role Play Situations

Speech Act: **Invitation**

Informal invitation:
Shorter (YELLOW CARD): Call a friend whom you have known for about one month and invite him out for lunch. You both have spent a lot of time together since meeting one month ago, so you know his/her restaurant preference. You suggest a place and a time to meet.

Longer (PURPLE CARD): After about a week in France, you call a French friend whom you have known since childhood. This friend is 20 years old. Invite him/her to a party at your new place on Saturday evening. You tell him who will be there, and you ask him to bring a couple of his/her friends and something to eat or drink. Your friend needs directions to your house.

Formal invitation:
Shorter (LIGHT GREEN CARD): You are at a beginning-of-semester cocktail party with some of your new friends in France. It's being held at a local restaurant where you have been a few times. At the party you happen to see a senior professor from the French department at MID-ATLANTIC whom you have seen before but have never spoken to. Strike up a conversation with him in French. Then, ask him if he would care to join you for dinner after the party.

Longer (PINK CARD): You have met an interesting woman at a cocktail party. She is from Paris and has been an international banker since she finished her studies at the faculté de commerce (a business school) 20 years ago.   Because this is the kind of work you would like to do once you are done with Mid-Atlantic University, at her invitation you call her a few days after the party, you re-introduce yourself to her and you remind her where you first met. You invite her to join you for dinner at your favorite restaurant. You both arrange a date and time, and you tell her where the restaurant is located.

Speech Act: **Requests**

Informal request:
Shorter (LIGHT BLUE CARD): You're having a bad day. You need to see your new French boyfriend/girlfriend as soon as possible. Call him/her at home and ask him/her if s/he can see you for coffee within the hour.

Longer (DARK GREEN CARD): You need a particular book for a project in one of your classes. You have a very good friend, whom you have known since your arrival in France 4 months ago. S/he is in the class with you and has the book you need. Call this person and ask to borrow the book. Tell your friend how long you intend to have the book. Arrange a time and day to pick it up from him/her.

Formal request:

Shorter (ORANGE CARD): You're going on vacation to Marseilles with 2 other friends. When you call the youth hostel, you are startled to hear the voice of a very elderly woman. You think you have the wrong number. When you ask if this is the **Auberge de Jeunesse Montreuil** she says that it is, and she adds that she has owned the hostel for 50 years. You decide that you and your friends must stay there, because she is so kind and colorful. First, though, you ask her for the lowest-priced triple room. Ask what amenities the room has and what the price is.

Longer (DARK BLUE CARD): You are at the train station, intending to travel from Paris to Rome via Marseilles. You finally reach the cashier, after spending about 30 minutes in line, and you buy a two-way ticket from Paris to Rome. You tell the cashier that you need a second-class seat in a non-smoking train car. Ask the cashier at what time you arrive in Marseilles and find out the time of your connection to Rome. Then ask the cashier if the train to Marseilles is on time and find out from what quay you are leaving.

Appendix L:
Components of the entire CALPER project

There are eight different data collection instruments in the entire CALPER study. What

follows is an explanation and description of the instruments **not** analyzed for this dissertation.

1) The Role Play: This instrument is based on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview.[73] At the

predeparture phase and the end-of-experience phase, students were given two different situations

which they had to perform with me. Each task required different sociolinguistic and pragmatic

skills. The role plays were categorized in the following ways: one short and one longer informal

invitation, one short and one longer formal invitation, one short and one longer informal request,

and one short and one longer formal request. In this way, Dr. Kinginger and I were able to elicit

formal and informal linguistic structures, primarily the TU/VOUS system and the pragmatic

challenges involved with requesting something from someone and inviting someone to do

something.

2) "The Frog Story:" The "The Frog Story" was administered at the predeparture and end of

experience phases. "The Frog Story" is a cartoon without words which shows a young boy, his

mother, his father, and his sister who go out to a "fancy restaurant" for dinner. The boy has

taken along his pet frog that, as soon as the family is seated, hops out of the boy's pocket and

wreaks havoc on the different restaurant guests. Eventually the family gets ejected from the

restaurant. When they return home, the boy and his frog are sent to the boy's bedroom, where

the young boy proceeds to play and dance with his frog, his turtle, and his dog. The participants

were asked to narrate this story as if they were telling it to a friend in France.

---

[73] The role play was NOT an actual ACTFL OPI. The role play topics were **based on** the OPI, but they are **in no way** an official OPI.

3) Sections 4, 5, 6, & 7 of The Language Awareness Interview: The Language Awareness Interview is based on the sociolinguistic interview (Labov, 1989). It is composed of seven different parts, eliciting different types of pragmatic and socio-pragmatic knowledge (see Table 3-1 below for details). The Interview was conducted in the following way: After the Frog Story was completed, the Language Awareness Interview was placed in front of the participant, and the participant and I went through it page by page. Students read lists of slang, were asked questions about different ways to ask questions or say goodbye in French, and were asked to read passages of text, among other things. They then commented on whether or not they were familiar with the expressions and language used in the texts and commented on the formality or informality of the different texts. In all, this portion of the predeparture and end-of-experience sessions took approximately one hour.

Table Appendix L-1: Sections 4, 5, 6, & 7 of the Language Awareness Test Sections and Their Descriptions

SECTION 4: QUESTION FORMATION	SECTION 5: SAYING GOOD BYE	SECTION 6: SPOKEN FRENCH	SECTION 7: TEXTUAL LANGUAGE
Why do the French need so many ways to ask questions? Is there a difference, for example, between these questions? And if so, how do you decide which one to use?	Here is a list of ways to say "good-bye" at the end of a conversational exchange. Can you match these expressions to the contexts below? Name as many of the expressions as might be appropriate for the context.	Here is a series of examples of spoken French. Can you say what kind of situation would call for these expressions and describe the person (or their mood) who is using them?	Here are some short texts. Can you say anything about what kind of language is being used in these texts? How do you know?

Vita

Kathleen Farrell Whitworth

After earning a Bachelor of Arts degree in French literature from Indiana University-Bloomington, I moved to Paris, France for 18 months, where I worked as an au pair. After my return to the United States, I studied translation at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and returned to France for four months where I interned for a translation company. At Penn State, I have focused on issues in second language acquisition, applied linguistics and study abroad.