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Where is the Foreign?: An Inquiry into Person, Place, and the Possibility of Dialogue
in an Online French Language Class

by

David Malinowski

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Claire J. Kramsch, Chair
Professor Glynda A. Hull
Professor Richard Kern
Professor Ingrid Seyer-Ochi

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Abstract

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Professor Claire Kramsch, Chair

This study brings a qualitative, case study approach to bear upon an ongoing internet-mediated foreign language-learning project between students of French at an American university and their tutors at a partner institution in France, in order to ask a basic question of the *telecollaborative* language classroom (Belz & Thorne, 2006; O'Dowd, 2007). "Where is the foreign?" represents an attempt to expose the ontological conditions that might enable online students of language in the U.S. to "learn to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies and to grasp themselves as Americans"—a central, reflexive component of translingual and transcultural competence as elaborated by the Modern Language Association (2007).

Throughout the dissertation, I employ the dialogic principles of philosophers and literary theorists Mikhail Bakhtin and Martin Buber, grounded in a frame analytic approach to online and multimodal discourse, in order to understand whether digital communications technologies affording immediacy and co-presence also afford the boundary-setting, outsideness of perspective, and wholeness of person characteristic of dialogue. Analysis is organized in three case studies that take up, in turn, questions of *distance and place*, *embodiment and person*, and *interface and reflexivity* as they relate to the central concept of foreignness. In each of these areas, I find, students' learning experiences, as represented in their own classroom and retrospective discourse, raise the possibility that simulation (Baudrillard, 1994) plays a significant role in defining the reality of the foreign: foreign places signify difference, but with little ability to contextualize interaction; foreign bodies are audible and visible as images, but difficult to address in their totality; and the cultural mediations of the interface become nearly invisible in the face and gaze of the other.

In the conclusion, I suggest that the rise of internet-mediated intercultural language learning projects may be accompanied by unexpected transformations in relations between students and teachers in the face-to-face language classroom, and recommend critical pedagogical interventions that expose the connections between student

experiences of body, place, and technology, in realms both online and off, with the goal of creating optimal conditions for language learners' "operation between languages" (MLA, 2007).

This dissertation is dedicated to Masamitsu Show Nakagawa

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Beginnings and Endings: Where is the Foreign in Foreign Language Education Today?

The Big Picture: Languages Disappearing from U.S. University Campuses?

In the period in which this dissertation was written, 2009-2011, readers of higher education daily news sites such as *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Inside Higher Ed*, as well as other national sources, were regularly presented with stories of the thinning out, scaling down, and outright elimination of public university language programs in the United States. In the context of $1.6 billion in cuts to California's education system in 2008-2009 and $4.2 billion in 2009-2010, Cal State Fullerton President Milton Gordon in May 2010 overturned his own academic senate's decision to not cut its French, German, and Portuguese programs (Mosier, 2010). In September of the same year, the State University of New York at Albany announced that the wholesale elimination of its French, Italian, Russian, classics and theater programs was part of a comprehensive package of measures to "rethink, rebalance, and reallocate resources" in the face of a 30 percent decline in its State tax-dollar allocation (University of Albany News Center, 2010). Also in late 2010, Louisiana State University attracted attention among language educators when it announced that, again in response to shrinking budgets, it would eliminate its Latin, German, Swahili, Portuguese, Japanese and Russian language sequences (Threlkeld, 2010). While the cuts to language programs at U.S. universities are no doubt part of what has been termed a larger crisis in humanities education across the United States and beyond (e.g., Cohen, 2009; Fish, 2010),[1] language educators have pointed out that languages in particular, requiring a commitment to learning across all stages of schooling and across the lifespan (e.g., Pratt, 2003), are particularly vulnerable.

Partially in response—and partially as a response—to shrinking state budgets and educational allocations (particularly for the humanities), universities across the U.S. have been embarking steadily on initiatives to move instruction in the languages and literatures online (Blake, 2008; Holmberg, Shelley, & White, 2005; Lancashire, 2009; White, 2003). The Sloan Consortium's most recent (2010) report indicates that, across all subject areas, 63% of 2,500 surveyed U.S. colleges and universities responded that online learning "was a critical part of their institution's long term strategy" (Allen & Seaman, 2010, p. 2), and that enrollment figures bear this out: as of fall 2009, an aggregate of 5.6 million students (representing almost 30% of higher education students) took an online course, an increase of 2.1 million students since 2006 (Allen & Seaman, 2010, p. 2). Within this

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[1] Certainly, "crises in the humanities" can be found in most every generation; see, for example, Stuart Hall's recounting of the origins of Cultural Studies in the context of postwar cultural and technological change in British society: "the truth is that most of us had to leave the humanities in order to do serious work in it" (S. Hall, 1990, pp. 11-12).

context, high-profile examples of universities' 'consolidation' of language programs and moving instruction online include Drake University's 2001 decision to eliminate its French, German, and Spanish programs in favor of support for "study abroad, internships, and online discussion groups" (Schneider, 2001); the formation in 2002 of the Iowa Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies Distance Learning Consortium to use videoconferencing to teach Czech, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian (Arnone, 2002); and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's moving of its introductory Spanish course to a completely online format in 2009, featuring, among other components, an instructional PowerPoint presentation with an instructor's voice-over lecture delivered to students (Kolowich, 2009). Stories such as these—in addition to the creation of online language courses that represent new offerings and not consolidations of existing programs, such as the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education's development of a fully online undergraduate degree in Arabic language and culture (Kolowich, 2011)—nevertheless attract the attention of educators who assert the particular need for face-to-face instruction in the case of the languages.

The fight for survival among language programs in U.S. higher education, and the re-invention of language classes online, form a twin backdrop to this dissertation, an extended case study situated in an intermediate French class at a large public university in the western United States. Yet, it is not just the foreign language *programs* that are endangered; in light of the moment-to-moment discursive productions of language learners and teachers in language classrooms such as those studied in this dissertation, I suggest that foreignness itself may be in crisis.

Is There Room for the Foreign in the World Today?

The power of discourse[2] to constitute relations of foreignness among people—and, as I suggest, to betray its absence—may be reflected in such apparently trivial moves as the name changes made in recent years by professional organizations for language teachers, such as the World Language Associations of South Dakota, Kentucky, Iowa, and other states. And, at the same time the designator "foreign language" seems to have fallen out of favor in the public identities of these professional organizations,[3] theorists of language education and second language acquisition have called into question the legacy of *the foreign* in the production of academic knowledge. Acknowledging the multiple, changing, and politically charged nature of relationships between territories, languages, and their speakers (see, for instance, Block & Cameron, 2002; Blommaert, 2005;

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[2] Throughout this dissertation, I take a view of discourse as not just reflecting but, in part at least, as constitutive of everyday social reality as experienced by individuals whose semiotic lives meaningfully intersect. I follow Blommaert (2005) in taking a Foucauldian perspective that sees discourse as comprising "all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3).

[3] On its "Mission and History" page, the Kansas World Language Association notes that its members voted to change its name in 2004 from the "Kansas Foreign Language Association", an effort "to diminish the 'foreign-ness' of language learning, to extend membership to teachers of North American native languages, and to encourage teachers of English to speakers of other languages in becoming members" (website: http://www.kfla.lawrence.com/; apparently not maintained after 2007).

Canagarajah, 1999; Risager, 2006, 2007), Pratt et al. write, "As people in language education often point out, the term foreign has become anomalous, even offensive, in the definitively multilingual country of the United States, and most other states. Many of us prefer simply to speak of 'languages'" (Pratt et al., 2008, p. 292). Similarly, Larsen-Freeman and Freeman (2008), at the outset of their review of "disciplines, knowledge, and pedagogy in foreign language instruction", note that "colleagues within the field of language teaching often prefer the term modern languages or world languages" (p. 147), and themselves arrive at a compromise solution in selecting the term of use in their chapter: they decide to use "foreign" consistently in their writing but, in view of what they term the "heterogeneous identity" of languages like Spanish in the U.S. (and similar cases worldwide), they elect to "problematize" (p.147) the foreign by keeping it in quotation marks throughout.[4]

Implicit in these examples is the question of whether the popular move to bracket the term "foreign" (or to eliminate it altogether)—thereby making it something of a foreign entity itself—indicates that it may have in effect lost its referent. In fact, for decades now, literatures on globalization and its flows of people, products, and symbols (Appadurai, 1996, 2001; Castells, 1996; S. Hall, 1997), postcoloniality and the politics of language (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Kachru, 1986; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992), and the technology-enhanced phenomena of spatial and temporal "compression" (Giddens, 1991, 2002; McLuhan, 1964; Virilio, 1991) suggest that the political, economic, and cultural realities of the national border are undergoing radical transformation. And with the national border, the possibility of "being on the other side": inasmuch as languages themselves are as much historically contingent, ideological constructions as they are naturally existing entities (e.g., Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), notions such as "foreign country" and "foreign language" may seem at odds with a "decolonializing approach" in which takes as foundational the "plurality and pluricentricity of world languages and the complexity of speaker identities beyond native and nonnative" (Train, 2011, p. 147).

Yet, even if the foreign is *substantially* in crisis, we know that in the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995) that obtains in post-industrial nations like the United States, where vastly more people support than benefit from globalization's mobilization of people and resources (e.g., Z. Bauman, 1998), *foreignness* remains a powerful and contested form of symbolic capital. Anderson's (1991) history of western nationalism argues that the nation is first and foremost *imagined*,[5] and points to the consequences of their being "inherently limited and sovereign": nations require their Others in order to see and know themselves, a point made forcefully in Said's (1978) groundbreaking study of Western perceptions of "the East". *Orientalism*, he writes, is

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[4] Kramsch (2009b) makes a similar observation in explaining her use of the term "foreign" in order to characterize "someone who is subjectively perceived as being different from oneself because of the different language he or she speaks" (p. 101), noting the domestic situation in which 'foreign' languages are often spoken at home domestically as 'heritage languages'. Her decision to use the term "foreign" in the context of a Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective on learners' negotiation of self-Other relations through language will be taken up in more detail later (esp. Chapters 2 and 5).

[5] Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6).

a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts ... it *is*, rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world (Said, 1978, p. 12).

In the "fast capitalist" (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996) late 20th and early 21st centuries, especially, research on such topics as "banal globalization" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010) and the production of commoditized linguistic *localities* under conditions of globalization (Johnstone, 2010; Silverstein, 1998) demonstrate how representations of essentialized national, cultural, and racial otherness carry value on economic and symbolic markets. And, in light of perspectives on foreign language education as not merely the enactment of a methodical *second language acquisition* but "as sociocultural practice, as historical practice, and as sociosemiotic practice" (Kramsch, 2000, p. 211), the ready transformation of referential signs of otherness into second-order myths (Barthes, 1972) to be consumed and reproduced by language learners and teachers is a matter of pressing concern.

This Study: A First Statement of Purpose

At its broadest level, then, this dissertation attempts to call into question the epistemological status of "the foreign" in the foreign language classroom today. It does so, however, not by attempting a genealogical analysis of a concept, nor through a textual analysis of contemporary academic and popular usage of a term, but through an ethnographically-motivated, qualitative case study of language students' own experiences. And it is significant that these experiences take place within the context of the deployment of an increasingly common *classroom technology*—a telecollaborative partnership (Belz & Thorne, 2006; Guth & Helm, 2010b; O'Dowd, 2007) mediated by desktop videoconferencing, bringing students in a U.S. university language laboratory into synchronous communication with similarly situated tutors in a French university. Drawing centrally upon the dialogic principles of philosophers Mikhail Bakhtin and Martin Buber, I employ tools of critical and multimodal discourse analysis to investigate how language students, online tutors, and a classroom teacher together negotiate the contradictions of geographic separation and tele-mediated co-presence, embodied classroom ritual and on-screen interaction, and changing curricula and procedures that, together, call into question the foreignness of the foreign language.

In this sense, the title "*Where is the foreign?*" is both a question and a provocation directed to those who might argue that foreign languages and cultures can be 'accessed directly' and studied online through technologies that enable synchronous, face-to-face interaction online; in asking *where* the foreign is, however, this dissertation points to the practical and conceptual conundrums confronting language teachers and students both inside and out of the language classroom more generally, as the physical constraints and pedagogical possibilities of places of learning continue to undergo dramatic change.

Finally, it does so out of a belief in the need to reflect on the possibilities for recovering a *foreignness* productive for language educators in the 21st century. Although Pratt et al. (2008) were noted above for their statement to the effect that "the term foreign" has lost favor within the multilingual United States, they continue to argue that, "on the other hand [...] relations of 'foreignness' really do exist [...] in ways that call for learned translingual, transcultural mediation" (Pratt et al., 2008, p. 292). In the end, they contend—and I hope that the data presented in this study bear out as well—that language educators and theorists need to understand, and to continue to be able to speak of, the foreign.

II. Introducing this Study: Finding the Foreign Beyond "Success and Failure" in Telecollaboration

Finding the Foreign: The Français en (Première) Ligne *Project and the MLA Report*

As indicated in the previous section, this study situates itself among changes in foreign language instruction and online learning as they take place through institutions of higher learning across the U.S. and beyond. It does so in recognition of increasing calls for language educators to cultivate in their students a competence that is not just linguistic, communicative, or pragmatic, but *transcultural* and *translingual*—and one that was developed in a particularly American context.

In a major report re-imagining the structure of university language departments *and* articulating broader pedagogical aims for the foreign language classroom, the Modern Language Association (2007) suggested that students of other languages in the United States should "learn to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies and to grasp themselves as Americans—that is, as members of a society that is foreign to others" (MLA, 2007, p. 4). In order to do so, the report claimed, educators should develop students' linguistic, metalinguistic, and metaphorical knowledge of the language so that they might apprehend the "differences in meaning, mentality, and worldview as expressed in American English and in the target language" (MLA, 2007, p. 4). Yet such an understanding was not to be static: learners should (the report suggested) learn to "operate between languages" (p. 3-4), developing a reflexive awareness of self and other in active dialogue with the target society's "cultural subsystems"—the literary and artistic works, mass media, and geographic "sites of memory" that, together, act to reestablish a cultural "background reality" on a daily basis (MLA, 2007, p. 4-5).[6] Together, these visions for the competences and subjective dispositions of the early 21st century language learner, as well as the shrinkages and transformations in the U.S. university's foreign language classroom (as outlined in the previous section) are among those that animate this study 'from above'.

However, this dissertation is immediately and practically motivated by the concerns of the people of two classrooms and computer labs at two universities in the

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[6] See Chapter 7, Section IV for discussion of these goals in light of this study's findings.

United States and France. On one day of every week for a period of two months each in 2008 and 2009, approximately fifteen students of French at the University of California at Berkeley and fifteen teacher trainees in French language education (*français langue étrangère*) at the University of Lyon 2 and the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon engaged in face-to-face language lessons, online. On the Lyon side, the French teacher trainees designed 45-minute desktop videoconferencing lessons in order to develop their own professional and technological competences (see Guichon, 2009). On the Berkeley side—the focus of this research project—the undergraduate students of French were to have access to the "living" language though a "personal exchange" with age peers that would "promote knowledge of a foreign culture" and enhance their motivation to learn French (quotes from Develotte, 2008, p. 42). Framed in this way, the lessons of this project, dubbed *Le français en (première) ligne*,[7] appeared to offer a rich site for study where, as Pratt et al. (2008) have noted, "social groups really are alien to each other in ways that call for learned translingual, transcultural mediation" (p. 292).

To be clear, the cultivation of transcultural and translingual competence, as conceived by the Modern Language Association or others, was *not* among the goals of the *F1L* project. *Le français en (première) ligne* was established by Christine Develotte and colleagues in France in 2002 with the twin aims of developing new methods for internet-mediated French language pedagogy, while providing opportunities for university students of French located outside of France to engage in communicative activities with age-group peers (Develotte, 2008).[8] To date, the project has been a focal point of research by a cadre of scholars in various institutional contexts. Publications include Dejean-Thircuir and Mangenot's exploration of the mixed role of the tutors as neither teachers nor peers in the Besançon-Melbourne exchanges (Dejean-Thircuir & Mangenot, 2006); Develotte's examination of the micro- and meso-level constraints and "degrees of freedom" available to participants (focusing on the 2007-8 Lyon-Berkeley exchange addressed in detail in this dissertation; Develotte, 2008); Develotte, Mangenot, and Zourou's investigations of the tutors' design of multimedia pedagogical tasks and their enactment, seen from perspectives of situated cognition and learning (Develotte, Mangenot, & Zourou, 2005, 2007); Develotte, Guichon, and Kern's consideration of the types of competences developed by both tutors and students, with respect to the Lyon-Berkeley exchange (Develotte, Guichon, & Kern, 2008), and Guichon's (2009) further conceptual development of the suite of socio-affective, pedagogical, and multimedia competences required of tutors online; Mangenot's elaboration of the variety of "communication scenarios", or the participatory structures that influence the character of

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[7] This project is introduced more fully in Chapter 3, Section III. In following chapters, I use the project's full name the first time it is mentioned; thereafter I use the abbreviation "*F1L*", as it appears in French-language literature on the project (see following paragraph).

[8] Develotte (personal communication) has emphasized the importance of language learners' engagement in dialog with *age-group peers* as a prime motivator in founding the F1L project; this conviction is supported by other researchers in telecollaboration studies such as Belz (2007), who summarizes findings by herself (Belz & Kinginger, 2003), Kinginger (2002, 2004), and Thorne (2003) thusly: "The added dimension of social interaction with native-speaking *age peers* has been shown to broaden the range of available discourse options in comparison to traditional L2 classrooms, to alter and increase the (number of) epistemic roles that learners may assume, and to create conditions under which learners desire to present and maintain positive face, which, in turn, may result in enhanced L2 performance" (p. 128).

online verbal interaction (Mangenot, 2008); and Zourou's (2008) mapping of the symmetries and asymmetries in tutor-learner relationships with feedback techniques employed by tutors to give learners feedback in telecollaborative exchanges generally.

To these studies, this dissertation stands as an addition asking different questions that arise from different concerns, such as those I have outlined already. Due in part to the *telecollaborative* structure of the *F1L* project and, as such, the potential both for transcultural learning and misunderstanding (Belz & Thorne, 2006; O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006; Ware, 2005; see review below), I contend, questions such as the following *also* need to be asked. Did the Berkeley learners of French and their French interlocutors in fact learn (or begin to learn) "to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies and to grasp themselves as Americans—that is, as members of a society that is foreign to others"? Given the nature of their exchange, the relevant institutional and curricular parameters, and the limitations and affordances of their desktop videoconferencing medium of communications, *could* they have? Were they able to see beyond, for example, the orientalist Other of Said (1978), the substance-less and ideological myth of Barthes (1972), introduced in Section I?

A Telecollaborative Dilemma: Where are you when you're Studying French?

Feedback from the 2008 French learners in Berkeley attested to their sense that virtual co-presence with native speaking tutors of the target language facilitated a type of interaction that was authentic, rewarding, and difficult to attain in the context of traditional classroom instruction. Describing their overall experience with the videochat instruction in an end-of-project written evaluation, students remarked on the pleasure of being able to engage in "actual conversation" or enjoying the "first hand experience" of speaking in "natural situations". One wrote that s/he felt as if s/he were actually "in France" during the teleconferencing sessions. Another student, when asked about the effectiveness of the spoken and written feedback given by the tutor during the exchange, remarked that the intimacy afforded by the weekly two-to-two interactions online provided an opportunity to ask questions without raising one's hand in front of the whole class and risking negative evaluation from one's peers.

Anecdotes like these, while far from comprehensive, suggest the presence of conditions for the kind of rich intercultural dialog and constructivist learning about self and other described in studies of "internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education" (Belz & Thorne, 2006) and, more particularly, *telecollaboration*. Defined by O'Dowd (2007) as "the activity of engaging language learners in interaction and collaborative project work with partners from other cultures through the use of online communication tools such as e-mail, videoconferencing and discussion forums" (p. 4),[9]

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[9] As the amalgamation of "tele-" and "collaboration" suggest, definitions of telecollaboration often bring the technological *means* and the communicative *goals* of such exchanges to the fore. Belz (2003), for example, writes that in telecollaboration, "internationally-dispersed learners in parallel language classes use Internet communication tools such as e-mail, synchronous chat, threaded discussion, [...], in order to support social interaction, dialogue, debate, and intercultural exchange" (p. 1). Guth and Helm (2010a), meanwhile, point to the use of this term in Computer-Supported Collaborative Work (CSCW) and other

telecollaboration is perhaps the most useful paradigm for describing the learning activities of the Berkeley students of French and their French tutors in Lyon. Early studies of telecollaboration include Warschauer's (Warschauer, 1996) edited volume on the use of the electronic communication in language education; Furstenberg, Levet, English, and Mallet's (2001) descriptions of intercultural awareness-building via the acclaimed *CULTURA* project; Kinginger's early article on students videoconferencing to access "everyday spoken French" (Kinginger, 1999); and O'Dowd's (2003) own study of a Spanish-English email exchange. Building upon these and other studies of the possibilities and obstacles telecollaborative exchanges present to the goal of "understanding the other side" (O'Dowd, 2003; see also Byram, 1997), more recent studies inquire into how joint tasks can be developed and foregrounded so as to help make telecollaboration live up to its name as a *collaborative* endeavor (Lamy & Goodfellow, 2010, p. 107), investigate the potential for new tools such as desktop videoconferencing for facilitating constructivist learning (Jauregi & Bañados, 2008), and explore the relationship between intercultural and multimodal competence (Hauck, 2010).

  Yet, in light of studies such as these, and echoing my questions above, we might ask again if, and how, the Berkeley students of French approached the Modern Language Association's transcultural and translingual ideal of "operating between languages" in their online lessons. Anecdotal evidence from the period of my initial involvement with Lyon-Berkeley *F1L* project (2007-8) seemed to present conflicting pictures about the distance between the two sides of the exchange, the presumed otherness of "the other" online, and the ability of the telecollaborative medium to sustain learners' reflexive awareness and growth. In their end-of-program evaluations, many of the French language students suggested that although their online interactions were designed by their online tutors in congruence with the French 3 curriculum and with language learning goals expressly in mind, they viewed their weekly tutorial sessions as "out of class" activities, set in contrast to those made by their classroom teacher. "Structure", in the form of online oral activities with prescribed topics, supporting verbal and visual texts, and set roles for students and tutors, was largely held in lower regard than were the unscripted, informal, and "natural conversations" that they might have with their "real French speaker" partners—conversations that, several students asserted, were as memorable for their reference to familiar social practices and cultural figures in the U.S. as they were for the unfamiliar in francophone cultures. Efforts made by the tutors to enact the pedagogical practice of the *bilan*—a short, formal evaluation of students' performance that was intended to close the online lessons[10]—were often not recognized as such by the students,

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fields, and write, "In language learning contexts, telecollaboration is generally understood to be Internet-based intercultural exchange between people of different cultural/national backgrounds, set up in an institutional context with the aim of developing both language skills and intercultural communicative competence (as defined by Byram 1997) through structured tasks" (p. 4).

[10] In her activity theoretical study on CALL and the development of learner autonomy based in a university French class for English speakers, Françoise Blin (2005) notes that "The French term 'bilan' is used throughout as no English equivalent can fully express its meaning. In business terms, a 'bilan' is a balance sheet. In every day French, *faire un bilan* entails taking stock of one's experience and evaluating the outcomes so that decisions concerning future actions or directions can be made. In the context of this thesis, the 'bilan' refers to a reflective account of past events and outcomes written by students at the end of a

who often preferred to receive feedback on a case-by-case basis during the interaction, and to switch to 'friendlier' topics at the end of the lesson. Meanwhile, and perhaps revelatory of a shift in the epistemological ground of "foreignness" in the classroom, the students' online lessons with tutors in Lyon seemed to occasion comparison between their online tutors and the classroom teacher as "native" or not, or "real" or not—even when the tutors in Lyon were, in certain cases, in fact not of French origin or native speakers of French. Meanwhile, the Berkeley classroom teacher, while attesting to the value of the online exchanges, maintained that the students' activities *online* had a qualitative effect on the *offline* classroom: students in class were more 'distant' and reticent to speak (both with her and with each other) than were students of other sections of the same intermediate French course that she taught. The "magic" of the classroom as a space of performance and play as well as learning, she had said, was missing.

This Study: A Second Statement of Purpose

This dissertation takes up the concerns of this Berkeley French classroom in light of questions about the role of technology in telecollaborative exchanges, both online and offline. It is a qualitative investigation that attempts to combine the exploratory spirit of ethnographic investigations of language and literacy learning, new media, and technology with the analytic specificity of the case study (see this chapter, Section IV). As such, it aims both to map out probable obstacles to the achievement of transcultural, translingual learning in classroom-based, internet-mediated intercultural learning projects, and to assert that the question "Where is the foreign?" needs to be asked across much broader contexts of second and foreign language learning.

In part, as well, this study aims to speak both to and from a recognized sub-genre of studies of telecollaboration—the case study of international partnerships that do not, or may not live up to their promise of fostering intercultural learning. Such studies of "failed communication" in telecollaboration (term from O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006) include separate instances of intercultural "miscommunication" (Belz, 2002), "missed communication" (Ware, 2005), and outright "conflict" (Schneider & von der Emde, 2006) among students in German-U.S. exchanges. Up to the present, explanations for such cross-cultural tensions and conflicts have been many: Kramsch and Thorne (2002), for example, find differences in expectations about communicative genre to have been at the root of miscommunication in a multi-year French-U.S. exchange. In her above-mentioned study of a multi-year German-U.S. interaction, Belz (2002) employs a "social realist" theoretical orientation to explain a mismatch between learner agency and competing structural influences on learners in Germany and the U.S.; in a later case study of a small number of individuals involved in the same exchange (Belz, 2003), she argues that the "linguistic encoding and expression" of learners' mutual evaluations online is a critical site for the demonstration of intercultural competence, and lack thereof.

No doubt these are but a few of the analytic frameworks that can shed light on *what happened* between students here and there; as Schneider and von der Emde remark, however, there is still a dearth of knowledge about "how to anticipate and productively

semester or task" (p. 117).

deal with serious conflicts that regularly occur in online exchanges" (Schneider & von der Emde, 2006, p. 201). Clearly, at stake in the introduction of an internet-mediated, intercultural language tutoring module into an established, face-to-face foreign language class is much more than isolated learning strategies, pedagogical skills, and configurations of technological hardware. In the following two sections, then, I attempt to set the stage theoretically and methodologically for the exploration of what I contend are some of the basic conditions for relations of foreignness to obtain in telecollaborative language classrooms such as the intermediate French classes at Berkeley studied in the chapters to come—the dialogic prerequisites of distance and place, embodiment and wholeness of person, and reflexivity, as mediated by the computer interface.

III. The Dialogic Stakes of the Foreign Online: Distance and Place, Embodiment and Wholeness, Interface and Reflexivity

"The Foreign": Developing a Dialogic Approach to this Study's Central Concept

Addressing language educators and researchers in his recent book chapter "What makes a language foreign?", Ehlich (2009) draws upon seminal works on the topic in German,[11] reading through derivations of the word "foreign" in different languages, and asserting the relative and shifting nature of *foreignness* as it pertains to languages in general. He draws a parallel between the concept of foreignness and the action of linguistic deictics, in that the former comprises a relative sense of distance/proximity, or of *proprius* and *extraneus,* 'own' and 'other', without absolute coordinates. He notes, "Foreignness is therefore not 'foreignness *per se*', but 'foreignness for'" a speaker of a certain language, with respect to a speaker of another (p. 25). Acknowledging the kinds of trepidations voiced by educators who eschew the term "foreign" for others like "world" language (see discussion in Section I), Ehlich points to the nefarious effects of ideology in the contemporary era of migration and multilingualism, and asserts, "the fundamental distinction between native and foreign language cannot be upheld" (p. 38). Nevertheless, he says, this is far from a call to abandon the foreign; pointing back to the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, he argues the case for a productive notion of foreignness:

> Foreignness is not just a disturbing aspect of language to be eliminated. The other, i.e. a stranger, is the starting point and the goal of any communication. This is why foreignness is a condition for the possibility of communication (Ehlich, 2009, p. 39).

In Section IV of this chapter, and then at greater length in the beginning of Chapter 2, I bring Ehlich's views on foreignness into dialogue with other visions of foreignness that inform my approach. These include 'traditional' assumptions in

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[11] Among these, Ehlich identifies "The foreignness of foreign languages" by Harald Weinrich, 1985, as perhaps the most significant.

interactionist Second Language Acquisition literature about "the foreign" in the second language classroom as the essential removal of the classroom from territories where the language is spoken (e.g., Doughty & Long, 2003; Gass, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 1999); first-person language memoirs that describe intimate experiences of belonging and non-belonging as the subjectively felt *stuff* of foreignness (Anzaldúa, 1987; Hoffman, 1989; Stavans, 2001); philosophical approaches by those such as Julia Kristeva (e.g., 1991) and Rebecca Saunders (2003), who discuss foreignness as absence, as negativity, as strangeness, and as prompting reflexive awareness on the part of all people of *themselves* as foreign.

Understood in dialogue with one another, these varied perspectives on questions of foreignness form a constellation of theoretical and lived 'voices' that may be said to mutually enrich one another, without any one being reducible to the other: Anzaldúa's first-person, multilingual narratives of "life in the borderlands" are of a different genre and represent a fundamentally different *kind* of knowledge than the more abstracted postulations of a philosopher like Saunders. And it is precisely this principle, that of bringing sometimes complementary, sometimes competing, and never mutually reducible voices into dialogue that informs the view of foreignness for which I prepare in the discussion below, and which I elaborate more fully in Chapter 2.

The need for the *foreign* in the form of the irreducible otherness of the other is implicit in the notions of translingual and transcultural competence as defined in the MLA Report (MLA, 2007), and is a defining principle of the relationality of dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Buber, 1958, 2002; Burbules & Bruce, 2001; Holquist, 2002). Mikhail Bakhtin's principles of dialogue, in particular, have motivated language and literacy educational theorists in English-speaking contexts since its translation into English in the 1980s (Ball & Freedman, 2004; J. Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005; Kostogriz, 2005); his thought, put in dialogue with Martin Buber's dialogic view of *I-Thou* and *I-It* relations in Chapter 2, form the crux of the concept of foreignness that I use throughout this dissertation to frame and interpret the happenings of the *F1L* project in Berkeley. And, as suggested both by theory and by the data collected and analyzed for this project, there are (at least) three crucial areas in which a dialogic approach to understanding the foreignness of the foreign language classroom might be both challenged and enabled in new ways by the communications technologies of telecollaboration. Elaborated below, "distance and place", "embodiment and wholeness", and "interface and reflexivity" serve as the guiding themes for Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively.

From "Distance", Questions of Place

Distance, understood in the Bakhtinian-Buberian approach of Chapter 2 as a mutual separation of discursive positions, is a fundamental condition of dialogic relations. And distance, as discussed in a review of the literature in Chapter 4, is the fundamental premise and, indeed, the *promise* of the *tele*-collaborative exchange: "trans-Atlantic", U.S.-European partnerships are a major focus of the literature on telecollaboration, and geographic separation is written into the very definitions of

telecollaboration, as reviewed in the previous section (as in Belz, 2003, "internationally dispersed learners in parallel language classes").

Yet distance, separation, and remoteness are also that which so-called distance learning arrangements strive to eliminate—and herein lies the contradiction taken up in Chapter 4. In the same manner that media theorist Marshall McLuhan argued in the 1950s that the "new media" of television, movies, and newspapers "threaten, instead of reinforce, the procedures of the traditional classroom" (McLuhan, 1957), internet-based communications technologies like videoconferencing can be said not just to threaten the "walls" of the contemporary language classroom, but the very *metric* of distance itself (Borgmann, 1999, 2001), a phenomenon perhaps evidenced by the appearance of studies of "spatialization" in language and literacy education (term from Leander & Sheehy, 2004). Aligning themselves with the so-called "spatial turn" in social theory and cultural geography (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1994; Soja, 1989), scholars with an interest in space and place in language educational processes recognize the ways in which space and spatiality open up avenues for considering multiplicities and modalities of co-presence in human interaction, activity, and learning activities, on one hand, while constituting an essential aspect of human semiotic practices that must be learned, on the other. With respect to the latter, for instance, the influential New London Group recognized "spatial meanings" as one of six key elements in a design-based approach to literacy education, comprising such areas as "ecosystemic, geographic, and architectonic meanings" (New London Group, 1996, p. 83). Following this, the work of Goodson, Knobel, Lankshear, and Mangan (2002), Kostogriz (Kostogriz, 2006; Vadeboncoeur, Hirst, & Kostogriz, 2006), Leander and Sheehy (2004) and others recognizes literacy and language practices as plural, multiple, and thus amenable to a spatial understanding. Kostogriz, for example, posits a "transcultural space" between older models of unitary literacy and fragmented & local 'situated' literacies (Kostogriz, 2004, p. 4), an argument with consequences that mirror the MLA's transcultural, translingual imperative for foreign language learners to "operate between languages".

In order to take up questions of distance, space, and place in telecollaboration, I later (Chapter 4) present and analyze the Berkeley French students' verbal and visual representations of their own online experiences, employing existing typologies of spaces inhabited by computer users who are said to be simultaneously online and offline (R. Jones, 2005; Strate, 1999). My purpose in so doing is to understand the complex relationships of language learners to the various places of their telecollaborative exchanges (classrooms, language labs, universities, cities, regions, countries). By drawing a link between Borgmann's argument that internet communications technologies change the very *metric* of distance and the contention (Nunes, 1995; Turkle, 1995, 2011) that online communication—and especially online communication in visual modes— draws upon a logic of simulation (Baudrillard, 1994; Eco, 1986), I suggest that telecollaborative distance cannot be taken for granted. Rather, its nature and effects upon the language learner's ability to enter into dialogue must be interrogated.

From "Embodiment", Questions of Wholeness of Person

Bakhtin's notion of "outsideness" as a prerequisite for dialogic relations, and relations of *foreignness*, to obtain between individuals (and texts like the novel) is important not only in the sense that there must be distance between speaking subjects,[12] but also that they be whole persons. Indeed, embodiment and wholeness of person are crucial (if under-recognized in studies of language learning and technology) in the development of the situated, context-sensitive, historically-aware *multilingual subject* (Kramsch, 2009b), from a variety of theoretical perspectives: just as embodied experience serves as the foundation for culturally-specific metaphors for reasoning and speaking about the world as seen from cognitive linguistics and psychology (Fauconnier, 1997; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Slobin, 1996), the body is the site of sociology's notion of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991)—that is, social institutions that have been inculcated in the individual through a lifetime of socialization, and realized as dispositions to behave and speak in certain ways. And while philosopher Judith Butler's (1997) notion of the *excitability* of speech acts demonstrates that embodiment is that which allows speech to mean more, or mean differently, than a speaker might have intended, the phenomenological approach of those such as Merleau-Ponty (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Merleau-Ponty & Lefort, 1968) shows the body, extended through technologies like walking canes, eyeglasses, and computer keyboards, as the locus of the postural (or, commonly, *corporeal*) schema—a potential for action that is immanent in any social/environmental setting.

The dialogic affordances of embodiment and wholeness of person, I contend at the opening of Chapter 5, cannot be taken for granted in the online medium of desktop videoconferencing. As Kramsch (2009b) has argued, the Internet allows for expanded procedural authority, distributed authorship, spatial agency, and encyclopedic search (see Murray, 1997)—all of potentially great benefit to the language learner. However, concurrent with these new forms of connectivity and action, the self risks losing touch with "the contextual boundaries without which there can be no agency, authorship, or creativity" (Kramsch 2009b, p. 185), a fact with profound consequences for the language learner's subjectivity. In fact, it is the body's own limits of metaphorical imagination, of social habitus, and of potential to act and move--all of which are formed with reference to the bodily form and what Hansen (2006), following Merleau-Ponty, terms one's "primary motility"—that serve as one's initial boundary between Self and Other. In light of the blending of human cognition and action with machines and information flows in online contexts, Hansen, Hayles (1999) and other scholars of a posthumanist ilk see a particular obligation to rethink the very terms of embodiment, materiality, and locat-ability of people online. In this vein she writes, "Information, like humanity, cannot exist apart from the embodiment that brings it into being as a material entity in the world; and embodiment is always instantiated, local, and specific" (Hayles, 1999, p. 49). Such contentions, in directing attention to how mediated bodies can be situated with respect to one another, are of great consequence to language learners and teachers striving to take up subject positions outside the histories, geographies, and cultures of others--and of

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[12] Refer to Ehlich's opposition between *proprius* and *extraneus*, discussed above.

themselves. Following Chapter 4's treatment of distance and place in telecollaboration, then, these questions of embodiment form the crux of Chapter 5.

From "Interface", Questions of Reflexivity

The imperative for language learners to reflect critically upon themselves *as foreign* is a central tenet of the translingual and transcultural competence as posited by the Modern Language Association (2007); linguistic and cultural self-reflexivity is also a crucial aspect of the "Comparisons" goal area in the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project's *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* (2006), and in popular European models of intercultural communicative competence that find expression in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001). Yet, while the roles of technological mediation in aiding or disrupting language learners' ability to process input, produce output, and negotiate meaning have frequently been addressed (see, for example, Blake, 2000; Chapelle, 2001, 2003; Doughty & Long, 2003), the effects of online, synchronous, and especially *video* mediation upon learners' ability to comprehend and contextualize languacultural differences and similarities—and thus guarantee the "inter-" of intercultural communication (Agar, 1994; Risager, 2007; Ware & Kramsch, 2005)—has to a large extent not. Kinginger's (1999) early telecollaborative study of a U.S.-French partnership designed to increase intercultural and language variety awareness, with its incidences of flirtation and students "playing the class clown", pointed to the need for richer descriptions of pathways to communicative ability, in accordance with the complexities of students speaking with native speakers in real time. Yamada and Akahori's more recent (2007) study of CMC and language learning across four media platforms (video conferencing, audio conferencing, text-chat with image of interlocutor, and plain text-chat) suggests that, all other conditions being equal, the presence of the partner's image encourages interpersonal alignment and "emotional behaviors such as laughing" (p. 58) sometimes at the expense of "learning objectives", even when those objectives are posted on the screen. More broadly, the finding that interlocutors in videoconferencing (as compared with audio-only or co-present face-to-face) settings attend relatively more to co-construction of social presence and the process of *attaining* mutual understanding, and less to the actual topic at hand, is substantiated by earlier research in human-computer interaction. O'Malley et al. (1996), for instance, draw on Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs' (1986) notion of "grounding" to argue that video-mediated interlocutors may be less inclined to believe that they have "achieved sufficient 'common ground'" (p. 190) and "even though they can see their interlocutors, [they] over-compensate by increasing the level of both verbal and nonverbal information" (p. 177).

The findings of this study, based on participant observation, audio and visual recordings, and the Berkeley student participants' own verbal and pictorial accounts of their experiences, suggest that the effects of the videoconferencing-mediated telecollaborative interface need to be investigated in a more sustained, more granular fashion than has heretofore been the case—one that, minimally, takes into account the reconfigurations and representations of place and body online, as outlined in the previous

two sub-sections. As discussed above, Chapter 4, on the nature of distance in the *F1L* project, raises the question of whether students and tutors 'meeting' online were able to meaningfully situate their interactions with respect to their 'host' cities of Berkeley and Lyon, or whether the topological metric of place online (in which place functions as a symbolic resource for communicative and pedagogical activity; see Borgmann, 2001) transformed these places into hyperreal signifiers. Chapter 5, addressing the wholeness and embodiment of the telecollaborative interlocutor, inquires into the ways in which students and tutors in videoconferencing interaction, represented only in part via on-screen windows, headphones, and a suite of technological interferences, may be both immobilized and disaggregated online. And Chapter 6, an investigation into the subjective experience and consequences of *looking* through the medium of screen and video camera, asks what the consequences of believing what one sees in an intercultural context might be—that is, whether and how critical linguistic and cultural awareness might be affected by a computer interface behaving as it ideally should—as invisible, immediate (Bolter & Grusin, 2000).

In a sense, then, this entire dissertation may be seen as an extended meditation on the role of the interface in facilitating and disrupting language learners' and teachers' ability to enter into dialogue from positions of *proprius* and *extraneus*, embodied, whole, and far enough from each other's *origos of discourse* (see Hanks, 1992) and action so that they may, for moments at a time, see each other as foreign.

IV. Research Approach, Research Questions and Outline of this Study

At its heart, this dissertation represents an attempt to map out a vision of *foreignness* of use to researchers and practitioners in language education. As such, it engages a concept with implications far beyond the language classroom, common understandings of which no doubt influence the practice of those who research, teach, and study language. "Foreignness", as philosopher Rebecca Saunders (2003) argues, is an irrevocably ideological construct with consequences for perhaps the majority of the world's people, as an operation that separates some from the others by virtue of their supposed *absences* and *displacements*—by *that which is missing*. At stake in questions of foreignness is nothing less than the humanity of the Other, a point made as well by theologist Kathleen L. Graham in her study of science fiction, technology, and the popular imagination: "exemplary and virtuous humanity is delineated by means of its opposites, who are marked out as objects of awe and wonder by means of their aberrant nature" (Graham, 2002, p. 19).

Yet, as Saunders argues, intellectual engagement with such an exclusive concept as foreignness opens up new opportunities for understanding that which may have been long taken for granted. She writes,

> If the relative nature of foreignness means that it is defined negatively and thereby
> embedded in a hierarchy, it also means that the presence of the foreign

simultaneously *thematizes* and *interrogates* the familiar, drags crepuscular familiarities into daylight and exposes them to inspection (Saunders, 2003, p. 5).

As with "foreignness and the human", I argue, so with foreignness and the language learner. An overriding assumption that guides this study is that studying the classroom technological intervention that is telecollaboration via desktop videoconferencing with an eye to the question of foreignness may occasion the re-thinking of some fundamental notions used to define and measure language learning. As indicated earlier, "competence" is one. From the 'computational' ideal of grammatical competence in the 1950s and 1960s (Chomsky, 1965) to the socially attuned communicative and pragmatic competences of the 1970s and 1980s (Canale & Swain, 1980; Hymes, 1971) that could be brought into view with the portable audio recorder technology, to the multimodal "transcultural and translingual" notions of today, competences have, perhaps not coincidentally, embodied worldviews also reflected in the technologies of the day. "Interlanguage" (Selinker, 1972, 1992) might be another concept from traditional SLA studies deserving of critical scrutiny in light of reconsiderations of foreignness; in Chapter 2, Section III, I explore a potential symmetry between the figure of the foreigner and the idealized "native speaker" construct, pronounced dead by SLA researchers decades ago (Paikeday, 1985).

I take up these concerns again at greater length in the Conclusion (Chapter 7), where I find, for example, that students in the intermediate French classroom of this study may have begun to foreground the teacher's role as evaluator of linguistic competence to the exclusion of her other roles, even as they found occasion to question her own status as 'native' or 'non-native' speaker of French. However, my goal is not to apply a pre-existing construct of "the foreign" to the analysis of long-standing 'operational constructs' such as *competence*, *interlanguage*, or *the native speaker*; it is rather, as Massumi (2002) advocates in his humanistic interrogation of embodiment and affect in the domain of the virtual, to discover anew, through experimentation, a *concept* that might help to reorganize thinking around a variety of interrelated issues. He writes,

> The wager is that there are methods of writing from an institutional base in the humanities disciplines that can be considered experimental practices. What they would invent (or reinvent) would be concepts and connections between concepts. The first rule of thumb if you want to invent or reinvent concepts is simple: don't apply them. If you apply a concept or system of connections between concepts, it is the material you apply it to that undergoes change, much more markedly than do the concepts (Massumi, 2002, p. 17).

In this light, I can now present the primary research question that animates this study as an invitation to (re)discovery of some of the basic conditions of classroom and online interaction in a telecollaborative project such as *F1L*--conditions that might help or hinder learners' ability to "operate between languages" and thus to see their interlocutors, and themselves, as foreign.

What do students' online learning experiences show us about the ontological ground of 'foreignness' in internet-mediated foreign language education today?

In Chapter 3 (Methods), after the outlining of three problem spaces that has taken place here in the introduction (*distance and place*, *embodiment and person*, and *interface and reflexivity*, from Section III), and after a more thorough exploration of the conceptual parameters, history, and a dialogic foundation to foreignness (Chapter 2), I develop this research question further and specify three derivative questions, reproduced here:

1. What becomes of distance and place in the telecollaborative medium? Are they lost, or can they be maintained? And if the latter, how are they transformed? (Chapter 4)

2. What is the nature of the language learner's body online, and of the bodies of intercultural others? Does one need a body to be foreign? (Chapter 5)

3. What opportunities and barriers does the telecollaborative medium present for language learners' reflexive awareness (and subjective positioning) of themselves as foreign? (Chapter 6)

As indicated above, each of these three sub-questions serves as a guide to the literature reviews, narrations and interpretations of data, and discussions that comprise Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. While my first two data chapters suggest something of a crisis in the blended language classroom studied herein—place, distance, embodiment, and wholeness of person, as I develop these concepts, are to a degree *lost*—the third (Chapter 6) more explicitly attempts to uncover spaces where teachers and students in similar telecollaborative projects might (re)discover foreignness in the language and culture they are studying. And throughout, as has hopefully been made apparent thus far, I remain convinced of the *need* for the foreign in language education today; the question, as Ehlich (2009) poses it, is one of recovering a productive foreignness that is "a condition for the possibility of communication" (p. 39), since, as he argues, and I concur, "The future of language teachers needs a thorough basis in linguistics and language theory and an increase in reflection on language and on foreignness as part of the condition humana" (p. 40).

Theoretically, throughout the entire dissertation, I take an unabashedly multidisciplinary approach to exploring the question of the foreign, and to the discovery of what I have termed the "ontological ground of foreignness". In doing so, I draw from, varyingly, anthropological views of place, displacement, and virtuality (Augé, 1995; Boellstorff, 2008; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997b), philosophical explorations of the conditions of self-other relations (Buber, 1958; Foucault, 1971; Kristeva, 1991; Merleau-Ponty, 1962), literary theory and cultural criticism (Bakhtin, 1986; Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1978), and studies in new media and technology that question boundaries between the virtual and actual, embodiment and representation, action and desire (Hansen, 2006; Nunes, 2006; Nusselder, 2009).

Methodologically, while prioritizing an openness in inquiry befitting qualitative research traditions in which the discovery of participants' categories of experience is one of the principal goals of research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994), I hope that this study will benefit from the very particular nature of its area of inquiry, in the manner of the extended case study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Dyson & Genishi, 2005). *Telecollaboration*, as discussed earlier, is just one of the myriad purposes to which the internet can be put in the foreign language classroom, and the use of the internet for communications, of course, is just one purpose that can animate the use of the computer and other forms of technology in the language classroom (Kern, 2006; Warschauer & Kern, 2000). While the interviews of students and teachers, classroom and computer lab field notes, video recordings, and student drawings that form the bulk of the data analyzed herein depict an institutional context that, in part, defines the genre of "telecollaboration" (Guth & Helm, 2010a, p. 4), there were many factors unique to the settings, participants, and methods employed in this study, and thus potential limitations in the applicability of its findings. While multi-sited, global, and online ethnographic protocols (Hannerz, 2003; Hine, 2000; Marcus, 1995; Rutter & Smith, 2005) might have had data collection for the current project split evenly between Lyon, Berkeley, and possibly other sites affiliated with the *F1L* and other projects, for example, data for this study were overwhelmingly collected in Berkeley. The researcher's (my own) status as a beginning/intermediate speaker of French as well no doubt allowed for certain questions to be posed, and certain types of phenomena to be attended to, and others not. Such issues are discussed at more length in Chapter 3.

I would hope to respond to questions about the limitations of this study first by acknowledging its situation in a U.S. context: my invocation of the principles of the U.S.-based Modern Language Association (and not, for example, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) my narrative of the concept of "the foreign" in the history of language education in the United States (Chapter 2, Section II) represent two examples of my attempt to do this. Indeed, at some level, while many argue that the nation-state is no longer as relevant in a globalized world as it was in decades past, and while postmodern narratives sees the salience of borders as *contingent*, the "social construction of distinctions, differences and boundaries at a variety of interpersonal, group, and national scales" (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p. 198), I would contend that these are precisely reasons for taking up questions of the nation and the contingent and often decontextualized negotiation of national identities, themselves common occurrences in telecollaborative projects.

Secondly, however, I would point to the manner in which sociologist Erving Goffman defined his scope of interest and the applicability of the findings within his field of sociology. Goffman, whose systematic language for understanding individuals' *framing* of social events forms a key methodological and theoretical contribution to my own approach (see Chapter 3, Section II for a discussion), framed what was perhaps his opus work (Goffman, 1974) with a significant disclaimer:

> I make no claim whatsoever to be talking about the core matters of sociology--
> social organization and social structure. Those matters have been and can
> continue to be quite nicely studied without reference to frame at all. I am not

addressing the structure of social life but the structure of experience individuals have at any moment of their social lives. I personally hold society to be first in every way and any individual's current involvements to be second; this report deals only with matters that are second (p. 13).

Of course, Goffman's "second" was the stuff of a lifetime of work and of monumental influence for the understanding of how the stuff of moment-to-moment interactions, much of it unspoken, revealed larger cosmologies of meaning within (American) society. My goals are more modest, but I hope that by revealing sometimes minute aspects of students' mediated experience of intercultural, online learning of French, some of the roles of technology in framing foreignness(es) for second language learners. This is not a study that will provide the final answer to questions about how to select online tools, create communicative tasks, or foster learner autonomy online; however, at a time in which knowledge about people's identities, relationships, and the cultural institutions of other places are readily manipulated, both inside the classroom and out,[13] I hope that it will help language researchers and educators to ask new questions.

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[13] An aide to former U.S. President George W. Bush, in conversation with journalist Ron Suskind, was noted for deriding "the reality-based community [who] believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality.'' He continued, "That's not the way the world really works anymore. We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality." See, for instance, Moyers and Winship (2011).

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL BEGINNINGS: FINDING THE FOREIGN IN DIALOGUE

I. Talking about Foreignness in SLA and Beyond

Summary and Orientations for the Present Inquiry

In Chapter 1, I raised the question of whether the notion of "foreignness" has (in the United States, at least) begun to lose its referent in light of the "plurality and pluricentricity of world languages and the complexity of speaker identities beyond native and nonnative" (Train 2011, p. 147). Literatures on globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1996; Giddens, 2002; S. Hall, 1997) and postcoloniality (Bhabha, 1994; Luke, 2004; Pratt, 1991; Said, 1978) were invoked in an effort to demonstrate that at the same time a neoliberal and *mediatized* consciousness might deny the significance of both the national border and the possibility of "the unknown" (beyond the reach of the media to show and to tell), the symbolic value of *difference* in economic and symbolic markets of consumption (of products, of travel, of education, for instance) have left "foreignness" in an uneasy tension between myth and reality: while many of the world's people continue to find themselves de facto either (or both) immobilized or excluded from resources and opportunities and thus made into *others* (often without the foreign label), foreignness continues to exist as a second-order sign (Barthes, 1972) by which *other* languages, their speakers, and the places they inhabit are made all the more simulational by their mediation online (Baudrillard, 1994; Turkle, 1995). In this context, I argue with respect to the proposed standards of *translingual and transcultural competence* and the outcome of "operating between languages" (MLA, 2007; see discussion in Chapter 1), telecollaborative learning projects such as *Le français en (première) ligne* deserve our attention from the vantage point of "the foreign". To the degree that language learners utilizing desktop videoconferencing and other communications tools to interact with tutors abroad are assumed to reap the symbolic gains of face-to-face conversations with "real" native French speakers in France, the questions arise: Were the Berkeley student participants in *F1L* in fact able to recognize and relate their own American institutional, cultural, and social contexts to the French? Were they able to "learn to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies and to grasp themselves as Americans" (MLA, 2007, p. 4)? Did they in fact learn French as a *foreign language*?

Exploring the social and classroom realities[14] underpinning the discursive revelations of, and constructions of the *foreignness* of the intercultural other of the telecollaborative exchange is one of the cumulative goals of this dissertation project. And, as indicated in the Introduction (Sections III and IV), I do so by grouping my

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[14] As explained in Sections III and IV of the Introduction, throughout this dissertation, I employ the term "reality" in a *social* sense (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and, following Goffman (1974), ground statements about the social reality of the telecollaborative exchange primarily in the experiences of its student (and, to a lesser degree, tutor, teacher, and researcher) participants.

analysis of the data from the *F1L* in three thematic areas, each of which represents one key facet of the dialogic approach to foreignness that I take up herein: *distance and place* (explored in Chapter 4), *embodiment and wholeness of person* (Chapter 5), and *interface and reflexivity* (Chapter 6).

The task of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for the development of these themes. In brief, I aim to

a)   briefly outline several recurring themes from different bodies of literature from both humanistic and social scientific traditions that expressly or implicitly take up questions of the foreign (this section);

b)   illuminate how the concept of foreignness can be understood historically in U.S. language education, by pointing to key past junctures and texts (Section II);

c)   introduce foreignness as an operative and necessary facet of dialogue, itself the means and often also the goal of telecollaborative exchanges (Sections III-VI).

One of my goals in so doing is to develop a metalanguage *in terms of which* language educators and theorists might discuss the foreignness of the foreign in their classrooms and pedagogies; by locating it with respect to educational and even foreign policy discourses in the United States, I also hope to recognize the essentially political nature of all applied linguistics research and practice (including this dissertation) and "pursue with greater skepticism the ways in which concepts are mobilized" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 43)—a post-modernist positioning appropriate for a "critical applied linguistics as a problematizing practice" (p. 41), and one that hopefully aids in mapping a place for *the foreign* in the "domain of the sayable" (Butler, 1997).

On the Difficulties of Naming the Foreign: A Sampling from Applied Linguistics and SLA Research

The introduction to Michael Byram's (1997) *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence*, a foundational text for many studies in internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education, sets up a distinction between two types of relationship that a language learner may have with people of another language and cultural context. First, learners may be *tourists*, people who travel to another land while still hoping that "what they have traveled to see will not change, for otherwise the journey would lose its purpose, and second that their own way of living will be enriched but not fundamentally changed by the experience of seeing others" (Byram, 1997, p. 1). Second, they may be *sojourners*, figures who "[produce] effects on a society which challenge its unquestioned and unconscious beliefs" while themselves undergoing transformations in "beliefs, behaviors and meanings". While Byram's study is built around the goal of cultivating learners' and teachers' ability to cultivate themselves in the vision of the latter and not of the former, of note is the fact that *both* of these posit a

model of the language learner as physically, linguistically, and culturally displaced—the foreign language is, as I attempt to show below, *somewhere else.*

Indeed, it appears that in much of the literature on second language acquisition and language teaching, definitions of "the foreign" of *foreign language* and *foreign culture* must be read between the lines. In many accounts of language acquisition as a process of *non-native speakers* (NNSs) acquiring the language of the *native speakers* (NSs) of a language through appropriate input and negotiation of meaning, for instance, a distinction is sometimes drawn between "foreign" and "second" languages, as in Gass and Selinker's comprehensive introduction to the field of SLA:

> Foreign language learning is generally differentiated from second language acquisition in that the former refers to the learning of a nonnative language in the environment of one's native language (e.g., French speakers learning English in France or Spanish speakers learning French in Spain, Argentina, or Mexico). This is most commonly done within the context of the classroom. Second language acquisition, on the other hand, generally refers to the learning of a nonnative language in the environment in which that language is spoken (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 7).

In this definition, it would appear that the relationship between the learner and the language in and of themselves are not criterial in distinguishing between "foreign" and "second" languages. Rather, at issue is the relation of *both* to the environment in which learning occurs: *foreign* language learning happens in classrooms located in places where it is not commonly spoken outside, a view shared in Lightbown and Spada's definition of *foreign language learning* as well: "the learning of a second (or third, or fourth) language in a context where the target language is not widely used in the community" (Lightbown & Spada, 1999, p. 175). This view may be reinforced in much literature on study abroad, as Kinginger (2008) notes: since the time of Caroll's assessment of the proficiency of college seniors majoring in foreign languages in the inaugural issue of *Foreign Language Annals* (1967), she writes "the sojourn abroad has been construed as a major source of foreign language proficiency" (p. 2). And Blake (2008) is one example of a study of ICT-mediated distance language learning that argues that, nonetheless, the full realization of language learning goals require one's physical presence in another place.[15]

However, in the United States at least, moves to designate a language as "foreign" by virtue of the relative location of its learners and the assumed territory of its speakers have become growingly difficult to make (Chapter 1, Section I). Block's (2003) critique of the "monolingual bias" in SLA and related literature—drawing upon, for instance, Firth and Wagner's (1997) call to the field to address the concerns of language users, Cook's (1996) notion of the baseline multicompetence of language learners, and Rampton's (1995) descriptions of identity crossing practices—shows the difficulty of demarcating separate social and geographic spaces for different languages. And a particularly illustrative example of the conundrum faced by both practitioners and

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[15] He writes, "going to the region(s) where the target language is spoken and immersing oneself in the society and culture clearly remains the preferred but most expensive method of acquiring linguistic competence in another language" (Blake, 2008, p. 2).

theorists alike in defining "the foreign language", I suggest, is the case of "the heritage language". Valdés (2005), for instance, writes that "the term *heritage language* has been used broadly to refer to nonsocietal and nonmajority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities" (p. 411), but that the U.S. foreign language teaching profession "currently uses the term *heritage student* in a restricted sense" in order to designate "a student of language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken" (p. 412). This distinction becomes significant both pragmatically, in terms of assumptions about the student's oral versus written language proficiencies and academic versus interpersonal communication skills, for example (Cummins, 1979), and also ideologically, as pressures towards monolingualism in the U.S. interpret familial bilingualism as "cultural baggage" and "profoundly suspect" (Valdés, 2003). The "foreign language", in this light, is normatively viewed as a subject to be learned by monolingual English speakers, for whom the 'artificial' distinction between the naturally acquired and thus "native" L1 and institutionally learned "target" L2 holds.

Taking Apart Categories, But Keeping the Pieces: Some Emergent Themes of Foreignness that Guide this Study

Dilemmas of definition—of foreign, second, heritage, natural, and other languages of instruction, for example—may be taken up in more postmodern-leaning bodies of literature on identity and subjectivity in language, such that the sanctity of the category itself is called into question (see, for example, Larsen-Freeman, 1997; Zuengler & Miller, 2006); in Section III, I address one such example that, I suggest, also threatens to undermine the concept of the foreign (and the possibility of terming intercultural others "foreigners"): "the native speaker" of Second Language Acquisition fame (Cook, 1999; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996; Rampton, 1990). Here, though, I note that the debates about the scope of the field and definitions of terms employed by SLA researchers— which appear to hold the *distance* between discrete and normatively monolingual nation-states as the rationale for employing the term "foreign"—may be occasioned by questions of *belonging* that inhere to discussions of foreignness. In the words of comparative literature scholar Rebecca Saunders, "primary among the meanings of *foreign* is *not belonging*, a meaning that marks the negative, relative, and dependent nature of foreignness and forces us to approach it *á rebours*: to understand foreignness we must back up and investigate belonging" (Saunders, 2003, p. 19). The entities that are called up for investigation are precisely those contentious domains of family, community, and nation pointed to by Valdés and others who discuss the role of the heritage language and the foreign language in U.S. universities and society at large. Saunders explains further:

> Foreignness [presupposes] a conception of belonging, though belonging itself means multiple and contradictory things; though the objects to which belonging refers—home, family, nation, self—conceal a veritable epidemic of "belonging trouble"; though the semantically charged "origin" which frequently governs belonging is largely fictitious and, at any rate, irretrievable; and though its

apparently intimate relations with (in)dependence remain unstable (Saunders, 2003, p. 27).

Indeed, the simultaneous enactment of *non-belonging* and exposing the 'fictitious' nature of origins are characteristic of another genre of texts that inform a growing body of applied linguistics scholarship on identity and subjectivity in language: the first-person language memoir (see, for example, Block, 2007; Kramsch, 2009b; Pavlenko, 2007a). Eva Hoffman (1989), for instance, recounts experiences of losing herself in translation as the sounds, meanings, and lack of resonances of the English language leave her no place from which to speak after moving from her native Poland to the United States. Ilan Stavans (2001) describes experiences of marginality at the border of Jewish, Mexican, and American identities that he lived in and between the Spanish, Yiddish, and English languages; in Mexico, for example, his home by birth, he writes that "I was, am, and will always be a welcome guest in a rented house, one I can never fully own" (p. 23). In a similar vein, Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) reflects on her life growing up along the Texas/Mexico border and writing as an adult in the "borderlands" between dominant notions of Spanish and English, while Richard Rodriguez (1983) observes in *Hunger of memory* that he had achieved "the end of education" after his adoption of an English writerly persona took him away from roots of family and language. Writings such as these serve as poignant reminders of the disquieting and even dangerous consequences of asking into such a negatively-defined phenomenon as foreignness, and bring a personal perspective to Saunders' contention that was more distantly presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 1, Section IV).

If the relative nature of foreignness means that it is defined negatively and thereby embedded in a hierarchy, it also means that the presence of the foreign simultaneously *thematizes* and *interrogates* the familiar, drags crepuscular familiarities into daylight and exposes them to inspection (Saunders, 2003, p. 5).

If *distance* from a deictic center (recall the discussion of Ehlich 2009 from Chapter 1) and *non-belonging* (to nation, to family) are two themes that emerge in the discussions of foreignness above, then the carnival mirror-like *reflexive* function of foreignness alluded here to by Saunders may be described as a third. This tendency is well expressed in the writings of the French poet, psychologist and literary scholar Julia Kristeva, who describes the fate of those such as herself who have forsaken family and homeland (Bulgaria, in her case) for the land of another. The foreigner is the site of myriad contradictions, she writes: boasting an eternal happiness that burns on the fuel of its own displacement, the object of fantasies and desires but whose speech is ignored for having "no past [and] no power over the future" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 19), at times hated and at times welcomed but, bearing the guilt and scars of separation from one's own parents, seeing in the image of the "we" maintained by all communities a "necessary, aberrant unreality" (p. 23).

If the foreigner of whom Kristeva speaks seems irretrievably other, an individual who is a "devotee of solitude, even in the midst of a crowd, because he is faithful to a shadow" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 5), however, this is only to accentuate the internal modality

of foreignness that she posits as necessary for those like her, living in contemporary societies that are at least nominally attempting to assimilate their 'others'. She opens her essay "Toccata and fugue for the foreigner" with the question, "Can the 'foreigner,' who was the 'enemy' in primitive societies, disappear from modern societies?" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 1) and goes on to assert in among the most programmatic assertions, "The modification in the status of foreigners that is imperative today leads one to reflect on our ability to accept new modalities of otherness" (p. 2). And as she addresses her readership with the phenomenon of these 'bizarre' figures of transnational migration and displacement, she, like Hoffman, Stavans, Anzaldúa and others, writes about *herself.* In the final equation, the presence of the foreigner challenges those around her to substitute her "she" for one's "I" and see the foreigner within oneself. Kristeva writes,

> Living with the other, with the foreigner, confronts us with the possibility or not of *being an other*. It is not simply—humanistically—a matter of our being able to accept the other, but of *being in his place*, and this means to imagine and make oneself other for oneself (p. 13).

If we, as theorists and practitioners of foreign language education, are to read Kristeva's writing in this regard not only as a meditation on foreignness, but as a recommendation for our own practice, we might be reassured if we read her lesson loosely as being to *put oneself into the shoes of another*. Less assuring, however, are her actual words arguing that contemporary individualism itself must be "subvert[ed], beginning with the moment when the citizen-individual ceases to consider himself as unitary and glorious but discovers his incoherences and abysses, in short his 'strangenesses'" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 2).

As I hope to show in Section III, a foreign language education premised on exposing not only the 'strangenesses' of the other but of oneself appears relatively far from the vision of telecollaborative projects thus far. First, however, I attempt a second pass at "the foreign", this time following a select history of the word, the concept, and foreign language educational practices in the United States.

II. One History of the Foreign in U.S. Language Education

Overview of Foreign Language Learning Goals: From "Mental Discipline" to "Communication"

While a definitive history of "the foreign" in language education in the United States might have yet to be written, it will need to articulate across more established histories of changing methods and objects in language teaching (e.g., Brown, 1994; Watzke, 2003). From the founding of Harvard College in 1636 through the introductions of the "modern languages" of French and German in the 1800s, to the founding of the Modern Language Association in 1883 and the growth in high school and post-secondary enrollments until the First World War, such a history might begin with the goal of

"mental discipline" that is to be gained through methods of grammar translation and the development of a reading knowledge in other languages' intellectual traditions (e.g., Coleman, 1929). Although precedents in the teaching of the spoken language are to be found, for example, in the *natural* and *direct* methods of the late 1800s and early 1900s, a definitive turn toward a focus on listening comprehension and speaking skills was only to be found in the so-called Army (later, "audiolingual") method of the immediate post-World War II years (Grittner, 1969). These methods, capitalizing on the new technologies of the two-track cassette recorder and emergence of the language laboratory, emphasized a repetitious focus on accuracy and form. At the end of this section, I remark on the trends in the 1970s and 1980s that led to the spread of what is known as "communicative language teaching", positing the learners' growth in fluency through the negotiation of meaning with others in conversation; here I stop to note that a crucial turning point that brought spoken language to the fore of U.S. language education was, in large part, the imperative of war.

Looking Further Back: Historical and Linguistic Roots

The cultivation of language skills for diplomacy, war, and even management of empire, of course, are far from new. Momigliano's (1975) study of the relations between the Greeks and the Romans, Jews, Celts, and Iranians in the Hellenistic age (approximately the 300s to the 100s BC), for example, asks its readers to consider (among other things) the influence that a de-facto monolingual language policy might have had in the demise of *that* superpower. The Greeks, apparently, had little interest in learning the languages of those they conquered, and those beyond their reach:

> The intellectual influence of the barbarians was, however, felt in the Hellenistic world only to the extent to which they were capable of expressing themselves in Greek (p. 7) ... the Greeks were seldom in a position to check what the natives had told them: they did not know the languages. The natives on the other hand, being bilingual, had a shrewd idea of what the Greeks wanted to hear and spoke accordingly. This reciprocal position did not make for sincerity and real understanding (Momigliano, 1975, p. 8).

This linguistic insularity was set in contrast with the relative openness and syncretism of the Romans, for whom the Greek epic, tragedy, comedy, and historiography "became a part of the Roman way of life" (p. 17). Crucially, in the case of the Romans, Momigliano argues that Greek language, manners and beliefs were essential in the creation of a "national literature" that was "immediately original, self-assured and aggressive" (p. 17); at issue in the relations with linguistic and cultural others, then, was nothing less than the ability to establish and maintain 'one's' empire, as is suggested in the ominous (for the Greeks, at least) formulation with which Momigliano concludes his introductory chapter: "Compulsory Greek, we all agree, is indispensable for the upkeep of an empire; but is compulsory Latin necessary to save oneself from an empire?" (Momigliano, 1975, p. 21).

Such a question, with respect to English and not Latin, may not be far from the lips of those who debate the teaching of English in contexts of postcoloniality (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1998); theorists and teachers of foreign languages in the U.S. might do well to remember the indebtedness of the very word "foreign" to Latin and other languages. The word "foreign" is said to have been part of the English language by the 13th century, retaining a sense of the meaning "out of doors" from the Old French *forein*, itself a derivative of the Latin *foras* ('out of doors', 'outside', or 'abroad').[16] The Latin *extraneus* serves as the root for the corresponding words in languages such as French (*étranger*), Spanish (*extranjero*), and Italian (*stragnero*) and the word *strange* in English, lending a sense of distance or remoteness (Ehlich, 2009, p. 29). In reviewing the etymologies of these terms, Ehlich (2009) highlights the oppositional pairings between *extraneus* with the "inner area" *intra*, on one hand, and with *proprius* ("the own" or "origin"), on the other, in order to show the deictic-like behavior of *foreignness*, with an ever-shifting center and exteriors that depend on its context of linguistic realization.[17] Saunders (2003), meanwhile, draws parallels between the English *foreign* and the "originary denotation" (p. 117) of "strange" or "odd" that she asserts also attached to the French *étranger*, Spanish *extranjero*, and German *fremd*; she remarks that "what we currently take to be the 'literal' or 'proper' meaning of the foreign—one who is from another country, one who is not a native or a citizen—is already a figurative meaning" (p. 117). Both the figural, amorphous meanings that attach to *foreignness* and the shifting boundaries it enacts between *proprius* and *extraneus* would appear to apply to the "foreign" of foreign language education in the U.S.

"The Foreign" in U.S. Language Education: On the Possibility and Advisability of Knowing the Other

Interestingly, Ehlich also notes that, while the *concept* of foreignness has been the object of semantic analyses as well as sociological and philosophical inquiries in German contexts over the past 30 years, the notion "foreign language" seems to have escaped attention in the German-medium literature on language education (Ehlich, 2009, p. 22-3). The situation appears similar in the case of literature on language education in the U.S. context, where one finds plenty of references to "foreign languages" and "foreign language" education, but few that explicitly take up the question of the *foreignness* of the foreign language beyond the distinctions between *foreign*, *second*, and *heritage* languages of the sort mentioned in Section I. Indeed, quite the opposite might be said to be true: at numerous historical turns, one can find statements to the effect that "making the foreign less foreign", or "making the foreign familiar" is itself the central goal of foreign language education. Exemplary here is the Perkins Report of 1980, the product of

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[16] Oxford English Dictionary online, http://oed.com/view/Entry/73063

[17] Here by "linguistic realization" of foreignness, I mean the verbalization primarily of relationships of distance or dislocation from a center or origin, and those of belonging and non-belonging to entities such as the nation, the community, the family—the themes of "foreignness" identified in Section I. Ehlich himself notes that although not a deictic (or even linguistic) expression like the words "I", "there", or "yesterday", foreignness *behaves* in the manner of a deictic expression.

the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, completed in response to the 1975 Helsinki Accords' call for Western and Communist bloc states to enact principles of mutual respect and cooperation. After lamenting the state of foreign language proficiency in the United States in comparison with the previous decade, and asserting the need for comprehensive reinvigoration of the nation's foreign language capacity, the report asserts, "It is axiomatic—and the first step to international consciousness—that once another language is mastered it is no longer foreign, once another culture is understood it is no longer alien" (President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, 1980, p. 19).

Setting aside for the moment the possible ideological entailments of the notion of "mastery", perhaps one reason for the difficulty in making *the foreign* of foreign language education an object of inquiry unto itself is its tendency to disappear if seen up close: that which is known too intimately cannot be held to be "foreign" anymore and, conversely, that which is held to be "foreign" is by definition (even willingly) held distinct from, and often unknown to, the self. On the one hand, then, we can read the Perkins Report cited above as an attempt to enact the nation through the very act of imploring its members to *know the other*; we can also read in this way the post-Sputnik National Defense Education Act (1958) that came before the Perkins Report (see Grittner, 1969), as we can the Department of Defense and Homeland Security-supported initiatives invoked or put forth by applied linguists themselves in the wake of the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks (e.g., Brecht & Rivers, 2002; see Kramsch, 2005). In this light, the words of Algernon Coleman, writing in a major report from 1929 assessing the status of the United States' modern language capacity in the highly insular post-World War I period, are instructive. He writes,

> While it is true that the people of the United States have no monopoly of arrogance and of condescension toward foreigners, it is none the less true that our present highly favored position among the nations of the world makes it all the more essential for us, as individuals and as a nation, to take a broader view of relationships with other peoples than in the past, if only in the interests of enlightened selfishness, so that our influence, which, for good and for evil, is enormous, whether we realize it or not, may, both materially and intellectually, tend to give reality to the ideals that we proclaim rather than to the jungle policies into which most powerful governments have translated the desires of their nationals for gain and their fears of the greed of others (Coleman, 1929, p. 11-12).

If these words point to the felt need to learn the language of the other (and in the 1920s Coleman's argument would have pertained most to French and German, less to Spanish, and hardly at all to other languages), they do so by marking out the foreign at a distance, in a position that is often (intentionally or not) inferior to one's own. Hence the "highly favored position" of the U.S. and the "jungle policies" of *other* powerful governments in the quote above by Coleman, and later findings such as those by Russell (1940), who summarizes reports on the language teaching situations in Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States with both a concession to European teaching and an assertion of U.S. superiority: "the consensus of opinion of

observers is that European methods of instruction are inferior to American ones, but that European language ability is of high quality" (p. 48).

With such cursory reference to texts such as these, of course, I do not seek to support or refute their specific arguments. Rather, I wish to suggest that they stand as evidence of a particular type of national imagination that binds individuals, the languages they speak, and the places they inhabit in an almost organic relationship—one that might still be functioning in the minds of language theorists, practitioners, and students to, in effect, demarcate the *proprius* and *extraneus* of the U.S. and its foreign languages, with an important caveat (discussed below). Here I refer primarily to the historian Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation first and foremost as "an imagined political community--and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). In brief, Anderson explains that, in the wake of the decline of religious community and dynastic realms following the Renaissance in western Europe, the nation emerged as a source of collective meaning-making in the 18th century and afterwards. With technologies such as the printing press (and thus print made mobile and distributable), and tools of territorial visualization and knowledge-building such as the map and the census, the *nation* as realized in in part through standardized languages allowed for a "secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning" (p. 11). In particular, belief in the nation as a homogeneous and clearly delimited space,[18] populated by a single *national language*, ties the fate of *a* language to questions of national territory, on one hand, and the subjective constitution of its citizens, on the other.

Through the middle of the 20th century in the United States, then, we may see in parallel a discourse of national security either explicitly expressed or latent in official reports and programmatic statements about foreign language learning and refutations of grammar translation and literature-based methods of language instruction; Watzke points to the Modern Language Association's study *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*, released with the support of the U.S. Commissioner of Education three years before the 1957 Sputnik launch and four years before the *National Defense Education Act* of 1958, as emblematic of the time (Watzke, 2003, p. 46). By the 1970s and 1980s, parallel to the phenomena of globalization, the development of symbolic economies and the emergence of the fast capitalist discourse described by Gee, Hull, & Lankshear (1996; see Chapter 1, Section II), language professionals also saw the emergence of the individually-oriented and conversation-centered principles of *communicative language teaching* (CLT). While a full review of the development of CLT and its critiques is beyond the scope of this chapter (for an emblematic statement of the principles of CLT see Savignon, 1991; for a critical review see, for instance, Block, 2003), here I wish to point to a potential tension underlying a pedagogical model for *foreign* language education that relies centrally on either the negotiation for meaning between a representative native speaker (NS) and language learner (NNS) engaged in 'authentic' tasks, as in the interactional approach of Gass (1997), M. Long (1996), Pica (1987) and others, or in the activity-based mentoring of language learners by more capable peers, viewed from perspectives of activity and sociocultural theory (e.g., Lantolf & Thorne,

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[18] "[the nation] has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind" (Anderson, 1991, p. 7).

2006). As successive tides of globalization and mediated experience are creating reflexive and "ontologically anxious" selves where there were none before (Giddens, 1991), and as fast capitalist discourses celebrate "unity in diversity", nations and their others would appear to have nowhere to go.

III. Finding the Foreign(er) in Telecollaboration

Language, Culture, and Intercultural Speakers

As outlined in Chapter 1, I am characterizing the *Français en (première) ligne* (*F1L*) project studied in this dissertation, and introduced in detail in Chapter 3, as exemplifying a class of language learning partnerships known as "telecollaboration", defined here again as "the activity of engaging language learners in interaction and collaborative project work with partners from other cultures through the use of online communication tools such as e-mail, videoconferencing and discussion forums" (O'Dowd, 2007, p. 4; see examples of alternate definitions in Chapter 1, Section II). Salient aspects of the body of literature addressing this genre of internet-based intercultural language education (e.g., Belz & Thorne, 2006; Guth & Helm, 2010b; Müller-Hartmann, 2006; O'Dowd, 2003; Ware, 2005) are re-introduced throughout this study; here I direct attention to the basically unchanging interactive paradigm it employs: a 'direct' person-to-person configuration—mediated, of course, by networks and machines on both sides. That is, while telecollaborative projects take place in a variety of settings, aim to accomplish many pedagogical goals, and draw from equally as many instructional methods, in all cases language learners' involvement exposure to the target language and culture is mediated through living, human partners in conversation (whether synchronous or asynchronous)—individuals understood to be 'located in', or associated with that language and culture.[19] In the words of Thorne,

> Indeed, it is the emphasis on language as a resource for building interpersonal relationships of significance, and not a focus on 'language' in the abstract sense of units within a linguistic system or prescriptivist representations of grammar, that is perhaps the most important single quality that differentiates online intercultural exchange from other approaches to L2 classroom pedagogy (Thorne, 2010, p. 141-2).

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[19] Although those such as Agar (1994) have usefully brought together the notions of language and culture, indicating their inseparability (language in use is an essentially cultural activity, and culture is realized partially in and through language), I generally keep these terms separate. I do, however, maintain the more postmodern sense of Kramsch (1993, 2004), Risager (2006, 2007) and others that these entities do not just 'reside' within the nation-state, region, community, or even just the individual; they are present in all simultaneously by virtue of a logic of *flows* of people, products, and cultural 'material' across physical, discursive, and mediatized spaces.

The popular *Cultura* project (Furstenberg et al., 2001), for instance, places students from U.S. and French language classes into conversation via discussion forum in order to examine each other's linguistic and cultural associations with texts familiar to one side and "foreign" to the other, with the aim of enabling them "to possess other eyes, to look at the universe through the eyes of others" (p. 58). O'Dowd (2003) argues that a key goal identified in the literature on intercultural learning is the learner's "ability to step back from one's own cultural background and critically identify the original cultural reasoning behind beliefs, actions and behaviour" (p. 120); he describes how students in a Spanish-English email exchange did and did not "understand the other side" with respect to the development of attitudes, knowledge, skills and critical awareness that together comprise Byram's (1997) model of intercultural communicative competence (discussed further below). Lee (2009), like many others, studies "intercultural exchanges" in blogs and podcasting; Basharina (2007) focuses on "intercultural and intracultural" contradictions among Japanese, Mexican, and Russian participants in a discussion board; Thorne (2008) studies "transcultural" communicative practices among individual players in an open, online gaming community; Liaw and Bunn-Le Master (2010, p. 22) assert that language learners are now "'cultural mediators,' 'border-crossers' or 'intercultural speakers'". All of these researchers might acknowledge that foreign language learning is taking place via telecollaborative and online intercultural activities, and that "intercultural others" are, in large part, the enablers of this learning. Yet, what assumptions about the individual (student, teacher) participant's relationship to target languages and cultures lie beneath telecollaboration as it is practiced? How is the *telecollaborator* understood to animate, author, or guarantee the legitimacy of the foreign language and culture?[20]

One response to these questions may be found by interrogating the model of intercultural communicative competence put forth by Byram (1997), a standard reference in studies and even definitions of telecollaboration itself.[21] Given the apparent centrality of his model, then, it is worthwhile reviewing not only what Byram intended it to do, but what he hoped for it *not* to do. Obligatory in summaries of this vision of intercultural communicative competence, of course, would be its constituent parts: ICC is made up of 1.) Attitudes (*savoir être*), involving an open disposition toward others and the willingness to relativize one's own position; 2.) Knowledge (*savoirs*) of differences between one's own and another's culture or country and interactional norms; 3.) Skills of discovery and interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*) and 4.) Skills of interpretation and relation to the people and events of another culture (*savoir comprendre*) (see Byram, 1997, Ch. 2). However, as was the case with Byram's indication of what language learners utilizing ICC are *not* supposed to be—that is, *tourists* hoping that their

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[20] Here I draw from the tripartite distinction between production roles in spoken interaction posted by Goffman (1981): animator (someone who speaks for someone else), author (someone who has chosen the actual form an utterance will take), and principal ("someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken", p. 145).

[21] As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section II), in their introduction to the edited volume *Telecollaboration 2.0* (2010a), Guth and Helm cite this work as a standard model of intercultural communicative competence: "In language learning contexts, telecollaboration is generally understood to be Internet-based intercultural exchange between people of different cultural/national backgrounds, set up in an institutional context with the aim of developing both language skills and intercultural communicative competence (as defined by Byram 1997) through structured tasks" (p. 14).

experiences in another land will not fundamentally transform them (mentioned at the beginning of Section I, this chapter)—the vision of the *intercultural speaker* was drawn up with the intent *not* to replicate the transgressions of one of the most controversial figures of SLA and applied linguistics research: the native speaker. Citing the research of Kramsch (1998) and Kasper (1995) on the difficulties in specifying the concept of native linguistic competence and inadvisability of adopting monolingual norms, Byram writes,

> It is clear that, in a dyadic interaction for example, both interlocutors have different social identities and therefore a different kind of interaction than they would have with someone from their own country speaking the same language. It is for this reason that I shall introduce the concept of the 'intercultural speaker' to describe interlocutors involved in intercultural communication and interaction (Byram, 1997, p. 32).

My goal here is not to elaborate on the traits of the 'intercultural speaker' as elaborated by Byram and his followers per se, but rather to chart the contours of this figure in the same manner as we have seen Saunders, Kristeva and others do for *the foreigner*—that is, through what it excludes, or makes absent. Given the desire of intercultural educators to escape or avoid the construction of a monolithic Other in the minds of their students, a review of the native speaker concept in applied linguistics research may be help in this endeavor. Further, considering Train's (2006) finding in some telecollaborative projects of a tendency to essentialize the other and reify artificial boundaries around stereotypical national imaginings (a trend noted by Lamy & Goodfellow 2010 as well), such a task may be necessary, while also helping to further illuminate the concept of the foreign(er). Indeed: are these two figures, the native speaker and the foreigner, in fact related?

The Foreigner in the Native Speaker: A Ghost from SLA Past?

In a paper entitled "The 'foreign' in foreign language education", Hahn (2010) argues against the tendency among foreign language educators to enact dichotomies between "native" and "foreign" identities. Instead of valorizing the target language, culture, and speaking identities over those of the learner, she argues, foreign language instructors should enable learners to expand their cultural repertoires to encompass both sides:

> Language learning does not have to imply a choice between one's own native identity and a foreign identity. Instead, it can be an extension of one's native identity so to encompass the foreign. In this way, the self and ultimately the community become more inclusive (Hahn, 2010, p. 262).

While her suggestions may illustrate well the utopian perspective of an 'inclusive' fast capitalist discourse (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear 1996; Fairclough, 2000), the reversibility of the categorical identities "native" and "foreign" in her formulation

demands another kind of attention. That is, while she at times remarks that "foreign language instruction promotes a conflictual relationship between the native and the foreign" (Hahn, 2010, p. 257), reading the target language (L2) as *foreign* and the learner's or classroom language (L1) as *native*, she also argues that *native* identities are privileged over *foreign* identities in the foreign language classroom.[22] The suggestion here, realized in Hahn's contention that the L2 is often taught to the exclusion of the learner's L1—and that the trivialization or effacing of "one's own native identity" is synonymous with oneself becoming "foreign" in the foreign language classroom—is that a native-foreign dichotomy itself is at the root of the problem: "The learner is both the native contending with the foreignness of a new language and also the foreigner who is striving to achieve the native identity in the target culture" (p. 260).

I present this example not to argue that either the L1 or the L2 should be considered *native* or *foreign* per se, but because this formulation appears to show a certain bond of necessity between *foreign* and *native* speaker identities: to do away with one (albeit in the service of "[expanding] one's cultural repertoire") seems to do away with the other. Here it is worthwhile to review just how the native speaker, made famous in the opening pages of Chomsky's *Aspects of the theory of syntax*, has both been done and done away with. Chomsky writes,

> [Ideal linguistic competence is held by] an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3).

While many have criticized the detrimental, normative assumptions imposed by this standard—that language learners should aspire to an abstracted, monolingual standard that few, if any, can reach (and many may not want to in the first place; see, for example, Cook, 1999; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996; Medgyes, 1992; Paikeday, 1985; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990 for critiques of this concept)—of particular note is precisely *how* the native speaker came to be defined primarily in terms, again, of the absences or deficits of its implied counterpart. As is manifestly evident in the popular notion of *interlanguage* used to characterize the linguistic competence of the non-native speaker (Selinker, 1972, 1992), language learners are (in this paradigm) defined precisely in terms of what they are not, or what they cannot do, rather than in terms of what they are, or what they can. Davies (2003) makes this point concisely: "To be a native speaker means not being a non-native speaker. Even if I cannot define a native speaker I can define a non-native speaker negatively as someone who is not regarded by him/herself or by native speakers as a native speaker" (p. 213).

As we have seen, this 'definition through exclusion' is precisely what marks the foreign as that which is *not* (familiar, close, normal, domestic, national), and as we saw in

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[22] "As we turned to the foreign language classroom, the native-foreign dichotomy manifested in a way that suggested that the native was valued more than the foreign. In learning a foreign language, the language learner is often encouraged to move away from his/her 'foreign' identity" (Hahn, 2010, p. 262).

Section I, one function of foreignness is to invite examination of the binaries that constitute it (or, as Saunders wrote, to *thematize and interrogate the familiar*); such a poststructuralist move is precisely what has been seen in the field of SLA. Rampton (1990), for example, notes that associations commonly made in practice with the term "native speaker" include birth into social groups stereotypically associated with a language, being a native speaker of only that language, and having a "comprehensive grasp" of that language (p. 97). Such socially-validated criteria for language proficiency, nearly impossible for a learner to meet, suggest that the project of 'becoming a native speaker' is more a question of social belonging and identity construction, where perceived lack of past association with the target language community can be grounds for exclusion from native speaker-status, than it is of language acquisition. Kramsch (1998), in defining "native speaker" as "a person who is recognized, linguistically and culturally, by members of a discourse community as being one of them" (p. 130), echoes this sense.

Importantly, however—and crucial for the ability of teachers and students in telecollaboration settings to *say* "foreign"—interrogating familiar categories such as *native speaker*, *L1* and *L2*, and even *language* does not mean that these terms are dispensed with in practice. Cook (2000) intimates as much with respect to the native speaker concept when he begrudgingly notes,

> It may well be intellectually correct that the main legitimate goal of language learning is to be a successful L2 user; it is another matter to persuade a generation of students and indeed teachers that there is no need for them to aim to get as close as possible to NSs. As with student motivation and attitude, teachers are fighting against all the influence of the cultural milieu that has influenced the students and themselves all their lives (p. 331).

In this light, it is interesting to see that a study of telecollaboration such Schneider and von der Emde's (2006), which advocates for a productive exploration of conflict in online communication rather than its smoothing over or avoidance, does not problematize the characterization of the online, intercultural other as "native speaker" (NS) per se, or the language learner as a non-native speaker (NNS). "There can be no doubt that a dialogic approach to online exchanges between language learners and NSs entails hefty risks," they write (Schneider & von der Emde, 2006, p. 198); in fact, drawing on Kramsch's (1997) notion of the "privilege of the nonnative speaker" and their own research findings from online discussions between German and English university students, they suggest that the *otherness* of the telecollaborative interlocutor is a resource—even a precondition—in meaningful dialog. Citing the dialogic principles of literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, they note "his theory insists that all discourses and utterances arise out of a fundamental engagement with an Other, whether that Other is someone from a different culture and with a different language, or someone from within the same culture and language"[23] (p. 182).

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[23] Bakhtin's ideas are a key source of principles drawn from in this project on *foreignness* and are discussed in detail in the following section; see also Hanna and de Nooy (2009, Chapter 8) with respect to the value of conflict in intercultural online discussion.

It would appear that in the concept of *otherness*, the native speaker and the foreigner may suffer from a common ill: as they are deployed discursively in both language classrooms and in the pages of published research, both figures stand ready to enact divisions between here and there, I and you, and linguistic, cultural, and national belonging and exclusion. Yet these are precisely the borders that intercultural projects in the service of language learning endeavor to cross. In light of the so-called "intercultural turn" in internet-mediated intercultural foreign language learning (Thorne, 2010), I next turn to a third option in the seemingly binary choice between foreignness...or not.

IV. The Thirdness of Dialogue: Grounding the Foreign

Moving Beyond Conversation in Telecollaboration: A Call to Dialogue

Considering the avowed and de facto focus of telecollaborative language learning partnerships on one-to-one, and often "face-to-face" interactions between speakers across differences of language and culture, and in light of the translingual and transcultural ideals that motivate this study, Schneider and von der Emde (2006)'s critique of much research on telecollaboration merits attention. Drawing upon their own study of an online collaboration between advanced students of German and English, located in the U.S. and Germany, respectively, Schneider and von der Emde argue for "a dialogic approach to online exchanges", one that "offers a conceptual structure for making conflict a central and productive source for learning rather than a debilitative stumbling block to communication" (Schneider & von der Emde, 2006, p. 179). They note the tendency among many people teaching intercultural communicative competence to want to smooth over the frequent misunderstandings, missed understandings, and even conflicts of such exchanges. In so doing, they point to a pervasive ideology of communicative language teaching that sees communication as a 'skill' promoting a utilitarian, technologized form of language use (Cameron, 2000; Block, 2002) that is unable to recognize or deal with irreducible cultural differences and outright conflict. Drawing upon the critical literary work of Mikhail Bakhtin, they argue that, instead of (smooth, efficient) *communication*, online intercultural educators should focus on *dialogue* and adopt a view of language as "not a self-unified system but the result and site of struggle, that is, conflict" (Schneider & von der Emde, 2006, p. 182).

In fact, Schneider and von der Emde are not alone in asserting the educational value of foregrounding difference and welcoming (but not inviting) conflict. They point to Graff's (1992) "pedagogy of difference" and assertions by Kramsch (1995) of the importance of language scholars oriented toward rich textual interpretation engaging in dialogue with the empirically-based researchers in Second Language Acquisition—a dialogue in which (and perhaps a dialogue because) there was no common ground. Meanwhile, a prominent online example with respect to the situation of foreign language learners participating in public discussion forums is Hanna and de Nooy (2009). They argue that although educators might want to push their students along to be good-willed 'interculturalists', students interacting with outsiders in the 'real world' in a conflict-rich

environment must deploy the same resources in order to protect their own discursive space while continuing to engage with the other. They write,

> Clearly we should not confuse cultural openness with 'niceness': displays of intolerance may be just as fundamental to elaborating and defending an interculturalist identity as displays of tolerance ... successful intercultural Internet discussion depends not on participants progressing from one role or identity to a better one, but rather on their capacity to shift among a repertoire of positions, even contradictory positions" (Hanna & de Nooy, 2009, p. 148).

In consideration of Schneider and von der Emde's distinction between "communication" and "dialogue" and, more broadly, in light of the avowed preference among language educators to avoid essentializing identity constructs (native speaker, foreigner) when teaching intercultural competence, I here offer a glimpse of the lessons a dialogic approach to language learning might have for an understanding of foreignness. For Bakhtin (the source of many of the dialogic insights of Schneider, von der Emde, Kramsch, and many other proponents of dialogue in the language classroom) has much to say about the foreignness it entails:

> *Creative understanding* does not renounce itself, its own place in time, its own culture; and it forgets nothing. In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be *located outside* the object of his or her creative understanding - in time, in space, in culture. For one cannot really see one's own exterior and comprehend it as a whole, and no mirrors or photographs can help; our real exterior can be seen and understood only by other people, because they are located outside us in space and because they are *others* (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 7).

As I argued in the Introduction, and in the specification therein of three research questions around three themes of inquiry suitable for a dialogic understanding foreignness in telecollaboration (*distance and place, embodiment and wholeness of person*, and *interface and reflexivity*), attaining "outsideness" is crucial in dialogue, and is an especially difficult task in contexts of online language learning. The following pages represent an attempt to do just this.

Finding Positions in Dialogue: A Return to Peircian Thirdness and Third Places

In the following section (Section V), I conduct a more detailed reading of Bakhtin's discussion of *outsideness* as it enables dialogue, reading primarily from his "The Discourse of the Novel" (Bakhtin, 1981); in (hopefully) dialogic fashion, I read him together with the work of another dialogic thinker whom Bakhtin read, the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber's *I and Thou* (1958)—as well as the interpretive works of two of their key translators and interpreters, Michael Holquist (2002) and Maurice Friedman (2002).

Before entering into detailed discussion of Bakhtin's and Buber's work, however, I need to give flesh to the notion that Bakhtin raises in the quote above of an "outside position" in the relation between two people (as in an online interaction) or between a literary scholar and a culturally and historically located genre of literature, as he addresses in the first half of the text cited above. Indeed, "third places", "third spaces", "third cultures", and even "thirding" have appeared in the literature on language, literacy, and culture education over the last few decades as post-structural responses to stable identities and fixed dichotomies of a more modernist ilk. Kramsch's (1993) notion of the *third place* was an early and influential move in this direction; she argued that instead of teaching an essentialized 'target' culture or assimilating the target to one's 'home' culture, language teachers should recognize and pedagogize the "irreducible perspectives" that arise from a dialog between cultures, and thus implement an "*apprenticeship of difference*" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 235). She writes, "The goal is not a balance of opposites, or a moderate pluralism of opinions but a paradoxical, irreducible confrontation that may change one in the process" (p. 231). With a similar intent, and a decade later, Kostogriz (2005) addresses multicultural contexts of English as a Second Language and literacy education amidst dominant monolingual and monocultural ideologies. He, too, looks to Bakhtin's thought in order to map out a *Thirdspace*—"a theory of the production of cultural-semiotic and intellectual spaces in multicultural conditions, one that injects a third dimension into thinking about the possibility of crossing, erasure, and 'translation' of the boundaries in the cultural construction of identities and textual meanings" (p. 182). Summarizing work on "thirdness" in (and applicable for) applied linguistics, Kramsch (2009c) notes that a goal of this research is to overcome dichotomies and "stress process, variation and style over product, place and stable community membership" (p. 248); as well, the third spaces between languages and cultures are the shifting yet unmistaken target of the Modern Language Association (2007; see Chapter 1, Section II) report urging that language learners develop the competences required to "operate between languages".

Crucial among the conceptual innovations enabling the outsideness of the third position is the triadic semiotics of the American pragmatist philosopher C.S. Peirce (e.g., Peirce, 1955). In contradistinction to Ferdinand de Saussure's vision of a closed linguistic system comprised of an interrelated body of signs, each of which is divided into signifier (mental representation of form) and signified (corresponding concept), Peirce posited an open semiotic system in which each instance of signification leads to the creation of a new sign. Crucial in his perspective is the essentially dynamic nature of the sign: "icon", "index*"*, and "symbol" do not denote three types of objects in the world, or in conceptual space, but rather point to three fundamental manners of relationship that can be enacted between semiotic material (e.g., printed marks on a page) and a meaning. The biological anthropologist Terrence Deacon (1997), in his study of the co-evolution of language and the brain, explains that "icons are mediated by a similarity between sign and object, indices are mediated by some physical or temporal connection between sign and object, and symbols are mediated by some formal or merely agreed-upon link irrespective of any physical characteristics of either sign or object" (Deacon, 1997, p. 70). Yet these are not mutually exclusive; indeed, Deacon explains that iconic relations are nested within the indexical, and indexical relations are nested within the symbolic, such that "the same

signs can be icons, indices, and symbols depending on the interpretive process" (p. 72). What is important in semiotic activity—and educational practice based on this perspective—is the interpretive process employed, rather than a sign's formal identity (or, the product of that interpretive process).

Corresponding to the principles underlying iconic, indexical, and symbolic action are the concepts of Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness, the definitions of which Peirce himself appears to have spent a good part of his life elaborating.[24] In "Pragmatism" [1907], he defines "thirdnesses" as "the mental or quasi-mental influence of one subject on another relatively to a third"; in "A Letter to Lady Welby" [1904], he writes, "In its genuine form, Thirdness is the triadic relation existing between a sign, its object, and the interpreting thought, itself a sign, considered as constituting the mode of being of a sign." Perhaps most useful for the current study is his earlier articulation, from "A Guess at the Riddle" [1890], that "The third is that which is what it is owing to things between which it mediates and which it brings into relation to each other."[25] Indeed, writing form a perspective of educational linguistics, van Lier (2002) echoes this sense when he writes that "Thirdness is mediation, habit, interpretation, representation, communication, signs" (p. 150).

From the perspective of teaching and learning a foreign or second language--and with an eye to discovering the foreignness in dialogue, a topic to be explored in the next sub-section—a crucial question becomes at what level (Firstness, Secondness, Thirdness) foreign meanings, and the potential for intercultural learning, reside. Here van Lier's contention that the 'deictic' or referential function of words (their Secondness), in referring to the stuff of the world in a new language, plays a central role in language learning (or, as he puts it from an ecological perspective, the "emergence" of language; see van Lier, 2002, 2004). He writes,

> My suggestion is that the indexical plane is the key to language, and from there these early language signs "pick up" signs from the iconic substrate (in the way that a hurricane picks up power from warm ocean waters) and move into symbolic territory, with both immediate and socially mediated affordances that provide signs of increasing as well as decreasing complexity (van Lier, 2002, p. 152-3).

Yet, as is clear even from this statement, learning a system of purely indexical reference would be to deny the language learner the *power* of iconic meanings (the emotional, primary responses of Firstness) and the complex social meanings (connotations, beliefs, ideologies) that surround the denotative value of language (Thirdness). Here van Lier elaborates, "Language and other communicative processes

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[24] Peirce writes, "...I was long ago (1867) led, after only three or four years' study, to throw all ideas into the three classes of Firstness, of Secondness, and of Thirdness. This sort of notion is as distasteful to me as to anybody; and for years, I endeavored to pooh-pooh and refute it; but it long ago conquered me completely. Disagreeable as it is to attribute such meaning to numbers, and to a triad above all, it is as true as it is disagreeable" (Peirce, 1931-1966, Vol. 8, p. 328).

[25] These three quotes appear in, respectively, Vol. 5, p. 469, Vol. 8, p. 331-2, and Vol. 1, p. 150 of Peirce (1931-1966).

thus essentially depend for their success on the open flow between iconic and symbolic systems, activated through the 'desktop' of indexicality" (van Lier, 2002, p. 153).

It would seem, then, that the *movement* between different types of sign-relation—and not relations of iconicity, indexicality, or symbolism per se—is at the crux of a language learner's ability to bring intellect as well as emotion, perception as well as reason to the learning process. And, in this light, we might be in a position to consider the movement to and from thirdness[26] as a zone of conflict and tension as much as of understanding, for if we know anything about learning another language, it is that (especially beginning) learners have not been socialized into 'the community', and paths of meaning are not (yet) cleared, let alone shared.

V. Bakhtin and Buber in Dialogue

Situated in Dialogue: Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin

As I suggested previously, Mikhail Bakhtin's prime mission of mapping out *situatedness*, or of "locating a self" (Holquist, 2002, p. 12), and his explications of the irreducibly social nature of dialogue are of prime interest to educators of language, literacy, and communication. Ball and Freedman (2004), for instance, find in the Bakhtinian concept of the individual's "ideological becoming" a response to the persistent question of "how people can and do communicate [across] divides" and achieve "effective communication" (p. 4) in the context of the social and economic inequities so prevalent in U.S. Schools; the contributors to J. Hall, Vitanova, and Marchenkova (2005) find general relevance in Bakhtin's very concept of dialogue across a variety of language educational settings. Martin Buber, while discussed with respect to the establishment of intersubjectivity and online community (e.g., Willson, 2006) and for his influence on the critical literacy pedagogy of Paulo Freire and others (e.g., Roberts, 2000), for instance, is perhaps a less recognizable name in scholarship on second and foreign language education. Both, however, demonstrate a concern with dialogue and what sets it apart from other forms of talking or communication—the *McCommunications* of the sort that Block (2002), Cameron (2002), Fairclough (2000) and others have criticized. And both describe in different ways the tenuousness and the vulnerability of dialogue to powers that would render it, in effect dead: Bakhtin's version to ideological, social forces that seek to homogenize communication, and Buber's to the loss of a relational disposition that speaking subjects bring to the scene of communication.

Indeed, Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin may both be considered philosophers of a third position in that, in their thought, they urged dialogic principles as a response to the dualisms that characterize everyday, ideological life--and in their life histories where the very facts of who, where, and when they were cast them in grave danger. Buber, born

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[26] the activity of the interpretant that relates "linguistic, visual, acoustic signs to other signs along paths of meaning that are shared or at least recognized as such by most socialized members of the community" (Kramsch 2009c, p. 234).

in Vienna in 1878 and educated both at the University of Vienna and University of Berlin, was not only Jewish but an intellectual and religious leader among German Jews until 1938. At this time the oppressiveness of the political environment and impending war led him to move to Palestine; he continued to work as a professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, translating the Hebrew Bible and articulating a voice for Judaism at the same time he worked for Jewish-Arabic cooperation and actively pursued dialog with Christian theologians (Friedman, 2002). Bakhtin was born seventeen years after Buber, in 1895 in Orel, a town south of Moscow, and moved between cities regularly in accordance with the transfers of his father, a banker. The biographical sketch provided by one of his translators (Caryl Emerson, in *The first hundred years of Mikhail Bakhtin*, 1997) paints a picture of a scholar who was intensely proud, somewhat reclusive, and increasingly ill and immobile during the second half of his life. These all may have been as much a product of his historical and political situation as they were reflections on anything like his personality, as he lived through the Russian Revolution of 1917, an exile to Kazakhstan in 1929, purges of intellectuals in the late 1930s, the German invasion in World War II, and anti-cosmopolitan campaigns of the 1950s. Although he was described as a passionate lecturer when he was able to do so, Bakhtin (unlike Buber) did not make efforts to document or archive his own work; as Emerson (1997, p. ix) writes, his "most important dialogues were with ideas".

Dialogue with the Other, a Question of Existence

With respect to the understanding of *foreignness* in the interest of foreign language education that has been developed in this and the last chapters*,* the dialogic theories of Buber and Bakhtin are important fundamentally because they show, albeit in different ways, that dialogue necessarily:

- is realized in language and symbolic exchange more broadly;
- relies upon distance between ideological and speaking positions;
- casts one's interlocutor as an Other who is *both* unknowable in his/her totality, and takes up discrete positions in socio-ideological space;
- is simultaneously a means of self-formation;
- is therefore foundational in human existence

This last point, about dialogue being not just a manner of speaking but an urgent question of existence, is perhaps worth discussing first. For Buber, humans exist in two fundamental types of relation between themselves and those around them. The first, the *I-Thou* relation, is a form of *meeting* characterized by "mutuality, directness, presentness, intensity, and ineffability" (Friedman, 2002, p. 65). The I-Thou relation takes place in the present, in the space *between* between oneself and another, and is in this sense a temporary transcendence of (or existence prior to) one's being as a unitary subject. The second type of relation between people and the world is the *I-It* relationship, a relation of objectification occasioned by "the separation of the human body, as the bearer of its perceptions, from the world round about it" (Buber, 1958, p. 22-3). As Buber explains,

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this relation "is comprised in *experiencing*, which continually reconstitutes the world, and *using*, which leads the world to its manifold aim, the sustaining, relieving, and equipping of human life" (p. 38).

The elaboration of these two forms of relation and the consequences of the balance and interrelationship between them constitutes the whole of *I and Thou*; fundamental to Buber's understanding, however (and illustrative of the principle that dialogue is realized in language-in-use), is the notion that human existence is realized only in *acts* of relation, viewed metaphorically as the utterance of the "primal words" "I", "Thou", and "It".

> The primary word *I-Thou* can be spoken only with the whole being. Concentration and fusion into the whole being can never take place through my agency, nor can it ever take place without me. I become through my relation to the *Thou*; as I become *I*, I say *Thou* (p. 11).

Becoming through speech and in concrete acts of relation with the others of one's society and world is a key tenet of Bakhtin's thought as well. Indeed, as Holquist notes of what he terms Bakhtin's philosophy of dialogism, "the very capacity to have consciousness is based on *otherness*" (Holquist, 2002, p. 18). Reacting to the collapse of Newtownian physics in light of Einstein's theory of relativity, and in the context of many scholars' return to Kantian thought for "a theory of knowledge for an age ... when *non-coincidence* of one kind or another--of sign to its referent, of the subject to itself--raises troubling new questions about the very existence of mind" (Holquist, 2002, p. 17), Bakhtin posited that the self could only arise relative to the other. Again, Holquist explains, "in order to be perceived as a whole, as something finished, a person or object must be shaped in the time/space categories of the other, and that is possible only when the person or object is perceived from the position of outsideness" (p. 31).

Dialogue Forming Subjects in Language, Together in Struggle

To a large degree, the medium for this "shaping" in the lives of the "speaking subjects" pointed to in the writing of Bakhtin and Buber (and in the life of the novel that Bakhtin explores in his famous essay), is language. In this sense, Buber's notion that "the primary word *I-Thou* can be spoken only with the whole being" (quoted above) seems both a statement of the metonymic power of language to stand in for all forms of human interaction (and even one's attitude or stance toward the world) and the specific power of words to enact relations between person and person, between person and world and, importantly for both Buber and Bakhtin, between person and God. Words must be spoken in order to inaugurate the *I*'s, *Thou*s, and *It*s into their mutuality of existence. Similar, too, are Bakhtin's particular arguments about the "Discourse of the Novel" as a generic form to be read allegorically "for representing existence as the condition of authoring" (Holquist, 2002, p. 30) *and* as a statement about the constitutive power of language in enacting relationships among Selves and their Others. In this view, language does not reside either with the 'speaker' or the 'listener', the reader or the writer, but in the

subject-forming space between. Or, as Bakhtin famously writes, "As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293).

Although, in this view, people may realize the constitutive boundaries between themselves and others through their utterances, to characterize the thought of Buber and Bakhtin with respect to language as fundamentally similar would also be to lose sight of key facets of each: in Buber's philosophy, the transcendence pointed to by the *I-Thou* relation, and in Bakhtin's, the immense ideological struggle that inheres in the act of appropriating words--for the online learner, whose words are digitized, transmitted, and re-synthesized across the space of the network, each philosopher's work helps us to focus on the mutual dependency and analytic separability of subjectivity and the symbolic means of its realization. In Bakhtin, we see a more explicit focus on *language* per se, and on the life of words as a theoretical concern unto itself; his concern with the "great time" of meaning across cultures and across the generations is one of dialogue realized in language: "Nothing is absolutely dead: every meaning will have its homecoming festival" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 170). On the surface, meanwhile, in Buber's formulation, one's ability to partake in *I-Thou* relations appears to do away with the need for both symbolic mediation and the very distinctions between the I and you, and the he and she that symbols afford. He writes,

> If I face a human being as my *Thou*, and say the primary word *I-Thou* to him, he is not a thing among things, and does not consist of things. This human being is not *He* or *She*, bounded from every other *He* and *She*, a specific point in space and time within the net of the world; nor is he a nature able to be experienced and described, a loose bundle of named qualities (p. 8).

In terms of the Peircian semiotic framework introduced in the previous section, the *I-Thou* relation is an instantiation of Firstness: "meeting as direct and directly present", "the present of intensity and wholeness" (Friedman, 2002, p. 66, 67). Yet this apparent potential to efface distinctions between subjecthood and objecthood in the "eternal present" of the *I-Thou* is precisely the value of Buber's thought in learning and interpreting the discourse of language learners as with all people in dialog: an *I-It* relation may coexist with, alternate with, displace or imitate an *I-Thou* relation between the very same two people. As Friedman writes, "The real determinant of the primary word in which a man takes his stand is not the object which is over against him but the way in which he relates himself to that object" (Friedman, 2002, p. 65). Buber, then, asks his readers to consider the degrees and ways in which their forms of address toward the world, and the others in it, might stem from an orientation toward using, knowing, experiencing, and even feeling--all characteristic of *I-It* relations (and of semiotic Thirdness).

For Bakhtin, dialogue—and its ability to form selves and others in discourse—posits a layering of tense, dynamic, and contingent relationships between words and other words, dialects and other dialects, languages and other languages, and words and the people that speak them. In his essay "Discourse in the Novel", the vital, interrelated webs

of language are what poets have excised as they force words into their singular meanings (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 278); in contrast to this, Bakhtin develops the concept of the internal dialogism of the word, a statement of the embeddedness of any word in social and linguistic space and time that leaves it anything but unencumbered. He writes,

> The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 276).

To a significant degree, then, words themselves are foreign to those who speak them—even to the so-called native speakers who, as we have shown in Section III of this chapter, are posited to be in an organic relationship with their "mother tongue", as if the language is inborn and complete at the time of birth. Bakhtin notes that any utterance studied in depth "reveals to us many half-concealed or completely concealed words of others with varying degrees of foreignness" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 131); to speak—or to *ventriloquate*, as he at times describes the acts of writing and speaking—is to enter into struggle with words that are already "populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294). The *alienness* of language, it would seem, is unavoidable even in an *L1*.

On the Necessary Dangers of Objectification, Tension, and Conflict in Dialogue

One might assume from the juxtaposition thus far that the otherness of language we see in Bakhtin, and the objectification of others inherent in Buber's *I-It* relation, are problematic tendencies, far from ideal in light of the goals of intercultural education. Indeed, if we were to suppose with Hahn (2010) that language learning "can be an extension of one's native identity so to encompass the foreign" (p. 262), we might arrive at this conclusion.

Yet, while Bakhtin and Buber resist the normalizing forces of "authoritative discourse" and the dehumanizing tendencies of *I-It* relations left unchecked, neither do they advocate for the free play of individual voices absent of normative ideologies, or a domain of pure intersubjectivity in borderless *I-Thou* relations, respectively. When Buber begins *I and Thou* with the words, "To man the world is twofold, in accordance with his twofold attitude," and when Bakhtin describes the dynamic interplay of a centralizing "unitary language" and its counterpart, "social heteroglossia" (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981, p. 270-273), each is describing a persistent and even necessary dynamic in the social and ideological life of language. Buber explains, "The communal life of man can no more than man himself dispense with the world of *It*, over which the presence of the *Thou* moves like the spirit upon the face of the waters. Man's will to profit and to be powerful have their natural and proper effect so long as they are linked with, and upheld by, his

will to enter into relation" (p. 48). And Friedman elaborates on this give-and-take in Buber's thought, pointing to the seductive danger of the unlimited *Thou*:

> It is only the reliability of [*I-It's*] ordered and surveyable world which sustains man in life. One cannot meet others in it, but only through it can one make oneself 'understood' with others. The I-Thou relation, similarly, is not an unqualified good. In its lack of measure, continuity, and order it threatens to be destructive of life (Friedman, 2002, p. 68).

In the final equation it is not simply *I-Thou* relations or *I-It* relations alone which allow people to act and find meaning in the world; rather, subjectivity is engendered precisely in the movement between the two, in the "[stepping] out of the relational event into separation and consciousness of separation" (p. 63). As Buber writes,

> The *I* of the primary word *I-It* makes its appearance as individuality and becomes conscious of itself as subject (of experiencing and using)," writes Buber. He continues, "The *I* of the primary word *I-Thou* makes its appearance as person and becomes conscious of itself as subjectivity (without a dependent genitive) (Friedman, 2002, p. 62).

In this way, he concludes, "genuine subjectivity can only be dynamically understood, as the swinging of the *I* in its lonely truth" (p. 63).

Bakhtin, as well, sees a dynamic tension between competing social forces as the very life *of* language, and as the basis of life *in* language. The persistent metaphors of life and vitality in his writing as he describes the heteroglot nature of social discourse contrast pointedly with those he employs in critiquing those who would deny language its ability to maintain *other* voices. "The living utterance" of the novel, he writes, "having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 276); meanwhile, the style of the poem is guilty of "stripping all aspects of language of the intentions and accents of other people, destroying all traces of social heteroglossia and diversity of language" (p. 298).

The specific danger that Bakhtin posits, then, is the danger of the loss of the *outsideness* in dialogue—that is, the collapse of the distanced relationality and heterogeneous, even alien voices in self-other relations that allow others to be others, and I to be I. Emerson (1997) expresses one outcome of this situation thus, "Any instinctive clustering of like with like threatens to reduce my 'I' and its potential languages to a miserable dot. Those who surround themselves with 'insiders'—in heritage, experience, appearance, tastes, attitudes toward the world—are on a rigidifying and impoverishing road" (p. 223). But for both Bakhtin and Buber, the social conditions under which dialogue could and can take place were largely out of the control of any one person. Buber pointed to the gradual accumulation of cultural objects in the advance of civilizations and the wholesale "absorption of foreign experience" (p. 37) as factors leading to the growth of the *It* and diminishment of the *Thou* in the world. Remarking on

the gradual increase of the *It* amidst the "quasi-biological and quasi-historical thought of to-day", (p. 56), he writes, "*It* is the obstacle; for the development of the ability to experience and use comes about mostly through the decrease of man's power to enter into relation--the power in virtue of which alone man can live the life of the spirit" (p. 38-9).

In the next and final section of this chapter, I will speculate briefly on how the specific dangers to dialogue, as indicated by Bakhtin and Buber—the homogenization of meaning as a result of the loss of outsideness in language, and the proliferation of object- or *It*-relations at the expense of the *I-Thou*, respectively—might intersect in the case of a videoconference-mediated language learning project between students of French in the U.S. and their language tutors in France, and in telecollaboration more generally. Here, however, I wish to conclude by remarking that the characteristics of dialogue reviewed above (its realization in language, the distance it requires, its reliance on an unassimilable Other, its formation of subjects) reflect as well the themes invoked in discussions of *foreignness*: notions of *distance* from a deictic center, questions of *belonging* and *non-belonging*, and reflexive self-awareness and questioning as the presence of an*other* raises the possibility of one's own foreignness.

VI. Looking Forward

In this chapter, I have reviewed multiple perspectives on, and approaches to, the concept of *foreignness*. From the distinctions drawn in literatures on Second Language Acquisiton between second and foreign languages, to the identification by philosophers such as Saunders (2003) and Kristeva (1991) of themes of absence, displacement, and abnormality that inhere to "the foreign", to the personal narratives of trauma enacted by the language narratives of Anzaldúa (1987), Hoffman (1983), Stavans (2001) and others, I have attempted to show not consensus but plurality and tension among competing voices in dialogue as a productive framework for understanding *foreignness.*

In this view, and in light of the highly networked, visual and verbal, synchronous communications environment afforded by the desktop communications medium of the *F1L* project, the *outsideness* of dialogue must be of central concern. This is because outsideness, as read in the thought of Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Buber (1958, 2002), offers a powerful metaphor for understanding and realizing "the foreign"—a function of the language learner's encounter with difference, perceived and expressed symbolically from mutually distinct discursive positions, and actualized in the learner's movement between different manners of relation with others (*I-Thou* and *I-It* relations, Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness). An imperative for foreign language teachers working under such an understanding would be to maintain learning conditions under which these position-takings and movements can take place. And analytically, I would suggest that taking an interest in students' attainment (or lack thereof) of positions of outsideness in dialogue ideally requires paying attention not so much to those ineffable moments of transcendent immersion (e.g., the "rich points" of *languacultural* learning of Agar, 1994) but rather to learners' movements into and out of different modes of relation with their intercultural partners and subject material. Accordingly, in the following chapters of this

dissertation, I find particular value in understanding how internet communications technologies afford, impede, or transform these movements—for it is precisely in the technologization of the dialogue between students and tutors that language educators promise their students an immediacy of interaction with intercultural others, the elimination of geographic distance that premises the interculturality of the dialogue in the first place.

In this sense, in Chapter 4, I begin to answer the basic research question that animates this study: "*What do students' online learning experiences show us about the ontological ground of 'foreignness' in internet-mediated foreign language education today?*" by presenting a foundational paradox of the telecollaborative endeavor. Although telecollaboration is enabled by the globalized space/time compression of the internet, in effect changing distance into information, in its very name ("tele-"), it is premised upon the notion of geographic dislocation read as cultural difference. The above question, then, leads directly to the first of three more focused research questions that guide Chapters 4, 5, and 6 (see Chapter 3, Section I): "*What becomes of distance and place in the telecollaborative medium? Are they lost, or can they be maintained? And if the latter, how are they transformed?*". And these questions, I attempt to show, benefit directly from the dialogic perspectives on foreignness afforded by the thought of Bakhtin and Buber.

In the closing moment of this chapter, I wish to point forward in the direction to be taken by this study by looking back at the foundational concept of 'the distance between' that is part of the legacy of these two theorists. Writing of the need to read tangible relations of space and place into Bakhtin's more abstract concepts, for instance, Holquist asserts,

> "[his] pondering of such questions [of the makeup and possibilities for selfhood] is hardly unique in the modern period, of course. More distinctive is his project's radical emphasis on *particularity* and *situatedness*, the degree to which it insists that apparently abstract questions about selfhood are pursuable only when treated as specific questions about *location*" (Holquist 2002, p. 12)

Buber, too, was concerned with distance as the enabling ground of both *I-Thou* and *I-It* relations. As Friedman explains, Buber posited that human life begins with two fundamental movements, termed "the primal setting at a distance" and "entering into relation": "The first movement is the presupposition for the second, for we can only enter into relation with being that has been set at a distance from us and thereby has become an independent opposite" (Friedman, 2002, p. 92). Importantly, distance even underlies the individual's ability to enter into the primal (Firstness) *I-Thou* relation; the *I-It* represents a "thickening" of distance as subject and object begin to perceive each other, understand each other, judge each other and, hopefully, learn from each other. Yet, as in situations of synchronous tele-mediated communication across vast geographic distances, where the very ground enabling relations has been so dramatically transformed, and the moving on-screen image has replaced the living body of the intercultural other, we might witness a particular challenge. As Friedman writes,

While I-It can be defined as the enlarging and thickening of distance, it can also be defined as the objectification of the I-Thou relation which sometimes serves as the way back to it and sometimes obstructs the return. The I-Thou relation supplies the form for I-It, the form in which the distance is thickened. The form of the I-Thou relation remains as a means of re-entering relation, of executing anew the essential human act; but this form may block the return to the I-Thou relation through its false appearance of being itself the real thing (Friedman, 2002, p. 97).

Distance and place, in the form of the computer laboratories visible 'on the other side' of a videoconferencing interaction, and the multimedia representations of the cities, regions, and countries in which telecollaborative projects are situated, may appear real enough. Yet, as I attempt to show in light of the methodological discussion to follow, the data of this study call into question the ability of distance online to contextualize dialogue between language learners and tutors, once its *metric* is gone.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I. Introduction and Research Questions

The previous chapter was designed to develop a workable conceptual apparatus for a notion of "foreignness" productive for the interests of educators and students in telecollaborative and other institutionally-based settings for online, intercultural language learning. By operationalizing "the foreign" in terms of *dialogic* constructs such as distancing, outsideness, wholeness of person, and reflexivity (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Buber, 1958; see Chapter 2), my aim has been to lend a conceptual language and impetus to researchers, instructors, students, and administrators alike to critically evaluate the theoretical groundings, organizational principles, and execution of telecollaborative language teaching and learning. Here, a core motivation is the belief that the foreign language classroom is unique among educational settings in that a *language* (and the values that students attach to it as foreign) is both its pedagogical object and the means of enacting a social world in miniature; or, as Kramsch writes, "the foreign language is not only a tool for future encounters in the outside world; it is the instrument that creates and shapes the social meaning of the class itself" (Kramsch, 1987, p. 17).

This chapter has as its goal the putting-into-dialogue the broad theoretical concerns of Chapter 2, on one hand, with two years of research in the very particular context of the videoconferencing exchanges between UC Berkeley undergraduates studying French and Masters' students in French language education at the University of Lyon 2 and the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Lyon. It aims to outline the methods used for identifying, collecting, and analyzing data from this project befitting the research questions that animate this project—questions that, as Harvey (1989) has argued, may belie a postmodern concern with basic experiences of space, time, and other questions of ontology.

Of course, the issue at hand in this dissertation is *foreignness* and, specifically, what is held to be foreign about "the foreign language". The question asked in its title, "Where is the foreign?", is a provocation intended to direct attention at the way in which the collective belief of students, teachers, language program coordinators, material developers and society at large sustains the reality of the foreignness of the foreign language.[27] This concern is expressed in the initial research question that motivated this project:

- What do students' online learning experiences show us about the ontological ground of 'foreignness' in internet-mediated foreign language education today?

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[27] See Chapter 2, Section I.

In this view, to ask into the ways in which relations of foreignness are manifest in the language classroom is to call into question the *conditions of possibility* (Foucault, 1971) of a social reality that is sustained by the collective doings and sayings of those who populate this world—the symbolic sayings and doings described by Blommaert (2005) as *discourse*, or "all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use" (p. 3). As I noted in the opening pages of this study (Chapter 1, Section I), this is a view of discourse with postmodern leanings, one that sees language and other semiotic activity as not just reflecting, but also constitutive of social reality.

While a discursive orientation to investigating the social reality of the *F1L* project does not allow one to make definitive statements about the *beliefs* of the students, teachers, and other actors based in Berkeley and Lyon per se, it does allow for a line of questioning into the conditions for production of such beliefs. As developed in the previous chapter, such an approach to foreignness viewed dialogically might include the *distancing and production of place* necessary for relations of outsideness to take hold; *embodiment* as it affects the *wholeness* (but not the totality) of the other in dialogue; and the *reflexive* awareness of one's own alterity that may be, in part at least, occasioned by the technological *interface*.

In this dissertation, I have articulated these concerns in the form of the following research questions, each of which, in turn, organizes the investigations of the following three chapters.

1. What becomes of distance and place in the telecollaborative medium? Are they lost, or can they be maintained? And if the latter, how are they transformed? (Chapter 4)

2. What is the nature of the language learner's body online, and of the bodies of intercultural others? Does one need a body to be foreign? (Chapter 5)

3. What opportunities and barriers does the telecollaborative medium present for language learners' reflexive awareness (and subjective positioning) of themselves as foreign? (Chapter 6)

Of course, also implied by the organizing question, "Where is the foreign?" is the possibility that *the foreign* is no more—that the social and institutional ground that sustained it has been transformed to the extent that to speak of "the foreign" makes little sense today. From this perspective, an additional organizing question of this dissertation, to be addressed in the conclusion, addresses the consequences of changes in material and discursive 'reality conditions' upon the schools where formal language instruction takes place:

- How does the introduction of video-mediated telecollaborative learning threaten or transform the institutional legitimacy of the traditional foreign language classroom as such--that is, as a place where *foreign* languages can be learned?

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In aiming to uncover or redefine concepts and not just apply them, my study takes its lead from ethnographic and ethnographically-inspired studies addressing (to varying degrees and in varying ways) online language learning, multimodality and the 'new literacies', and new media studies (e.g., Boellstorff, 2008; Lam, 2000, 2004; Miller & Slater, 2000; Stein, 2007; Warschauer, 1999).[28] Indeed, both in method and in theoretical aim, this study traces its own direct lineage from training in qualitative methods in the ethnographic tradition that had as one outcome the study of authorship practices in the linguistic landscape (Malinowski, 2009). In that study, I brought insights from theories of performativity in language (Austin, 1962; Butler, 1997) and multimodal semiosis (Kress, 2003) to bear on data obtained from participant observation, semi-structured interviews, walking tours, mapping activities, and multimodal text analysis in order to ask how the othering of linguistic and ethnic groups can take place through the medium of visible language in public.

Yet this study is not an ethnography per se. I understand the claim of ethnography to be ethnography as deriving not just from "having been there" (see Geertz, 1988), but from having spent months or, typically, years of sustained engagement in the lives of one's informants—and from struggling with the means and significance of having done so.[29] Although I have followed the evolution of *F1L* for approximately five years as of the writing of this dissertation, the data are drawn centrally from two focused exchanges in the springs of 2008 and 2009, between French language tutors based in Lyon and undergraduate students of French in Berkeley, California. Accordingly, while enacting the practices of first-person description and steady attention to detail that are among the hallmarks of ethnography in educational contexts (e.g., Dyson, 1993; Heath, 1983; MacLeod, 1987; Norton, 2000; Willis, 1977), this study narrates its data and finds meaning more in the interpretive, humanistic style of the contemporary fields of critical cyberculture studies (Hayles, 1999, 2005; Hansen, 2006; Massumi, 2002; Poster, 1990, 2001; Silver & Massanari, 2006; Turkle, 1995, 2011).

As I endeavor to interrogate the present and future of foreignness in the internet-enabled university language classroom in the pages that follow, then, I first give an overview of a research design that synthesizes ecological perspectives on language learning, ethnographic methods in multi-sited on and off-line contexts, and critical discourse analytic methods befitting multimedia, multimodal interactions across spaces both virtual and actual. I then introduce the contexts, settings, and participants of *F1L* upon which this study is built. Following this, I introduce data sources and the procedures of data collection and analysis throughout the three data chapters of this dissertation (Chapters 4, 5, and 6), acknowledging throughout some of the limitations and potential shortcomings of the study.

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[28] Here I distinguish between studies such as these that are themselves ethnographies or ethnographically-oriented, and those that advocate for ethnographically-inspired research methods (e.g. participant observation, open and semi-structured interviews, etc.) as a technique of language education (see, for instance, O'Dowd, 2006 and Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan, & Street, 2001).

[29] Hannerz (2003) asserts the "hegemony of the model" (p. 202) of *being there* as the only possible paradigm for contemporary anthropological research--multi-sited research that shows both the necessity and logical impossibility of "being there...and there...and there".

II. Methodological Orientations: Framing Dialogue in Motion

Dialogism through Ecological Perspectives: Foregrounding Relationality and Movement

In my theoretical review, I attempted to develop a notion of "the foreign" with a multidisciplinary approach that began with the signals toward this concept made in the field of Second Language Acquisition (e.g., Gass, 2008; Lightbown & Spada, 1999). After expanding the field of inquiry with philosophical works such as Kristeva's (1991) "Toccata and fugue for the foreigner" and Saunders' (2003) *The concept of the foreign: An interdisciplinary dialogue*, I sketched a history of "the foreign" in U.S. foreign language education, and then sought to understand the relationship between *the foreigner* and the figure of the *native speaker* who, I argued, may lurk behind the notion of intercultural communicative competence that commonly informs telecollaboration studies (cf. Byram, 1997; Sercu, 2004). In the remainder of the exposition on foreignness, I outlined a notion of semiotic and ecological thirdness (Peirce, 1955; Kramsch, 1993; van Lier, 2004) productive for understanding the thoroughly *relational* notion of dialogue, as seen focally through the thought of Martin Buber (1958) and Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1986). In particular, with respect to contemporary views and practices in language education that envision a globalized, hybrid world beyond the fixity of the national border, the relationality of dialogue stands in as a core principle of foreignness as well: language learners may enter into productive relationships of foreignness with others (and themselves), without either party *being* foreign in a more normative sense of the word.

Methodologically, as well, I seek to align this study with a multidisciplinary orientation in applied linguistics research that posits change, emergence, and *relationality* as organizing principles in phenomena of interest (rather than the delineation of fixed identities and properties, for example). An *ecological approach* to language and educational research, borrowing from theories of chaos/complexity in complex systems in the physical sciences, has served well in this regard (Kramsch, 2002b; Larsen-Freeman, 1997; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Leather & van Dam, 2003; van Lier, 2004); Kramsch, in the introduction to a seminal volume on ecological approaches to language acquisition and socialization, describes the openness allowed therein: "an ecological perspective on language development opens up possibilities of embracing the paradoxes, contradictions, and conflicts inherent in any situation involving semiotic activity, rather than rushing to solve them" (Kramsch, 2002a, p. 22).

Practically speaking, then, taking an ecological approach to studying the presence, absence, and modulations of *foreignness* in the happenings of the foreign language classroom means that questions of who, what, when, where and why relations of foreignness obtain must always be conditioned through descriptions of *how*; as Kramsch and Lam explain, participants in educational settings cannot be separated from the very particular material and cultural contexts of learning:

> A critical ecological perspective on SLA means examining the relationship between the learner and the context in order to do justice to the self-organized, self-regulating nature of language learning. In other words, we need to explore

how different parts of an environment fit together to constitute a system that has its own logic of functioning (Lam & Kramsch, 2003, p. 156).

As van Lier (2000, 2002, 2004), among others, has taken pains to articulate, however, it is not enough to posit that learning actions and events necessarily take place in (and even depend upon) context. Although context is acknowledged in anthropological and other social scientific research on language not just as that which surrounds speech and action, but to be in part *productive* of them (e.g., Duranti & Goodwin, 1992), what is needed in an ecological approach, van Lier argues, is the notion of *affordance*: "affordances are meaningful ways of relating to the environment through perception-in-action", he writes (van Lier, 2002, p. 147), such that "[the ecological study of language] focuses on the ways individuals relate to the world and to each other by means of linguistic and other sign systems" (p. 147). Again, in this paradigm, intercultural learners in a telecollaborative exchange might be said to *afford* relations of foreignness to each other through the development of dialogue between them, without necessarily *being* foreign.

Tracing back to sources such as James Gibson's (1979) study of visual perception and Gregory Bateson's (1972) work in systems theory and cybernetics, then, an ecological approach in language education and learning eschews fixed categories, preferring instead to see learning, competences, identities, and other mainstays of classroom life and research—like the notions of the foreign developed in the previous chapter, and summarized above—as *emergent* phenomena, and as revealed *in motion*. Indeed, Gibson's motivation in writing what became one of language ecology's foundational texts (Gibson, 1979) was to move the study of optics out of the fixed-position, fixed-focus, fixed-time, laboratory-based and camera-flash approach to optics—and into the field. There, "the study of optics" could instead become *the study of vision*, by embodied agents who move purposively, in constant interaction with the unfolding environment.

Accordingly, the imperative for a research methodology based upon such principles is to draw evidence across disciplines, communicative modes, differing scales of space and time, and from across "various levels of perception, action, discourse, and beliefs" in order to describe, analyze, and interpret phenomena of interest (Kramsch, 2002a, p. 22-3). To the degree possible this is what I have done in the chapters to follow: my data analysis is founded upon 'fixed' texts recorded in different media (interview transcripts, students' drawings, video screenshots, field notes from classroom observations), placing project participants in varying spatial and temporal relations to those texts (real-time recordings, retrospective observations, reflections on those same observations), and then set in motion in narrative form (see Section VI, Analysis).

Methods Online and Off: Locating This Virtual Research

A proliferation of scholarship reviewing "research methods online" or "virtual methodologies" in the last fifteen or so years, tracing research in quantitative and qualitative traditions, and of variously positivistic, interpretive, and critical leanings,

would seem to suggest that research of phenomena taking place on or via the internet is of a different sort than research taking place offline (Hine, 2000, 2005; S. Jones, 1999; Markham & Baym, 2009; Silver & Massanari, 2006). As Hine writes in the introduction to her edited volume (Hine, 2005, p. 5), "Research 'on the Internet' is marked as a distinct topic worthy of specific note by the introduction of new epithets to familiar methods"—a fact that demonstrates both an "air of innovation around the field" and a sense of anxiety as existing research methods are called into question. However, assertions of the "innovations" of Internet research are tempered in the epilogue to the same volume, where Jankowski and van Selm assert that most innovations in online methods have taken place on the micro level of specific techniques and methods, while the mezzo level (concerning research design and strategy) and even less the macro level "which deals mainly with epistemological issues" (Jankowski & van Selm, 2005, p. 201) are rarely touched. They write, "much more is to be gained through application of conventional research methodologies and practices than those who are on the vanguard of Internet research innovation seem willing to acknowledge" (p. 200). Indeed, perhaps one of the great outcomes of 'online research' is to serve as a way to critically redirect attention to more traditional methods of research—a contention supported by longtime internet researchers Baym and Markham when they note, "What a surprise for us to discover that, although the main focus of the book is ostensibly the internet, the most important points contribute to nuanced and new understandings of qualitative inquiry in general" (Baym & Markham, 2009, p. viii).

Yet as Hine (2009) remarks, ethnographic studies 'on the internet' foreground the dilemma faced by researchers at all types of sites in deciding "where to start and when to stop" (p. 2)—that is, in defining the scope and scale of "the field". As I hope to make evident in the next section, the *FIL* site of this study is not just in Berkeley and not just in Lyon; it is not simply online in the domain of videoconferencing interactions, and it is certainly not just offline in the computer labs and classrooms of two host universities; it is not just "in the classroom", nor does it just take place in the ad-filled corporate spaces of Skype, Blogger, and other proprietary software tools; nor still is it in the more public spaces of the cafes and other more public places in which the Berkeley students of French say they often imagine themselves talking with their tutors. To some extent, this research takes place across all of these locations, and no doubt more. Exploring the modalities of interconnection therein is one of the goals of this dissertation—a goal with both theoretical and methodological implications. For, as Nunes (2006) says, "If we are to understand cyberspace as lived space, we need to be able to address not only 'where' it takes place, but how it is articulated in its varying forms" (p. 16-7). In this light, following Nunes, I do not assume that the focal student participants of my study are either wholly online or offline or even located in just one place; rather, I endeavor to understand how *processes of location* themselves take place (inasmuch as these are symbolically 'visible'), and how these processes lend meaning to the dialogic enactment of foreignness.

In my view, taking such a multi-layered perspective has several related methodological implications, as they apply specifically to this study. First might be the need to attend to new forms of textuality and sites of representation in the variety of media and modes of telecollaboration. Indeed, if binaries such as *message/medium*,

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embodiment/disembodiment, *offline/offline*, and *real/virtual* were complicated by the interweaving of theories of semiotic structure, materiality, and performance in theories of online communication in the 1990s and early 2000s—realized primarily in text chat, discussion board contributions, and other uses of written *language* (see discussion in Nunes, 2006, Ch. 1)—then mixed in-classroom and in-videoconferencing sites such as that of the *F1L* project would appear to implicate participants in complex material and semiotic ecologies involving not only language in both written and spoken forms, but also image, movement and, significantly, the likenesses of oneself and one's interlocutor(s) on-screen.

A second implication might be the need to pay attention to new modalities of movement: Chapter 2 (Theory) has already argued for the importance of learners' (and teachers') ability to take up discrete discursive *and physical* positions vis-a-vis their intercultural others as a precondition for engaging with the foreign in contexts of language learning; however, the movement of one's own body online (both in the sense of the projections between the learner's seated body and its on-screen representation, and the in-screen real-time movement of one's body-image) in the videoconferencing situation has not, to my knowledge, been considered in studies of telecollaborative language learning. Chapter 5, treating phenomena of embodiment, movement, and stasis in the experiences of the Berkeley students online with their tutors in Lyon, represents an initial attempt to do so.

A third implication of the multiple, hybrid, and often ambiguous nature of the online spaces moved through by language learners and teachers in telecollaborative partnership might be the need for greater latitude in disciplinary approaches to the data. In my own transcription and initial analysis of audio and video data from screen recordings of students and tutors in conversation—illustrated most centrally in Chapters 5 and 6—I draw inspiration mainly from anthropological and social semiotic perspectives on multimodality and communication that acknowledge that meanings made by the same people in different modes may work together or be at odds with one another, and may emerge at different scales of time (e.g., Finnegan, 2002; Goodwin, 1994; Harris, 1996; Iedema, 2003; Jewitt & Kress, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Stein, 2004). In the more extended interpretations that accompany the presentation of data proper in these chapters, as I indicated in the previous section, I turn as well to more humanistic and avowedly poststructural philosophic works that eschew analysis by category (reality vs. virtuality, for instance) in favor of investigations of those categories' very conditions of possibility (e.g., Massumi, 2002).

Analytic Approach: Exposing Discourse's Framing of Discourse

In accordance with the understanding of phenomena of language learning and development from a relational, ecological perspective, and in light of the complexities of locating the very site of research that spans domains both virtual and actual, I endeavor to employ discourse analytic methods that find evidence of spatial, temporal, and other experienced 'reality conditions' in the moment-to-moment semiotic activity of the language learners themselves. These ontological conditions may be, I argued in Chapter

2, productive of foreignness among intercultural others and, I attempt to show, may be 'read' for how they express relations of distance and outsideness of perspective among participants, the manners of embodiment or disembodiment attendant to online interactions, and participants' reflexive awareness of their own positionalities in the ongoing dialogue. As indicated above, my discourse analytic approach focuses on individuals' situated textual (spoken, written, and multimodal) productions, and draws from multimodal literacy and discourse analysis (Jewitt & Kress, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; Levine & Scollon, 2004), mediated discourse studies (Norris & Jones, 2005; Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1967; Gumperz, 1982), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Common to these approaches is the conscious attempt by the analyst to link "discourse" with "Discourse" (here I borrow terminology from Gee, 1999)—that is, to see in the moment-to-moment sayings and doings of individuals (and especially individuals in institutional settings like schools) evidence of the constraints imposed by larger ideological orderings that in effect dictate the very terms of *the sayable* and *the doable*. Here, Blommaert's expression of the essential political interestedness of discourse analysis (particularly with respect to the tradition of so-called "Critical Discourse Analysis", or CDA) seem apt for the present study. He writes, "Discourse analysis should result in a heightened awareness of hidden power dimensions and its effects: a *critical language awareness*, a sensitivity for discourse as subject to power and inequality" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 33). Such an interest in raising critical awareness is, I hope, clear from the very title of this dissertation: "Where is the foreign?"

At the same time, (at least) two common critiques of CDA seem particularly applicable as well to the narrative interpretations of classroom, online, and interview discourse that form the bulk of the data presented in this study, and to its conclusions about the foreignness of the foreign language classroom.[30] First is the need to strive for a reflexive awareness of the analyst's own ideological position and partiality of textual interpretation. As Widdowson argues, "[CDA] presents a partial interpretation of text from a particular point of view. It is partial in two senses: first, it is not impartial in that it is ideologically committed, and so prejudiced; and it is partial in that it selects those features of the text which support its preferred interpretation" (Widdowson, 1995; appears in Seidlhofer, 2003, p. 142). Certainly, my own position as an American researcher in a U.S. university setting late in the first decade of the 21st century, conducting interviews and writing in English with students for whom English is overwhelmingly the common language, gives a particular ideological valence to the meanings ascribed to concepts such as *foreignness*.[31]

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[30] I bring forth the example of CDA here not to assert that I consider this study an instance of CDA, but because of its avowed political nature (appropriate, I think, to considerations of the presence, absence, and transformations in relations of foreignness in the language classroom) and because of the visibility of the critique of its methodological weaknesses. On this point see, for example, Schegloff, 1997 and Widdowson, 1995).

[31] In part, I have attempted to address this boundedness by explicitly framing the notion of "the foreign" in the context of a history of foreign language education in the United States (Chapter 2, Section II).

Second, and related to the first point, is recognition of the complexities and problems of calling *critical* an analysis of classroom discourse produced by relatively economically privileged students in the United States and France, countries to which attach ongoing critiques of political, economic, and military empire. Indeed, Blommaert (2005) pointed to a related fact in his treatment of Fairclough's pioneering book in CDA, *Language and Power* (1989), which found success in the context of discourse in Great Britain during the Thatcher era:

> There is no reason to restrict critical analyses of discourse to highly integrated, Late Modern, and post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies. There is even less reason to assume that descriptions of such societies can usefully serve as a model for understanding discourse in the world today, for the world is far bigger than Europe and the USA, and substantial differences occur between different societies in this world (Blommaert, 2005, p. 35-6).

In light of these complexities, and in order to delimit and situate the concerns (and applicability of the findings) of this bi-national, online and offline, in-class and in-computer project, I find great methodological relevance in the concept of *framing*, particularly as developed by American sociologist Erving Goffman (Goffman, 1974). On one level, "framing" builds on the large volume of work invoking Goffman's concepts in studies of (for example) virtual identity performance, deception, and 'staging' of the self online (e.g., Donath, 1999; Miller, 1995; Walther, 1996), social presence in Human-Computer Interaction as informed by Goffman's (1964) notion of "mutual monitoring possibilities" (see, for instance, Biocca, Harms, & Burgoon, 2003), the adaptation of Goffman's dramaturgical perspective of interaction to Internet-mediated environments (e.g., Lam, 2000), and footing (Goffman, 1981) in intercultural discussion (Hanna & de Nooy, 2009). The particular relevance of studying *framing* in discourse, though, is that it raises an epistemological question that, I argue, might allow us to talk about the presence, absence, or transformation of *the foreign* in the classroom.

Frames, a concept drawing from that of the same name by Bateson (1972), Goffman describes as "overlapping principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10-11).[32] They are observable in terms of the ongoing shifts in footing ("a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance", Goffman, 1981, p. 128), linguistic contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982), postural, gestural, or expressional shifts (e.g., Kendon, 1992), and other, often micro-level, semiotic behaviors engaged in by

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[32] In this section, and in my analysis as a whole, I privilege Goffman's take on frames as a sociological and anthropological concept, while acknowledging its relation to the 'scripts' or 'schemas' in theories of artificial intelligence and linguistic semantics (e.g., Minsky, 1975; Fillmore, 1976). In revising their initial assumptions that frames of the first (sociological etc.) variety are interactionally negotiated and thus changeable while the second (cognitive etc.) sort are 'static', Tannen and Wallet (1987) note research demonstrating that, in fact, "all types of structures of expectations are dynamic", and conclude, "expectations about objects, people, settings, ways to interact, and anything else in the world are continually checked against experience and revised" (cited in Jaworski & Coupland, 1999). Here I would argue that foreignness in the language classroom is a prime example of "anything else in this world."

interactants in a communicative scene. Frames are thus empirically observable phenomena that coordinate social action, but their study, Goffman intimates, offers a view into the mechanisms that sustain or undermine nothing less than social reality:

> Taken all together, the primary frameworks of a particular social group constitute a central element of its culture, especially insofar as understandings emerge concerning principal classes of schemata, the relations of these classes to one another, and the sum total of forces and agents that these interpretive designs acknowledge to be loose in the world. One must try to form an image of a group's framework of frameworks—its belief system, its 'cosmology'—even though this is a domain that close students of contemporary social life have usually been happy to give over to others (Goffman, 1974, p. 27).

Giving or receiving feedback in a university language classroom, doing roll call at the beginning of class, taking a written exam, engaging in idle chatter before class or text chat online, exchanging opinions about a video, rehearsing pronunciation with a language tutor—all of these may be considered *primary frameworks* in Goffman's sense, in that they organize normative expectations about who can say and do what such that all participants maintain a common sense of *what it is that is going on* (e.g., Goffman, 1974, p. 7). Layered onto these so-called primary frameworks, *secondary frameworks* can give added meaning, create confusion, or make opportunities for the transformation or subversion of the primary framework: a teacher can play at doing roll call such that the students are 'in' on the joke, or even *fake* playing at doing roll, call such that the students are caught off guard when they find out later that tardies or absences were in fact marked. Or, the entire scene might have taken place on a theater stage, where the students are all actors and the teachers is not a teacher either.

Such were the ambiguities that Goffman explored under the rubric of frames, asking, as the pragmatist philosopher William James had in his 1869 essay "The perception of reality", "*Under what circumstances do we think things are real?*" And, I contend, such a rubric is highly appropriate for the foreign language classroom when, as in the *F1L* project, language students engage daily with at least two realities of language instruction—one in the 'traditional' classroom with other students and a teacher who are physically co-present, and another online 'alone' or in pairs with a distally located tutor.

Finally, while language teachers, program coordinators, and administrators certainly care when and how a primary framework is established such that students believe they are *really* learning a foreign language (and teachers believe they are teaching one), Goffman's seemingly counterintuitive interests are again instructive to the purposes at hand in this dissertation: frame analysis does its real work not when describing the schematic content of primary frameworks, but in exposing individual subjectivities and the operations of social power that limit or enable them in the moments when frames are established or broken, entered into or exited from. In this way, the 'breaking of frame' becomes an analytic unit in its own right, and one that is perhaps more readily observable through the workings and malfunctions of the computer interface than in the 'live' classroom. In the chapters that follow, I endeavor to ask whether it is not precisely when

there is doubt about *what it is that is going on* that the conditions for a dialogue productive of relations of foreignness between intercultural others might obtain.

III. Context and Settings: From Berkeley and Lyon, and Online

Context of the Study: The Français en (Première) Ligne *Project*

As indicated in the Introduction (Chapter 1), my study is situated within an ongoing bi-national online language teaching and learning project developed in France and implemented in partnership with university-based French language classes in Australia, Japan, and the United States. Inaugurated in the 2002-3 school year with an asynchronous exchange between teacher trainees in French as a Foreign Language at the University of Besançon in France and Australian students of French at the University of Sydney, *F1L* has seen multiple iterations within a total of 4 institutional pairings, as indicated in the following chart:

Year	French teaching side	French learning side
2002-3	U. of Besançon	U. of Sydney (Australia)
2003-4	U. of Besançon	U. of Sydney; Monash U. (Melbourne, Australia)
2004-5	U. of Grenoble	Monash U.
2005-6	U. of Grenoble	U. of Leon (Spain); Northern Virginia Community College (USA)
2006-7	U. of Grenoble U. Lumière Lyon 2	U. of Leon; Sophia U. (Tokyo, Japan) U. of California at Berkeley (USA)
2007-8	U. of Grenoble Lyon 2	U. of Leon; Sophia U.; UC Berkeley
2008-9	U. of Grenoble Lyon 2	U. of Leon; Sophia U.; UC Berkeley
2009-10	U. of Grenoble Lyon 2	Sophia U.; U. of Riga (Latvia) UC Berkeley
2010-11	Lyon 2	UC Berkeley

Figure 3.1—Participants in the *Français en (première) ligne* project, 2002-2011

Whereas much research on *F1L* has tended to address issues pertinent to teacher training in FLE (see Chapter 1, Section II) my study situates itself primarily within the institutional and cultural contexts of the learners' university in Berkeley, and within the particular relationship in the *F1L* partnership between researchers and practitioners at the Université Lumière Lyon 2 and UC Berkeley. In a practical sense as well, the research and administration of the Berkeley-Lyon arm of the *F1L* project, realized in annual or semi-annual working group meetings, workshops and conferences, tended to take place independently of the collaborations underway between the University of Grenoble and its partners in Tokyo, Leon, and Riga. For these reasons, I do not explore the development of the Australian or Japanese partnerships in this dissertation.

The partnership between the UC Berkeley French classes and the University of Lyon 2 began as researchers and practitioners in both contexts sought to explore the potentials of synchronous video interaction in advancing the goals of their teacher training and French learning classrooms. Through the auspices of a proposal from the Lyon side and an initial meeting in Berkeley in November 2006, an agreement was reached to apply for project funding[33] and, independently of this, to begin an exchange between institutions. The researchers' combined experience with French classes in Australia and other contexts, in combination with the availability of classes in the hosting French Department at UC Berkeley, led to the selection of an intermediate (second-year) French course at Berkeley to be paired with a Masters' course on the use of multimedia in *français langue étrangère* (Teaching French as a Foreign Language) beginning in January 2007.

Setting(s) and Procedures

While investigating the nature of foreign language classrooms that are both online and offline is itself one of the research goals of this study (see Section II), here I outline some of the institutional settings and procedures that constituted the day-to-day realities for the students in Berkeley, their tutors in Lyon, their respective instructors, and the researchers who participated in *F1L*. I divide discussion of the setting into three parts, to point to the ways in which *F1L* participants' situation in their respective institutional contexts in Berkeley, Lyon, and online might bear upon their understanding of *what it was that was going on*--and of each other.

Berkeley. The student participants on the UC Berkeley side of the *F1L* project in 2008 and 2009 were enrolled in French 3, the third term out of four in a two-year sequence of introductory and intermediate language courses offered by the Department of French. In general terms, the department describes its goals as "facilitating students' ability to communicate effectively in both spoken and written French and teaching students to read French texts critically and with aesthetic appreciation." At the second-

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[33] From the website of the France-Berkeley Fund: as a partnership between the Government of France and the University of California at Berkeley, the France-Berkeley Fund "promotes scholarly exchange in all disciplines between UC Berkeley and all research centers and public of higher education in France" (http://fbf.berkeley.edu).

year level, students were to "refine their grammar usage through the study of complex structures, and they expand their spoken French skills through discussion and analysis of literary texts".[34]

Thus, for both French majors and non-majors, a focus on writing in preparation for immersion in French literature was foregrounded in their French 3 classes. In a typical week, students might have finished workbook grammar exercises and done online listening practice from their intermediate French textbook *Sur le vif* (Jarausch & Tufts, 2006) for their face-to-face class on Monday; had an online interaction based on textbook themes with their tutors in Lyon on Tuesday; taken a chapter quiz and studied new textbook material in class on Wednesday; done reading and writing exercises on Thursday; and done listening exercises, finished a one-page written journal entry, and checked updates from their tutors on a class blog all in time for their class on Friday.

In fact, the incorporation of the online activities of the *F1L* project represented a special accommodation made by the Berkeley French instructor, who at the time was also the second-year coordinator of the French program. For the two month duration of the project (approximately half of the UC Berkeley semester), other non-participating sections of French 3 followed the *Sur le vif*-based syllabus on all days of the week, whereas the teacher and students from the section participating in the online exchanges were held responsible for covering the same content, while also spending one day a week online in the computer lab.[35]

On Tuesdays from the end of January to the end of March in both 2008 and 2009, then, French 3 students in the 9am section received weekly online lessons that had been prepared by their tutors in collaboration with the Berkeley French instructor (explained in detail below). Videochat and multimedia pedagogical activities followed the themes of the corresponding chapters in the textbook: education, youth culture, immigration and racism, national identity, modes of transportation, travel, and television and cinema. The 2008 "(National) Identities" lesson plan forms the context for the case study of the student Ann and her tutor Jean in Chapter 6, and is reproduced in its original form as Appendix B.[36]

Lyon. Develotte (2008) describes a three-week sequence composed of six stages, followed by the Université Lumière Lyon 2 students ("the tutors") during the 2008 interactions (January-March 2008): the week prior to the interaction, the students in charge developed a sequence of activities that were thematically matched to the Berkeley curriculum, and presented their tasks in class to the other teachers-in-training for feedback. After refining their lesson on the basis of this feedback, they sent their proposed lesson to the French 3 instructor in Berkeley, who returned it with feedback a few days before the lesson was to take place. The revised lesson was sent back around to the Lyon teachers-in-training in time for their Tuesday evening (France time) online

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[34] UC Berkeley French Department website, http://french.berkeley.edu

[35] This fact was of great consequence to the instructor's ability to contextualize and expand upon the basic curricular requirements, and appeared to affect the nature of interpersonal relationships in the class as well. See discussion in Chapter 7, Section III).

[36] All lesson plans from the 2008 and 2009 sessions can be downloaded freely from the *F1L* project website, http://w3.u-grenoble3.fr/fle-1-ligne/index.html.

interactions with the Berkeley students. Following the interaction, the students in charge for the week were to review screen and room video recordings that had been taken of them as they taught their online lesson, and select three extracts for discussion in the following week's seminar: one "good" one "less good", and "an extract that raises a question". These would be shown and discussed for feedback and reflection in the following week's face-to-face seminar. In principle, then, a single seminar would comprise activities addressing three weeks' topics and interactions: reflections on the previous week's lesson, the carrying-out of the current week's lesson online, and looking forward to the next week's topic and activities (Develotte, 2008, p. 44).

Online. The two years of data treated in this study correspond to the two years that the popular desktop videoconferencing client Skype was used as the primary means of synchronous communication between the tutors in Lyon and their students in Berkeley. Created in 2003 by a pair of entrepreneurs from Sweden and Denmark as a free "voice over IP" (VOIP) client, Skype has grown steadily to the point that it currently[37] maintains near 1 billion registered users and hosts close to 15% of all international calls made worldwide.[38] Its peer-to-peer voice and text chat features and free availability had made it a focus of attention among language educators (among others) in its first few years of existence (Godwin-Jones, 2005; Yang & Chang, 2008); the addition of a videoconferencing function in 2006—expanded in its most recent release (Skype 5, 2011) to support video conversations among up to 10 distally located individuals—appears to have made Skype a mainstream choice for language educators wishing to utilize synchronous audio and video CMC in their classes (e.g., Levy, 2009; O'Dowd, 2007; Sykes, Oskoz, & Thorne, 2008).

In addition to their synchronous interactions via Skype, the *F1L* project made use of *Blogger* blogs for asynchronous communication between tutors and students in both the 2008 and 2009 classes. This particular blogging platform, created by Pyra Labs in 1999 and acquired by Google in 2003, had helped to popularize the genre of blogging and ranks among the largest blogging platforms in France along with OverBlog and Skyblog.[39] In both years, there was in effect a two-tiered blogging structure in place: a whole-class group blog upon which tutors responsible for the week's lesson would upload resources and questions,[40] and tutors' and students' individual blogs (see figure below). While all tutors were required to create blogs and used them to varying degrees to pose questions and give feedback to students, students were invited to create blogs primarily as a means to introduce themselves to their tutors. Their blogs, when they existed, tended to see little active use over the course of the semester.

Prior to the online interactions, then, tutors and students were invited or asked to create their own blogs using the Blogger platform and to post a self-introduction intended for their overseas interlocutor; simultaneously, project coordinators and researchers created generic Skype usernames and passwords for the participants ("Tuteur1",

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[37] October 2011.

[38] Wikipedia article: http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skype

[39] Wikipedia article: http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blog

[40] As of the writing of this chapter (September 2011) these blogs are still online at http://apprentissageenligne.blogspot.com/ (2008) and http://www.lyonberkeley2009.blogspot.com/ (2009).

"Apprenant1", "Tuteur2", "Apprenant2", etc.). Participants had access to the publicly visible blogs at all times they were connected to the internet, at home or at school, and could potentially post comments and new blog entries at any time throughout the week. Skype was not used at times other than the designated class hour (9:10AM in Berkeley, and 6:10PM in Lyon) on the seven Tuesdays on which interactions took place. At these times, two students (partners) would sit in front of a single webcam-equipped terminal in a computer laboratory in a UC Berkeley campus building, while two tutors would do the same in the designated lab in Lyon, and both would log in to Skype using their designated usernames. Barring technical difficulties (of which there were many, some of the effects of which are discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6), thus would commence the 45-to-50-minute online lesson.

Here I wish to add that I have cast light to a small degree on the particularities of the commercially-available software products used for these interactions for at least two reasons. First, Thorne (2003) reminds us that mediational artifacts like Skype and Blogger are not just unique in their own rights, presenting slightly different interactive potentials and constraints to their users than comparable applications such as, say, iChat for desktop videoconferencing and Wordpress for blogging. More to the point, particular mediational tools are themselves embedded in sedimented practices that join individuals with educational and social institutions in common *cultures-of-use*. Put simply, the "Skype" used by the Berkeley students was not necessarily the same as the "Skype" used by their tutors in Lyon (considering the relative position of Skype in American and French personal computing cultures) and, indeed, among each sub-population there might have been shown to be widely varying cultures-of-use (those who had already used Skype to communicate with their family or friends vs. those who did not, for example). Thus, the fact that students and tutors used their real-world identities on the asynchronous and publicly visible blogging platforms, but generic institutional identities in the Skype videoconferencing medium could have exerted an influence on the tone and content of the tutors' and students' interactions, while never manifesting itself in spoken interaction.

Second, I believe the fact of using *commercially*-available software for an educational partnership between two public universities needs to be foregrounded. As technologies in wider use outside the university, freely available online tools like Skype and Blogger frequently receive accolades for bringing 'authentic' communication into the foreign or second language classroom, or moving authentic learning outside the classroom altogether (see, for example, Lee, 2007 on videoconferencing and Thorne & Black, 2008 on computer-mediated contexts more generally; also my treatment of "interface" in Chapter 6, Section II. Meanwhile, in other learning contexts, such tools are readily identifiable "impediments" to language study and development. Writing on the situation of U.S. learners of French in France, for example, Kinginger (2008) invokes Block and Cameron's (2002) understanding of globalization as enacted in part by communications technologies that change one's relationship to distance and "the local"; she suggests that Skype is one of many technologies that may function as an "electronic umbilical cord" simultaneously tying them to their home cultures while insulating them from potentially challenging and transformative learning experiences abroad (Kinginger, 2008, p. 62). In both cases—the accolades and the critiques—foreign language educators, including the teachers and project coordinators of the *F1L* project, appear to be

witnessing a phenomenon in which the university's capacity to create its own context for intellectual discovery might be increasingly defined by the commercial features and identities of the tools they employ.

IV. Participants

Overview

As indicated in the previous section, the present study focuses on the videoconferencing exchanges between the 2008 and 2009 classes of approximately fifteen students each in third-semester French at the University of California at Berkeley, and approximately ten Masters' degree students each in French language education (Master 2 Pro in *français langue étrangère*) at the University of Lyon 2 and the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Lyon. These two years represent the second and third years, respectively, of the partnership between the French and the U.S. sides of the project. As teaching and research were being undertaken in both locations during both years, and in-house videoconferencing software for the project was being developed on the Lyon side, a full list of participants is as follows:

Role	Year	Location	Number
Undergraduate students of French	2008	Berkeley	17
Masters' student tutors of French	2007-8	Lyon	11
Undergraduate students of French	2009	Berkeley	18
Masters' student tutors of French	2008-9	Lyon	12
Masters' teacher trainers/researchers	2007-9	Lyon	2
French Language instructor/researcher	2008-9	Berkeley	1
Lead researcher—Berkeley	2007-9	Berkeley	1
Graduate student researchers—Lyon	2007-9	Lyon	4
Graduate student researcher—Berkeley	2008-9	Berkeley	1
Software developers	2008-9	Lyon	2
Undergraduate research apprentices	2008	Berkeley	4
Undergraduate research apprentices	2009	Berkeley	4

Figure 3.2—Lyon and Berkeley participants in the *Français en (première) ligne* project

Below I provide a description of each of these groups as they pertain to the research focus of my own dissertation project. As should already be apparent, the physical setting of overriding salience for this purpose--and that which is interrogated in the three data chapters to follow--is the Berkeley French class. While this has practically to do with my own educational background, physical situation and limitations (see below), focusing on "the U.S. side" is also an intentional perspective-taking with respect to the question of foreignness in the language classroom, the history of this concept in U.S. language education (Chapter 2, Section II), and the origins of the educational goals

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of translingual and transcultural competence and "operating between languages" (Modern Language Association 2007). The students at UC Berkeley are very much the *subjects* of this research, in the dual sense of comprising a collective "I" (in Buber's sense) and dialogic center (in Bakhtin's), on one hand, and being the focal point of observation and analysis, on the other.

Undergraduate Students of French 3 at UC Berkeley: "The Students"

There were a total of 35 student participants in the 2008 and 2009 French 3 classes; due to the greater availability of intake and exit survey data for the 2008 class, I will provide a focused characterization of this group below.

In the Spring 2008 semester at Berkeley (January-May) there were 17 registered students, of whom 12 were women and 5 were men. Of these, 15 completed the initial survey with other basic information about demographics and experience learning French. The students' ages ranged from approximately 19 to 31, with most in their early 20s. Only three indicated that they spoke a language other than English as their native language (2 Spanish and 1 Vietnamese). Four had studied a year of French in middle school; they and seven others (11 total) had studied from one to four years in high school. One had studied at a community college, and the majority of the others had studied in one or both of the first-year courses (French 1 and French 2 at Berkeley). Of interest in terms of the interview questions to follow, one student indicated that she had a French-speaking father and had grown up speaking it half the time at home until the age of ten. Of all fifteen survey respondents, she had spent the longest time in France, having lived over a year with her paternal family. Six students indicated that they had never been to a Francophone country, while the others indicated that they had been on visits (to France, generally) of periods as short as a week to a four-month study program at a university in Paris.

Throughout this study, I use the term "participant" or "student participant" to describe the students' role in the research. However, I do so with caution:[41] they were first and foremost students of a university language class for a single semester, and only secondarily participants in a research project that both predated and lasted beyond the period of their enrollment in the class. They did not know when they registered online for the 9:00am section of the French 3 class—one of approximately six identical sections of the same class, given at different hours of the day—which of the department's French Lecturers and Graduate Student Instructors would teach the class, or that their class would take part in online lessons once a week with tutors in Lyon. Students found out about this aspect of the class in the first week from their teacher in person and from an initial survey that asked about their thoughts and feelings about "speaking with a student in France on a regular basis in your French class through internet/chat/webcam/etc." All

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[41] For a discussion of some implications of using these and other terms in clinical research contexts, see Corrigan and Tutton (2006). Specifically, the authors find that, while there are increasing demands in medical research for the word "participant" to be used instead of the traditional "subject", "it is unclear whether the term 'participant' refers to any underlying change in research practice or in the experiences of those involved in research" (p. 102).

students hypothetically had the option to change sections; none of the students in 2008 or 2009 exercised this option, though one student in 2008 did drop the class after the first week of online videoconferencing interactions.

While the online exchanges were mandatory for the students in this section of French 3, participation in the specifically research-related activities developed by the research teams around the online exchange—a single hour-long final interview and a group focus group discussion—was voluntary and not tied to the students' course grades. All of the participants in the project were given the opportunity to decline to have any aspect of their work produced and recordings generated in the process of this project used for research purposes.[42] Importantly, students were asked in the focus group discussion and, on occasion, in individual conversations to comment on the researchers' findings and emergent hypotheses about the significance of the online interactions on the students' study of French. Several offered advice and critiques of the administration of the *F1L* project that have been incorporated into the refinement of research goals and questions in Berkeley and Lyon, and into the refinement of project development and administration itself.

Masters' Students in French as a Foreign Language at ENS: "The Tutors"

Tutors in the 2008 and 2009 iterations of *F1L* were enrolled in a course at the Université Lumière Lyon 2 (UL2) called "Apprendre à enseigner en ligne" (*Learning to teach online*), as part of a professional master's degree program in Teaching French as a Foreign Language. The course first involved 24 hours of instruction in October and November dedicated to building familiarity with principles of synchronous online communication and the suite of tools used in teaching online. This was followed by 21 course hours of applied practice in the period from January to March, in which students (the "tutors" from the perspective of the Berkeley participants, and bearing this title throughout this dissertation) rotated in pairs to design a lesson that would then be taught by all the tutors for the weekly 45-minute online session.

The tutors were enrolled in their master's program for a variety of purposes, and had come from sometimes far-reaching backgrounds. The 2009 class, for instance, featured students from Guinea, Martinique, Cambodia, China, Greece, and even California as well as Lyon and other regions of France.[43] Approximately 75% of the tutors were female, and most were in their mid to upper 20s. As part of their two-year sequence in learning to teach French, all the tutors were to leave in April (in the middle of the Berkeley semester, hence the limited duration of the online tutoring sessions) for teaching internships outside of France.

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[42] This research project was approved by the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at the University of California, Berkeley. Student participant research consent forms appear as Appendix C.

[43] Dejean-Thircuir and Mangenot (2006) note in a footnote to their introduction of the Besançon class in FLE (français langue étrangère) that five of the students were of foreign nationality ("de nationalité étrangère" p. 2): one person each from Algeria, Azerbaijan, the Caribbean (St. Pitts), Bulgaria, and the U.S.

French 3 Instructor and Researcher at UC Berkeley: "The Teacher"

Because of the prototype status of the *F1L* project, the 9-hour time difference between California and France, and the limited number of tutors, it had been decided that only one of the six sections of the class would participate in the online lessons. From 2007 to 2011, the intermediate French (3 and 4) program coordinator ("Isabelle") assumed this role, as she also taught at least one class section. Practically, her dual instructor-coordinator role meant that she was already responsible for overseeing a uniform curriculum that was to be used across all French 3 class sections; she also led regular in-service trainings for graduate student instructors new to the course, and provided ongoing feedback to the tutors on their lesson plans. Isabelle had mentioned that such a multi-dimensional role had an enabling effect for her own research interests in foreign language pedagogy.

As a classroom teacher, however, Isabelle had also expressed concern that the addition of an online component to a language course with an already full curriculum might have negative outcomes both for the students and herself. Indeed, one of my initial interests in *F1L* as a research site derived from what I understood to be Isabelle's sense that students' regular interaction with distally located tutors might, ironically, be disruptive of the formation of positive affective bonds and an environment conducive to oral participation in the face-to-face classroom. In a semi-structured interview I conducted with her after the completion of the 2008 sessions, she spoke of the "magic" that she understood to be at the heart of a language classroom's successful functioning— the "comfort" and "laughing" and "enjoyment" that surround classroom activity and its "performances".[44] Significantly, she suggested that this classroom "magic" might be a casualty of the loss of a day of instruction to *F1L*'s online lessons: whereas, typically in her classroom, 'harder' activities centering on textual analysis could be surrounded with role-plays, games and other means of mitigating risk and encouraging interaction, these 'lighter' activities were precisely what had to be sacrificed in order for Tuesdays to be spent online. As teacher, coordinator, and researcher, Isabelle contended for the duration of the project with these and other issues related to the integration of a telecollaborative partnership into an existing university language course.

My Own Role

I came to this project with a substantial first-hand familiarity with university foreign and second language education, and with the Berkeley research site. I had been an undergraduate at UC Berkeley over a decade before my involvement with *F1L* began, and had both taken numerous language classes there, and tutored in its Japanese and Korean language programs. In the intervening time I received a Master's degree in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), taught and assisted in the coordination of language programs in the U.S. and Japan, and returned to Berkeley's doctoral program in Education in order to research the political and social dimensions of

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[44] Field notes, May 12, 2008. This interview was not recorded, so here I am paraphrasing her utterances, putting individual words she used in quotation marks.

foreign language education. By the time I was introduced to *FIL*, at a joint research meeting in Berkeley in the Fall of 2007, I had a strong interest in understanding the ways in which digital technologies, practices of urban and visual design, and other means of the production of space could be used to create virtual environments for the study of foreign languages.

However, a fundamental factor defining the scope and nature of my own research project within the larger context of the *FIL* project was my limited exposure to the French language and culture(s). Having grown up a monolingual English speaker in the San Francisco Bay Area of California, and working in contexts of English, Japanese, and Korean language education, I had not been significantly exposed to francophone culture, nor did I formally study French until the winter of 2007-2008. Concurrent with my classroom observations, logging of the Berkeley students' videochat recordings, participant interviews, and other project activities in Spring 2008, I audited a beginning French (French 1) course at UC Berkeley, kept a private learner's journal, and frequently blogged about French concepts of relevance to my learning, and to my research interests.[45] My understanding of one distinction between the French words "lieu" and "place" (roughly, a physical *place* and a metaphorical *position*, respectively), for instance, was both a product of my own teacher's explanation of these words on a French 1 vocabulary list, and a clarification made by Isabelle to her French 3 class on the day following their first online lesson;[46] in turn, these discussions of *place* in French and English informed my interest in the role of place and place*ment* in dialogue—topics explored in Chapter 4.

To my own mind, my interest in this dissertation in exploring what I have termed the "ontological ground" of foreignness—that is, the *conditions under which* dialogue among intercultural others in telecollaborative settings can arise—is in no small part due to my positionality as an outsider to French linguistic and cultural practices. The fact that I conducted interviews with the students in English, with only occasional reference to words in French, for example, certainly heightened the salience of the American context of this research. Yet, to the degree that the accounts of the French 3 students' learning experiences in chapters to follow reveal a frankness and richness of perspective, this also may have been due to the fact that I was *also* able to address them as more capable peers in the learning of French, temporarily suspending or modulating the research frame of our interactions.

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[45] During this period, I treated blogging primarily as a form of reflective practice, in the manner of Maxwell (2005), who describes the need for ethnographic researchers to assume a "critical subjectivity" through exploratory memos and journaling. Sample entries addressing subjective aspects of my own French learning experience, undertaken at the same time as I was conducting observations in Berkeley French classes, can be seen at http://foundintranslation.berkeley.edu/?p=100 and http://interpretant.blogspot.com/2008/06/studying-french-on-tgv.html (accessed October 2011).
[46] Memo from classroom observation field notes, January 30, 2008.

V. Data Collection

Overview

As attested to in the numerous publications on the *F1L* project at its various sites, video, audio, and textual data from its asynchronous and synchronous computer-mediated tutorials have been collected since 2002 (see my review of the literature in Chapter 1, Section II). My own data collection, in the form of field notes and reflective memos, began in the Fall of 2007 when I joined the project, and continued through five iterations of the Berkeley-Lyon partnership, from 2008 through 2012. This dissertation presents and draws its conclusions from the 2008 and 2009 sessions—a total of fourteen online lessons lasting approximately 45 minutes each. In brief, these two years of data were selected for analysis because:

- Direct observation and field notes form an essential point of reference for my findings; I was not part of the project in 2007, and was able to conduct most intensive classroom and laboratory observations in the following two years;
- As discussed below, Skype was used as the desktop videoconferencing environment in 2008 and 2009, but not from 2010 to 2012, when software developed specifically for this project was employed. At this time, student partners in Berkeley who had formerly sat side-by-side (in front of the same computer terminal) were placed in separate rooms because of audio interference with the new interface. These two changes in the techno-interactive setting represented, in my view, significant transformations in the nature of the *case* being studied (see Dyson & Genishi, 2005)

There were seven individuals directly involved in research at the Berkeley project site: the project's Principal Investigator, the French 3 instructor (Isabelle), four undergraduate research apprentices, and myself. All were involved to varying degrees in the collection of verbal and visual artifacts, both offline and on. The instructor took the lead role in creating and carrying out the in-class surveys of student attitudes and experiences, but solicited ideas and discussions from the others on the research team in so doing. The lead researcher and myself were responsible for the text of the human subjects protocols, and in designing the interview protocols in accord with each of our research goals; all but the classroom teacher assumed active roles in carrying out these interviews. I was the only researcher actively taking field notes and writing memos for the 2008 and 2009 sessions, though this fundamental tool in qualitative research methods became more important in the work of the undergraduate research apprentices from the 2010 session onward. In all practical cases, project data were made accessible for viewing, discussion, and analysis on shared research computers in Berkeley and a secure project management website[47] accessible to all researchers in Berkeley and Lyon.

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[47] UC Berkeley's designated course and project management tool, bSpace (http://bspace.berkeley.edu).

The various types of data that have found expression either directly or indirectly in the analysis chapters to follow (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) are introduced in detail below, and include:

1. Field notes and reflective and analytic memos from classroom and computer lab participant observations, interviews, project meetings, data analysis sessions, and other project-related events
2. Semi-focused interviews with student participants and classroom teachers, transcribed
3. Video and audio captures of weekly online tutorial sessions
4. Student drawings of personal/affective responses to online learning experiences
5. Participant blogs, lesson plans, and other class-related textual artifacts
6. Other data

Field Notes and Memos

Field notes and reflective and analytic memos from classroom and computer lab observations, interviews with participants, project meetings in both Berkeley and Lyon, and other project-related events made up the first major source of data. I divided field notes between descriptive and reflective notes, with reflections forming the basis of much hypothesis-building and structuring future observations. When observing the students entering the laboratory/classroom, finding their seats, logging in, engaging in online interactions, troubleshooting, logging out and later leaving the room, I divided my attention between phenomena at the general, whole-class level and those salient to the interactions of particular student-tutor pairs. As a researcher charged at times with assisting the students with headphone settings, frozen video, and other technical problems, I was aware of my (and the other researchers') shifting positionalities on what Bogdan and Biklen (1998) term "the participant/observer continuum". While I welcomed the opportunity to interact with students and teacher in the course of the online lessons, I was also conscious of the disruptive potential of close observation in spaces that were segregated, multiple, and overlapping: only the students' voices were audible within the laboratory, and sitting directly behind a pair of students afforded a direct view of the screen, but also placed the observer within the field of their video camera, and thus, on the screens of both student and tutor. Consequently, I often conducted focused observations of student pairs by sitting down at an empty computer terminal close by, making notes on their conversation as I referred to the tutors' lesson plan, and then following up with the video and audio recordings to watch and listen from the students' and tutors' perspectives.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with student participants, conducted in English, were held in the middle of the semester, within two weeks of the conclusion of the online sessions. Typically these interviews were one hour in length and brought together the two Berkeley students who had been paired together for the duration of their online tutorial sessions, and two researchers. I participated in all the interviews in the 2008 session, and in the majority of those in 2009; the other interview spot was filled by either the Principal Investigator in Berkeley or an undergraduate research apprentice. Ongoing dialogue among the research team was a stimulus to refining and formalizing the interview protocol (Appendix A) and discussing initial findings from each interview after it took place.

The interview protocol itself represented a blend of the research goals of myself, the Principal Investigator in Berkeley, and the researchers in Lyon. As such, its scope was broad, asking students to reflect broadly on their learning and use of the French language, to assess their skills gains or lack thereof, to consider their experiences of cultural learning and difference, to characterize their relationships with their tutors, to discuss problems and insights with respect to the specific technologies and tools used and, relatedly, to compare their sense of space, time, and relations with other students and teachers in the face-to-face classroom and in the computer lab.

Video and Audio Recordings

As indicated above, the desktop audio and videoconferencing software application Skype was used for the online tutorials studied for this project in its 2008 and 2009 iterations. Skype session recordings were made on both the Berkeley and Lyon sides with a Skype add-on application in 2008, while in 2009 screen recording applications were used to capture mouse movement and the students' and tutors' use of other non-Skype elements on their screens (*F1L* project blogs; YouTube videos, images, and other auxiliary materials used during the lessons; system audio settings, and the like). While there were frequent failures with the audio and/or video portions of the recordings, with some interactions completely lost, in all approximately 50 hours of recordings over the two years were available for analysis.

Of particular interest to questions of online mediation of communication and the dual presence of students and tutors in their separate, physical classrooms and in the shared online space was the dual-view recordings made of a focal tutor-student pair in each week's interactions. The tutors responsible for designing that week's lesson were recorded with a tripod-mounted video camera in a separate room from the other tutors. Meanwhile, in Berkeley, the research team set up a similar tripod-mounted video camera to record the student partners of the focal tutor. Such a layering of perspectives in a mixed offline/online setting proved particularly fruitful for analysis.[48]

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[48] The in-depth case studies of the Kelly-Eduardo-Amandine interaction in Chapter 5 and the Ann-Jean interaction of Chapter 6 both benefitted from such a multiplicity of views.

Drawings

The production, interpretation, and analysis of visual artifacts (by both research 'subjects' and researchers themselves) as part of ethnographically oriented qualitative research are well-researched practices (Berger, 1972; Collier & Collier, 1986; Pink, 2007). Over the years of research for this project, I have paid particular attention to conceptions of visual design (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) and, more expansively, multimodality in (new) literacy studies (e.g., Iedema, 2003; Jewitt & Kress, 2003; Kress, 2003; Lemke, 1998), exploring questions in my own work on myth and ideology in multimodal discourse (Nelson & Malinowski, 2007) and the contentious relationship of language to other semiotic systems (Malinowski & Nelson, 2011; cf. Hodge & Kress, 1988). In particular, the social semiotic notion of "transduction" as developed in Nelson (2006), relating to the shift of semiotic material across communicative modes such as speech, writing, and drawing (see Kress, 2003, p. 36), made *drawings* produced by F1L participants a particularly valuable source of data.

At the close of the two months of lessons with the tutors in Lyon, the Berkeley classroom teacher had asked the students to visually represent their subjective responses and associations with their online learning experience. The prompt given by the teacher for the 2011 iteration of this assignment appears as Appendix D; below is an example of such a drawing by Peter, the Berkeley student on the left, in conversation with his tutor on the right.
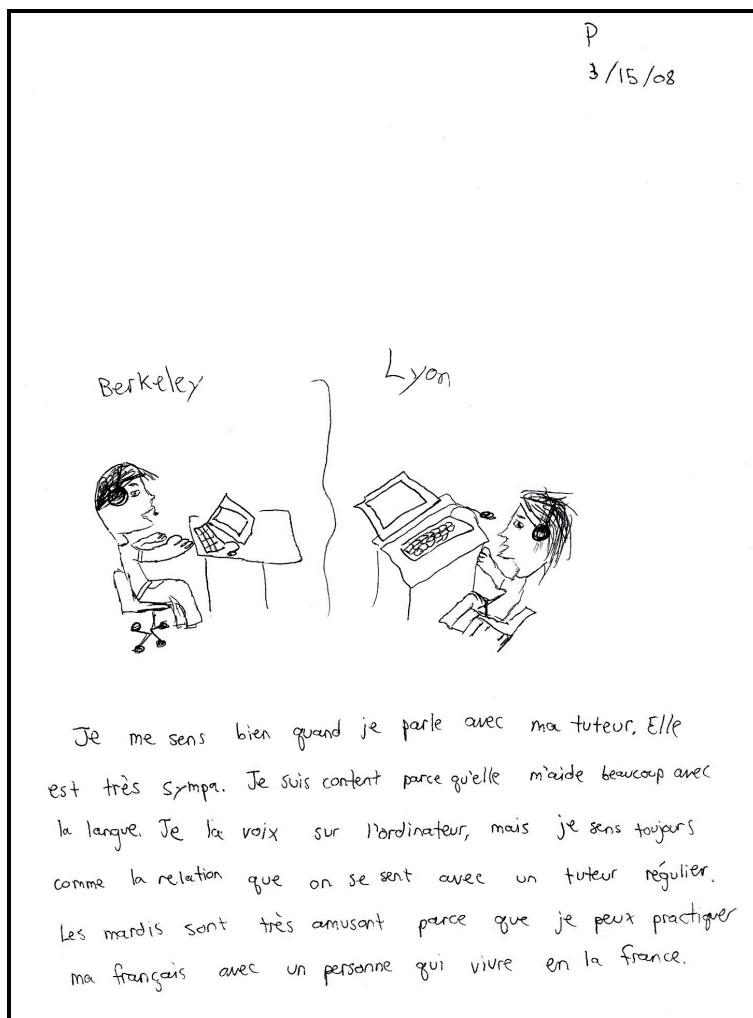
Figure 3.3—Peter's drawing. The text, translated from French, reads, "I feel good when I talk with my tutor. She is really nice. I'm glad because she helps me a lot with the language. I see her on the computer, but to me it feels like the relationship with a regular tutor. Tuesdays are really fun because I can practice my French with a person who lives in France."

After the teacher had collected these drawings in class, she gave them to the researchers to return to the students during their final interviews. There, students were asked to narrate and explain their design choices in both visual and verbal modes, a process that prompted them to transform the spatial logic of the drawing into the temporal logic of language (Kress, 2003), and to imaginatively fill in missing aspects of their experience in each. One strand of the discussion of Peter's drawing, for example, began with the interviewer noting the fact that he drew his tutor's whole body but not that of his partner Amber. Peter eventually noted that, in fact, he had only seen Rosa (his tutor)'s head and had no idea how tall she was, and that, in fact, he liked having other students in the room with him ("it was nice seeing that everyone was doing the same thing"), preferring the laboratory setting to the idea of working by himself at home. Significantly in his case, and typical of the data from the other students as well, these views could not

be read solely from the drawing, nor solely from the results of interview questions made only in the verbal mode.

Blogs

Section III (this chapter) describes the tutors' and students' use of publicly visible blogs for asynchronous communication between the weekly videoconferencing tutorials, feedback on learner errors, and the giving of supplemental assignments. Although the use of these resources by students and tutors tended to taper off over the weeks of their interactions, they were valuable sources of insights into tutors' and students' backgrounds, current life situations, future language-learning and career aspirations, and other contextual matters.

Other Data

Surveys employing both Likert-type scales and open (written) response prompts were given to participating French 3 students both before and after their two-month online lessons. These were designed by the classroom teacher, with input from the research team, mainly as tools for the teacher's own pedagogical adaptation and interventions. Pre-surveys asked students to self-assess their French learning strengths and weaknesses as well as their affective orientation toward participating in tutoring via videoconferencing; post-surveys inquired into students' assessments of the quality of their online learning and integration with the French 3 curriculum.

VI. Data Analysis

Generation of Analytic Categories and Selection of Cases

As indicated earlier, my analysis is an attempt to elucidate aspects of the "reality conditions" characteristic of participants' experiences of videoconferencing-mediated telecollaboration—conditions that enable, inhibit, and transform the abilities of intercultural learners and teachers to engage in dialogue, and thus, to enter into relations of foreignness with respect to each other, and each other's languages (cf. Chapter 2). Characteristic of ethnographically-oriented research, the specific reality conditions (or, as they might alternatively be termed, the *ontological ground of foreignness*) elaborated in the following three data chapters emerged through a recursive, multi-layered, and multi-perspectival engagement with a corpus of data that included field notes, analytic memos, interview transcripts, participants' drawings, and audio-video transcriptions (see previous section). Together, this process represented an effort to draw *meaning* (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) from the data in order to "[reinvent] concepts and connections between concepts" (Massumi, 2002, p. 17), an "experimental practice" in humanistic research that, in this

dissertation, bridges ethnographic and critical approaches to the analysis of multimodal discourse.

I began this project in Fall 2007 hoping to understand the changes to the language classroom brought by electronic communications technologies, interested in theorizing the changing notions of competence and subjectivity attendant to the online language learner (see Kramsch, 2009b), and motivated to understand the potential for "conflict in telecollaboration", a repeated finding in the research (see Chapter 1, Section II). The organizing analytic categories of *distance and place* (Chapter 4), *embodiment and wholeness of person* (Chapter 5), and *the interface and reflexivity* (Chapter 6) emerged and were refined through successive, thematic codings of data grouped first by type (e.g., interview transcripts, video transcripts, drawings), lesson topic, activity type, student-tutor pairing, and time. Following this, cases were inductively built by making reference to (for example) phenomena of movement, time management, and activity at the classroom level; the languaging of student-tutor relationships as they developed over the course of the project; students' reflexive development of spoken, gestural, and expressive behavior with respect to their tutors' and their own mediated representations on-screen. After initial coding, axial and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was carried out with the assistance of the qualitative research software Transana, and yielded categories such as "perceptions of institutional structure", "embodiment and technology", and "learner self-awareness".

To the greatest degree possible, the incidents and phenomena taken up within these categories, described in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, are those recognized by participants as significant or memorable, and/or are pointed to at multiple points, and via multiple modes—key criteria of an *emic* (Pike, 1979), or internally valid approach based on principles of triangulation among data sources (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The case studies on embodiment and movement seen through the experiences of the students Kelly and Eduardo (Chapter 5) and the transformative effect of the student Ann's *looking* at her tutor Jean through the computer interface (Chapter 6) are paradigmatic in this sense: Ann, for instance, described the awkwardness and challenge of looking at Jean via the computer's webcam in an early interview during the online sessions. This was also the central theme she depicted in visual/verbal form in her final drawing for the project approximately one month later, and it was a topic that she voluntarily returned to two weeks after that, in the final interview with her partner and a different member of the research team.

Of course, the sense I make of the data for this project—and indeed, the production of what I have come to call the "data" itself—is necessarily tied to my own interests and biases, as discussed in Section IV (this chapter); in this sense, the check-coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 64) of select excerpts of video and interview transcripts by the principal investigator, the four undergraduate research apprentices and myself in regular research meetings from 2008 to 2012 was an invaluable resource. Nevertheless, by the mere fact that I have constructed cases out of the experiences of learners and teachers in the *F1L* project for the purpose of understanding the phenomenon of *foreignness* in intercultural dialogue, I echo the sense of responsibility articulated by Bourgois in his ethnographic investigation of poverty and social marginalization in the urban United States. Although researchers may aim to understand

and resist durable and massive institutions of power through their research, "structures of power and history cannot be touched or talked to" (Bourgois, 1995, p. 17)—and the lives of the individual informants and participants in research risk being mis-represented in the process. I aim to proceed humbly.

Making Meaning from the Texts

The subtitle I chose for the third sub-section of Section II in this chapter, "Exposing discourse's framing of Discourse", points toward a principle of textual analysis that I have attempted to employ in the cases above: a kind of frame analysis that focuses on how context as a "nexus of layered simultaneity" with "features of different orders operating at different speeds and scales" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 134) influences students' understanding of "what it is that is going on" (Goffman, 1974, p. 7). In this sense, my approach is akin to reverse-engineering the processes by which intersubjectivity may be established in the multimodal environment of desktop videoconferencing (see, for instance, Lamy & Flewitt, 2011). I am interested in what is said and done when students in Berkeley and their tutors in Lyon may not be sure what is happening between them, or when they might entertain the possibility that more than one thing is going on simultaneously; in the data, I find that such condensed or extended *moments* (as in Kelly's ongoing confusion about what her tutor Amandine is asking her to do at the beginning of her first online lesson in Chapter 5) provide opportunities to expose the technological, social, and material conditions that may foster or impede dialogue online.

The interpretive strategies I follow in successive chapters of this dissertation undergo an evolution, with particular initiatives being introduced in detail before the data in question. In Chapter 4, a holistic approach to the entire corpus of data that seeks to introduce the complexities of place in the bi-national *F1L* project, I work from the typology of R. Jones (2005) in presenting *physical spaces*, *virtual spaces*, *relational space*, *screen space*, and *other places* as useful in characterizing the Berkeley students' experiences as drawn and narrated in interviews. Then, in Chapter 5, the first of two extended case studies of particular student-tutor pairs, I spell out several frames of possible salience to the students' and tutors' ongoing sense of what is happening over the course of the activity under study: the *on-the-interface* frame, the *conversational* frame, the *directions and feedback* frame, and so on (see Chapter 5, Section IV). However, as I noted earlier with respect to Goffman's approach to frame analysis, my interest in suggesting proto-typologies such as these is less to assign the students' experiences to their proper place, but rather to show how they reveal subjective instabilities, layerings, and movements that call into question the stability of such categories in the first place. Indeed, as I suggest in the conclusion, the points at which frames break down may themselves occasion the type of distancing, dialogic outsideness and reflexive awareness that are, I have argued, characteristic of relations of foreignness.

Discussion of conclusions here is perhaps premature. Conducting an ethnographically-informed discourse analysis with data that is itself multimodal and bespeaks the multimediality of its production—occurring in audio, video, verbal, written,

gestural, and spatial modes, through multiple channels, and operating at various scales of time—is a challenge to be sure. Lamy & Flewitt, citing Flewitt et al. (2009)'s findings of the inadequacies of studies using video data in combining "the spatial, the visual and the temporal within one system" (p. 46, cited in Lamy & Flewitt, 2011, p. 75), offer one solution: employing Scollon and Scollon (2003)'s framework of *geosemiotics*, they say, allows the researcher to elucidate the complexities of on-screen and in-room happenings in the interactive flow. They read Scollon and Scollon's *interaction order* (how language is positioned in and positions social actors in the world), *visual order* (in this case, what appears on the screen over the course of the interaction and how it informs the other orders), *place order* (the evolving salience of locations on the screen and in the room), and their own *sound order* as together comprising a framework robust enough to encapsulate multimodal meaning-making practices online.

While I have found this and related approaches (Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Norris & Jones, 2005) useful in my own work (e.g., Malinowski, 2009), and agree with Lamy and Flewitt that the role of *sound* in valencing interactive phenomena is at least as important as that of visuality (see, for instance, findings in Chapter 5, Section V), in my methodological approach I have foregrounded participants' *experience of reality*—an integrative notion that, to my understanding, resists a priori analytic segregation into various "orders" along lines of sense or modality. Here, and in my interpretation of the data, I draw inspiration from a phenomenological tradition that both informs a Goffmanian interactive sociolinguistics (Schutz, 1962; Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and underlies more recent theorizations of embodiment and technology (e.g., Hansen, 2006; Kozel, 2007). As Boellstorff (2008) employs the ethnographic tools of participant observation, interview and analysis of textual objects from *inside* Second Life in an endeavor to study virtual worlds "in their own terms" (p. 61), I have attempted to first let the data from the *F1L* project speak from the experiences of its focal student participants in a language classroom that is neither online nor offline, but both.

Transcription and Representation of Data

Writing with a keen interest to questions of power, privilege, and representation in the transcription of children's interactions with older members of society, Elinor Ochs remarked that "while reliance on the immediate context lessens over developmental time, it is still the case that children continue to rely heavily on the immediate setting well into the multiword stage" (Ochs, 1979, p. 173). This observation bears interesting parallels to the situation of the telecollaborative language learner as well: just as placing an adult's utterances above or on the left-hand side of a transcription relative to a child's (or, for that matter, focusing on *the utterance* over other forms of symbolic engagement with peers and environment) reflects the researcher's theoretical commitments and biases, the choice of data transcription and representational techniques for computer-mediated intercultural interactions influences nothing less than *what can be said to have happened*. Or, as O'Halloran (2008) writes, "The meaning potential of the phenomenon under

investigation (i.e. digital texts and events) is matched with the meaning potential of the multimodal tools of analysis" (p. 16).[49]

In my transcription and initial codings of interview audio recordings, a type of interaction relatively weighted toward the verbal mode, I relied upon the commercial software *Transana* in order to produce a more traditional (conversation analytic) vertically-oriented, line-by-line transcription format.[50] When transcribing screen and room video recordings, I began with a multi-track representational scheme popular in commercial video editing software such as Adobe Premiere and realized specifically for the transcription of fine-grained linkages between speech, gesture and other modes in software like the Max Planck Institute's *ELAN*. In producing multimodal transcriptions, however, I opted for a vertically-oriented format that could serve as an amalgamation between the 'traditional' written transcript (with the speech turn serving as the organizing logic) and video screenshots taken at critical moments in the negotiation or change of frames, at times of interactionally significant movements or events, and at times of significant change in modal density (Norris, 2004).

This transcription technique features most prominently in my analysis of an activity between the Berkeley students Kelly and Eduardo and their tutor Amandine in Chapters 5 and 6; the entire transcript appears as Appendix F. My goal in employing this relatively simple format (without formally tracking para-linguistic events or movements like eye direction, was to integrate the transcription technique with the highly limited (two-dimensional, static) representational format of the digitized print page. A benefit of this technique, I hope, is that the findings herein will make *narrative* sense to the reader, in the manner of a verbal and visual story that both builds its claims through logical connections to theoretical and methodological principle, and *performs* its meaning in the time of the reader.

A Point on Reflexivity

I have already commented on my own positionality as an outsider to French language and culture (Section IV, this chapter), a fact that undoubtedly influenced not just the findings and the interpretations I have given them through the course of the dissertation, but my very conception of the problem space. As well, no doubt my age (mid-late 30s), my whiteness, my maleness, my socio-economic background, and myriad other demographic factors exert similar influences. I am conscious of both the inability (and, indeed, the non-desirability) of the researcher to 'disappear' in such a study, and of the fact that processes of exoticism and othering that have plagued anthropological and educational research more widely are phenomena with which I must contend on an ongoing basis.

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[49] See also Thibault (2000) on this point.

[50] In my transcriptions of student interview data, I have employed several conventions common to conversation analysis (for an overview, see Atkinson & Heritage, 1999). These include the representation of pause times (in seconds) in parentheses (e.g., "(.5)" for a half-second pause), latching in conversational turns with "=", overlapping speech with "[", and contextual or conversational detail that is not part of the content of the utterance itself with double parentheses "(( ))".

In addition, the very presence of myself and the other researchers on the Berkeley side of the *FIL* project—conducting classroom observations, taking field notes, setting up and taking down recording equipment, responding to students' technical questions, leaning over their shoulders to help them click on the right icon on the screen—cannot be considered separately from the 'learning experience'. In closing this chapter, I present a dramatic illustration of this phenomenon.

Audrey, a Berkeley student in the 2008 class, gave a prominent position in her drawing to the researchers' tripod-mounted video camera atop the desk she used for her online tutorials, located between the two large computer monitors at lower left. The four individuals on the bottom row are students, and the two on-screen are tutors in Lyon. The tripod is labeled with the word "detester" (hate), and the camera that sits on top "s'inquiéter" (worry).
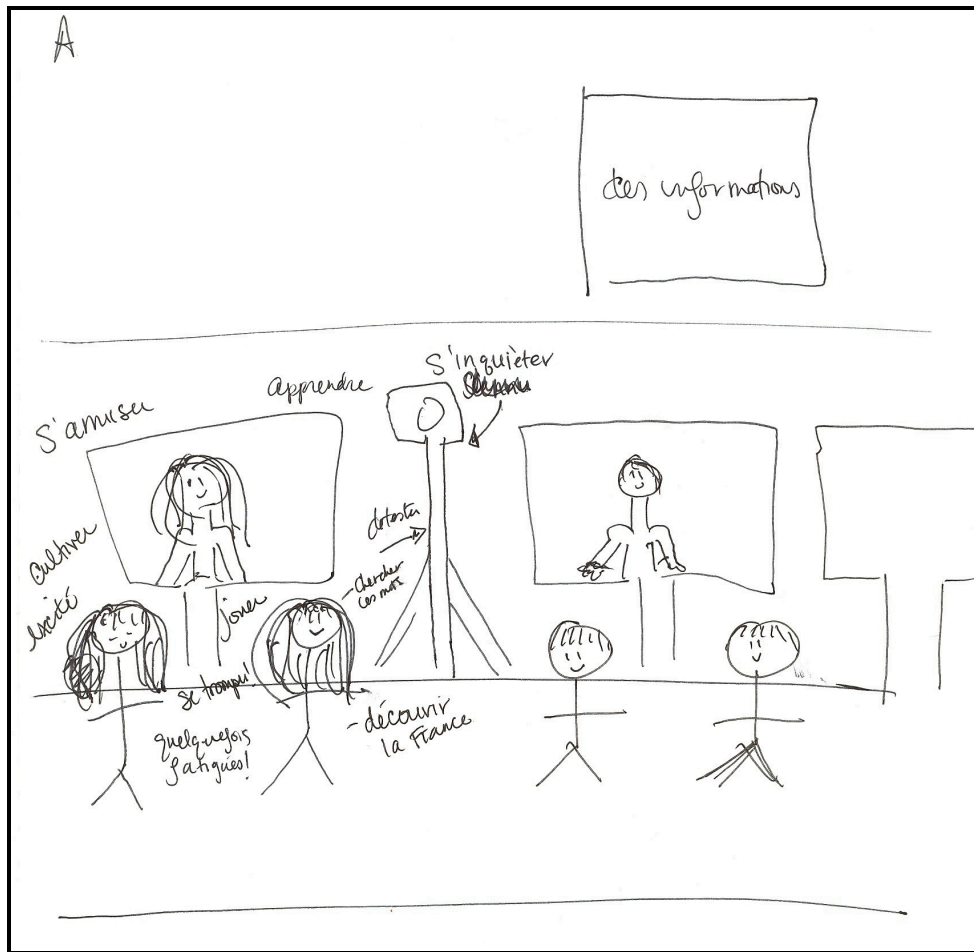

Figure 3.4—Audrey's drawing

As she narrated her drawing in her interview at the end of the interactions, Audrey explained her motivations behind the inclusion of the camera and the word "s'inquiéter": "Oh, and then I put, "to worry", 'cause it was weird and a little foreboding to have a camera right there. We were like, oh Jesus. And it wasn't really pointed at us but still."

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Audrey concluded her thought later by saying the camera wasn't bad after a while, but that, still, "I don't like being recorded."

While I cannot ascertain the effect of the camera, on-screen recording software applications, in-room researchers, and other facets of the research apparatus upon the learning outcomes and subjective experiences of Audrey and the other student participants over time, I have attempted to understand the research component of the *F1L* project as an ever-present frame (in Goffman's sense) in the classroom and laboratory, inseparable from the fact that "online tutoring" and "a French 3 class session" were under way simultaneously.

In this sense, I read in the ever-presence of this project's technological apparatus a reminder to be aware of a myriad of influences on discourse, most of them invisible to the eye, on research outcomes. R. Bauman (1993), for instance, has warned about the "importance of a sensitivity to the influence of the ethnographer on the dynamics of performance" (p. 195) in the context of the research interview; that is, what is said and done ought to be understood with respect to the 'negative' effects of the researcher as well as the ways in which participants might stage their own spoken, written, and drawn representations of what happened in class and online, and what they thought about it. Bauman writes,

> Ethnographers, like linguists, have a strong bias toward the referential function of language—we tend to believe what we are told and expect straight answers to our questions—but we are all susceptible to being performed to, and we must be able to understand when the forces of performance take precedence over straightforward referentiality. (R. Bauman, 1993, p. 196)

Of course, the assumption Bauman makes here is that "straightforward referentiality" might be separated, even analytically, from "the forces of performance". In the chapters to come, however, as we take up examples of what the Berkeley students say and do in their online lessons, and as they see not only their tutors but also themselves on the screen, I suggest that to build reflexive awareness will require a nuanced awareness of the agency of the telecollaborative medium itself.

CHAPTER 4

WHITHER THE DISTANCE BETWEEN STUDENTS IN DIALOGUE?: TRANSFORMATIONS OF PLACE IN TELECOLLABORATION

I. Introduction

The Ambiguity of Distance in Telecollaboration

> ...there are fundamental differences between what is near, what is far, and what is neither [and] issues that are moral in a broad and deep sense revolve around the ways we acknowledge these differences and assign them their place in our lives (Borgmann, 2001, p. 90-1)

In Chapters 1 and 2, I presented the argument that key to a dialogic approach to cultivating relations of foreignness in the foreign language classroom was *distance*—a mutual separation of discursive positions taken up by two or more speaking subjects. For Martin Buber, distance was the abstracted space between the I and the Thou that allows for entering into relations, and that which is 'thickened' in the slip of I-Thou relations into the subject-object I-It relation. And for Mikhail Bakhtin, distance was characteristic of the separation of multiple social-ideological positions within a given cultural and historical context, and was maintained by the push-and-pull balance of centripetal and centrifugal forces. Here we can remember as well Ehlich's (2009) contention that foreignness as a concept behaves somewhat akin to a deictic expression in language specifying a "there" that is not "here", and "exterior" that is not part of an assumed "center". In all cases, "distance" engages a logic of *places* (in the plural) as ideologically, historically, and often (but not always) geographical, unique and non-coincidental locations of enunciation.

One might say that literatures of foreign language learning, Second Language Acquisition, TESOL and related fields rely upon a sense of distance to underwrite their notions of foreignness as well, but in a way that assumes the preservation of geographic separation. That foreign languages are spoken 'far away' is implied in the basic definitions of "foreign language" as opposed to "second language" learning in the U.S. (See Chapter 2, Section I). Distance, as well, is the underlying assumption of the telecollaborative exchange: tracing its roots to the sister-schools correspondence methods introduced by Célestin Freinet of the Modern School Movement in France in the 1920s (see, for instance, Müller-Hartmann, 2007), modern forms of *tele*-collaboration are premised on the assumption that geographic separation guarantees, or 'sets the stage', as it were, for students' negotiation of cultural and linguistic difference.[51] Yet, herein lies a potential contradiction. For, while distance-qua-languacultural difference (e.g., Agar,

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[51] Telecollaborative partnerships that pair students in the same city or region are rare; one example is Fratter and Helm's (2010) Intercultura Project, which brings together Erasmus students from 13 different nationalities and Italian students at Padova University in Italy.

1994) may motivate the establishment of telecollaborative partnerships, the very premise of the online exchange is the elimination of the need to traverse a physical distance with one's body to reach 'the other side'. Of course, to those reading these words in the electronic age, such an observation may seem anachronistic. But, given the demands for distance and a separation between places made under a dialogic perspective, the refiguring of distance in telecollaborative exchanges such as *F1L* deserves special consideration.

Distance Online: Compressions, Flows, and Imagined Proximities

In *Modernity and self-identity* (1991), Giddens identifies "the separation of time and space" as one of three main elements underlying "the peculiarly dynamic character of modern social life" (p. 16). Technologies such as the clock and the map, as materializations of much broader and fundamental epistemological shifts, help to empty time and space; such emptying "provides the very basis for their recombination in ways that coordinate social activities without necessary reference to the particularities of place" (p. 17). Here it is worth remembering how Anderson (1991; see discussion in Chapter 1, Section I) similarly posited an "emptying" of time, as in the simultaneity that allowed for *news* of all sorts to be assembled on the front page of a newspaper, and an emptied space, as in the global map showing just the contours of national borders that divide territory into its minimal *national* units.

Of course, the outlines of temporality and spatiality in the context of modernity's search for essences, stability, and reason within, say, the national border have been radically refigured under "the postmodern condition", occasioned by capitalism's move to modes of flexible accumulation through the middle and end of the 20th century, and characterized in cultural life by "fragmentation, indeterminacy, and intense distrust of all universal or 'totalizing' discourses" (Harvey, 1989, p. 9). Writing before the advent of the internet, Harvey describes trends toward volatility, ephemerality, and aestheticization in domains of labor, thought, and life that simultaneously lead from and enact a "compression of space and time". While the outright *annihilation* of time and space has been a recurrent theme in political and economic thinking since the time of Marx, the increasing rapidity of the movement of products, people, and symbols in recent decades (McLuhan, 1964, Virilio, 1991) has led theorists of the globalized 'age of information' to theorize a "space of flows", or, in the words of Manuel Castells, the organization of practices that work through "purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society" (Castells, 1996, p. 442).

Crucially, in earlier conceptualizations of spatiality and online community in the age of the internet (e.g., Goldberg, 2001; Mitchell, 1995; Rheingold, 1993, 2002), the fact of networked movement, flows, and interaction themselves appear to have refigured (or outright eliminated) the fact and nature of distance between "disjointed positions" held by social actors. This, perhaps, is what occasions the ability of progressive thinkers in applied linguistics such as Kanno and Norton (2003) and Pavlenko (2007b) to mobilize concepts such as Anderson's "imagined community" for the purpose of theorizing

students' and teachers' *individual* efforts at second language identity formation, without interrogating the essentially *national* (and colonial) circumstances of the space/time transformations making such imagination possible in the first place. Kanno and Norton, for instance, in introducing a special journal issue on "Imagined communities and educational possibilities", remark that "the notion of imagined communities provides a theoretical framework for the exploration of creativity, hope, and desire in identity construction" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 248). Affiliation with imagined communities, it seems, is both desirable and natural for language learners and teachers—and, indeed, desire to be "friends" with French tutors who spoke "real French" was frequently articulated by the Berkeley student participants in the *Français en (première) ligne* (*F1L*) project.

The Spaces of the F1L Project: What Becomes of Dialogue if the Metric of Distance is Lost?

In this chapter, I aim to interrogate spatial contentions such as Borgmann's (2001) that, rather than 'bringing the far near and the near far', the internet essentially replaces the very metric of distance with one of topology. That is to say, the degree of physical separation between temporal, spatial, and ideational elements online becomes irrelevant in the face of their manners of interconnectivity—a transformation that, Borgmann says, masks the original inexhaustibility of reality.[52] In the context of *F1L*, I explore the nature of distance and location revealed in students' and tutors' interactions, drawing primarily upon the participants' own articulations of where they sensed themselves to be—their visual and verbal 'utterances' that touched on questions of location, place, movement, and presence—as they moved from offline communication to online and back again. Key questions asked of the students with regard to place in the final student interviews centered on the issue of *how place mattered:* Where did the students perceive themselves to be, and what (if any) significance did the tutors' situation in Lyon have upon their learning of French?[53]

As discussed in Chapter 3 (Methods), in interpreting this data I draw upon tools of multimodal and mediated discourse analysis (especially R. Jones, 2004, 2005) with respect to the students' symbolic representations of their senses of space and place (Tuan, 1977; Hayden, 1995). Specifically, by asking both where students felt themselves to be in the course of their online exchanges, and by paying attention to the verbal and visual deictics of person, place and time they employed with respect to the notions of *physical spaces*, *virtual spaces*, *relational space*, *screen space*, and *other places*, I hope to gain insights into the manners in which the telemediation of their language lessons did or did not afford the distancing and outsideness of dialogue that were identified as key components of a *foreignness* of foreign language learning (Chapter 2). For the purposes of this chapter, here I reproduce glosses of the five concepts of space and place used herein (adapted from R. Jones 2005, p. 144):

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[52] As he notes of the offline world, "It is characteristic of real experience that we can never say in advance to what depth features and structures will be significant" (Borgmann, 2001, p. 95).

[53] See Appendix A, Berkeley Student Final Interview Protocol.

1.   Physical spaces: the physical, material surroundings of the computer user. The location of the computer user's body.
2.   Virtual spaces: the immersive spaces of the software and online tools with which computer users communicate
3.   Relational space: a space that is "created by the 'state of talk' between participants"
4.   Screen space: the computer screen and its (most often windowed) representations
5.   Other places: locales, areas, places referred to in the process of online interaction. (Referred to as "third spaces" in R. Jones, 2005)

There are, of course, other typologies that attempt to elaborate upon, and render analyzable, the complex spatial experiences of computer and internet users who are *also* located in the material world.[54] However, just as they attest to the analytic importance of separating attentional spaces along these or other lines, the Berkeley students' statements about the locations of their online experiences appear to demonstrate the gaps and fragility of such a typology in the first place. While the movement between spaces reveals potential for students to become reflexively aware of the distances between themselves and their intercultural others--and thus apprehend the Other from a position of *outsideness* (Bakhtin, 1986; Holquist, 2002)—we also witness a transformation in the 'stuff' of the spaces themselves that might render such an apprehension more simulated than real: ambiguities inherent to the learner's location raise the question of physical spaces as *non-places* (Augé, 1995), while *other places*—including, significantly, the very cities of Lyon and Berkeley—display much of the simulational logic of the hyperreal.

II. "You're Not Going to France. You're Going to the Computer."

Openings: The Enduring Physical Space of the Lab

In R. Jones' (2005) terms, the *physical space* of the Berkeley French students' online interactions with their tutors in Lyon, as described partially in Chapter 3, was a computer lab two floors downstairs from their face-to-face classroom, in a building in the center of the UC Berkeley campus. In contrast to the classroom, which was equipped with moveable desks, a teacher's desk and lectern, blackboards, and an overhead projector (but no in-room computer), the lab made use of approximately 20 computer terminals arranged

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[54] Strate (1999), for instance, offers a taxonomy of *cyberspace*, or "the diverse experiences of space associated with computing and related technologies" (p. 383). His study is a literature review carried out in an effort to simply the multiplying senses of the term at the end of the 1990s. Strate sees three "orders" of cyberspace, from the foundational to the synthetic: at the zero order are the ontological groundings--paraspace/nonspace and cyberspacetime; first order cyberspace consists of physical (hardware), conceptual (mental), and perceptual space (at the interface, joining the previous two). At the composite second order level, Strate identifies "media space", a basket category for *aesthetic space*, *information* or *dataspace*, and *interactive* or *relational space*.

in three rows on fixed tables with swivel chairs. And, in contrast to the classroom that several students noted for its windows overlooking a busy plaza with benches and trees, the computer lab was underground and gave off what one pair of students described as a much *older* vibe:

> Abby: Even though like I know they didn't have computer labs in the 1970s, I feel like if there was a computer lab in the 1970s that's what it would look like
> Dave: Yeah
> Abby: ((laughing)) It's— (1) I don't really (.5) know ((D laughs)) but don't you kind of agree?
> Audrey: Totally, it feels really old in there (laughs)
> ...
> Abby: So— yeah. (.5) So I don't know. (.5) I guess that was (.3) the best way I could describe it ((laughs slightly))
> Audrey: Yeah, you felt like you were in some (.5) old lady's basement (.5) with a lot of computer hardware ((laughs))
> Dave: [Yeah yeah yeah
> Audrey: [Really   which is a weird way to describe it but it's kinda true
> Abby: It is kinda true

Beyond the sensory perceptions of the room, however, the lab brought with it its own protocols for use of time, space, resources, and, not insignificantly, the configuration and interactive potentials of bodies in the room. Class began every day at 9:10am and lasted for 50 minutes; in order to maximize the time for the lesson, students were to go directly to their assigned workstations, log in to Skype, and commence their interactions with their tutors. The classroom teacher typically did not participate actively in the lesson until the closing few minutes of class at 10:00. Thus, the entirety of the students' time in the computer lab was spent either online with their tutors, or in consultation with the lab assistant and researchers trying to deal with technical problems or locate their tutors online.

Students sat in pairs in front of a single computer monitor, with one student typically assuming control of the keyboard and mouse, and each donning a pair of headphones. The linear layout of the computer monitors and the height of the iMac desktop computers effectively masked the faces of the other students in the room, making offline student-to-student and student-to-teacher communication difficult. Figure 4.1, a photograph of students during one of the interactions with their tutors, illustrates this arrangement:

Figure 4.1—Berkeley students of French 3 online with their tutors in Lyon

Despite the opening greeting of at least one of the tutors in 2008 to her Berkeley student partners, "Bienvenue à Lyon!" (*Welcome to Lyon!*), when asked directly, *none* of the Berkeley students reported feeling as if they were in Lyon during their Skype interactions. Especially in the beginning, the discomfort of the headphones and the other material trappings of the computer and lab interface—elements of the '*physical space*'— were salient reminders of the students' enduring presence in the laboratory. In the following interview segment, Peter describes the material limitations of the technologies used:

Dave:	Did it feel like you were (.5) in Berkeley? [In Lyon? somewhere else?
Peter:	[Oh yeah i]—it just it felt like I was just in a classroom in Berkeley still, but (.5)
Dave:	Uh-huh. Did you ever get the sense that you were in Lyon?
Peter:	No (1) ((laughs)) It'd be cool though (1)
Dave:	Yeah, yeah (1) What, I wonder, why were you, why did you feel like you were still in—this is just like a kind of silly question but why did you still feel like you were in Berkeley?
Peter:	'Cause like you could t—I don't know. It—it's I, I see her on the screen, (1) and you just, you think, oh wow, it's crazy that she's so far away.
Dave:	Right

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Peter: but (1) I don't know (.5) Not until like (.5) it's like a 360 degree
           screen (.5) I will feel like I'm in Berkeley (.5) or like, in Lyon.
Dave: Right, right (1)

Peter's drawing of his online experiences (Figure 3.3, reproduced below as Figure 4.2) underlined this sense of division and distance from France, read through the awareness of the material computer/screen interface: his was one of eight among the total of 28 drawings that showed a recognizable separation of physical settings of student and tutor (beyond any sense of separation that can be inferred from the representation of one's partner on the computer screen).
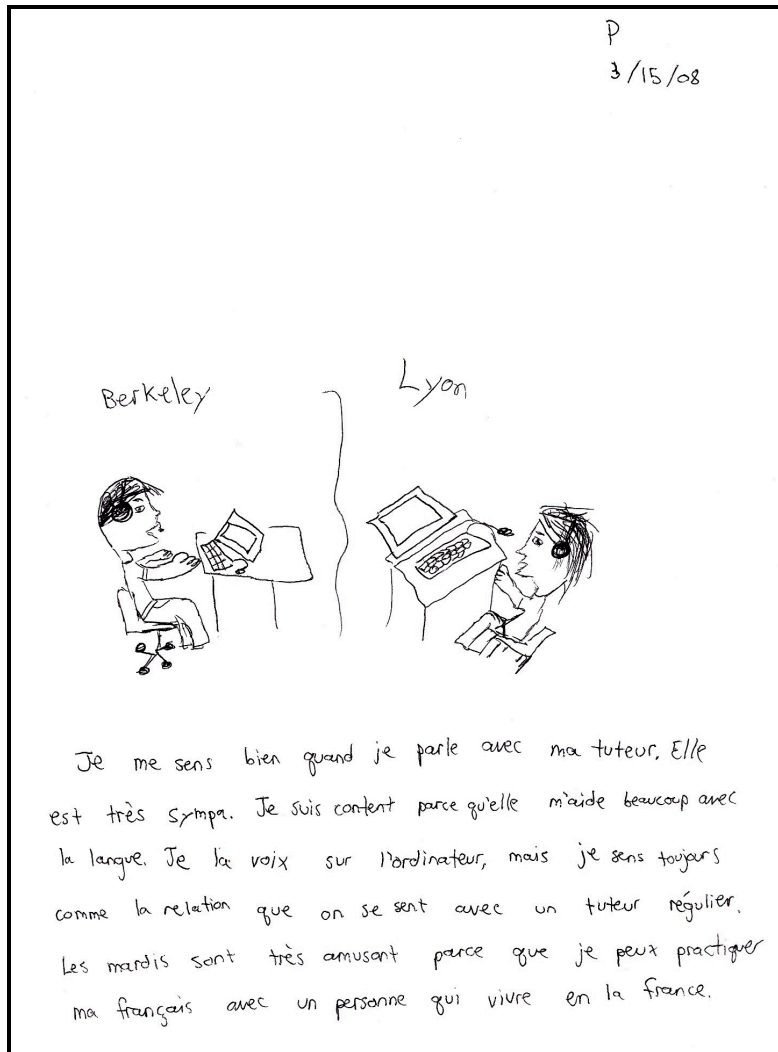

Figure 4.2—Peter's drawing

The Case of Ben: Students in Headsets, and Tutors on the Screen

Ben, a student from the 2009 class, was majoring in Electrical Engineering and said he did not foresee using French for his work. In the final interview, he said he was taking French primarily to be able to speak the language to his wife, a French native who was bilingual in English, and because "she'd like our children to be able to speak both languages." He expressed a desire to have more structured opportunities to practice grammar and vocabulary online with his tutor Weiyun, and to have the content of his exchanges with her more closely integrated with the content of the French 3 class on non-tutorial days.

Ben's experience was perhaps also the most striking example of the sense of being stuck inside a headset and sitting in front of his computer screen, with his tutor in a similar situation "somewhere":

Rick:	So (.5) Did you think of your tutor as being in Lyon, or was the tutor in the screen, or
	(.5)
Ben:	I guess the tutor was in the screen, I never tried to picture her where she would actually be in reality, she was just in a room somewhere, she could've been down the hall, for all I knew. Because (1) there wasn't like a French feel, physically, some kind of
	(.5)
Rick:	No Eiffel Tower right behind her. (laughs).
Ben:	There's nothing (.5) there's nothing that could've given away her location, just some chairs, so um I focused more on the conversation and the task that we were doing.

In fact, Ben's drawing (Figure 4.3) was the most detailed in its depiction of the computer environment itself of all the 28 drawings in 2008-9 years of this project. His realistic detail showing the strands of hair and different components of the headset (protruding earphone speaker shape, a band on top suggesting different materials and ability for users to size the headphones to fit) suggest that he may have spent more time with his drawing than many others; his representation of the stacked windows with various Skype features (videochat window), a "Start" button at the bottom of the screen, icons for two different web browsers and other applications suggesting a Windows XP operating system cast attention on the materiality of the interface (at the intersection of *physical space* and *screen space*) and not the content of the interactions (immersion in *virtual spaces* and *relational space*).
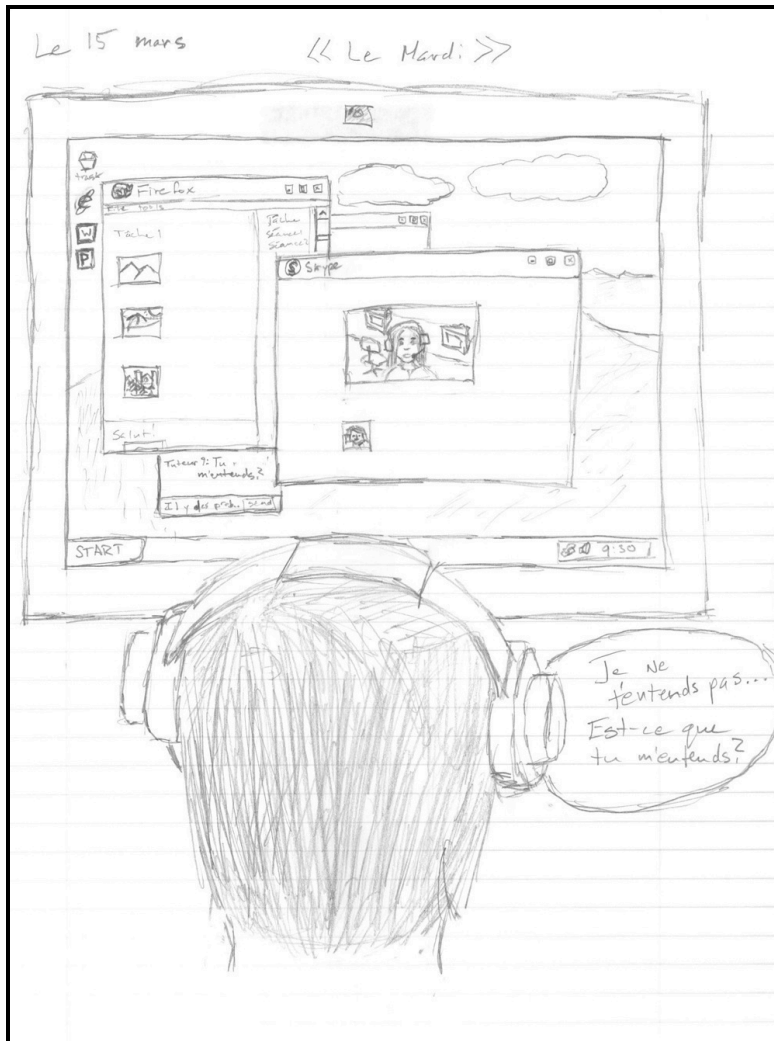
Figure 4.3—Ben's drawing

The sense that Ben might have had difficulty engaging substantively with his tutor, due at least in part to technical interference, is suggested by his words in the drawing: "Je ne t'entends pas...Est-ce que tu m'entends?" (*I don't hear you...Can you hear me?*) However, as the interview made clear, it was not just the dropped audio or lack of a "360 degree screen" that kept Ben's awareness on the material artifice of the laboratory and computers.

Rick:	So Ben, when you were online with your tutor, did you feel like (.5) where, where would you situate your interaction? Was it here in Berkeley, was it in Lyon, or does it change according to what's going on on-screen?
Ben:	I don't know, I guess I always felt like I was either in the monitor or in the headset. And that's where my attention was always focused. Well, except for the times when people around me in

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	Berkeley were being really loud and I couldn't hear anything? ((laughs))
Dave:	Did that happen a lot?
Ben:	It happened occasionally, the people sitting next to me seemed to be having a lot of fun.

Indeed, Ben did not appear to want to "have fun" in the interactions: he had traveled to Paris before to visit his in-laws and told the interviewers that even when he tried to speak French at home, his wife's own native ability in English made this impractical for sustained periods: "When I'm at home, we usually speak in English, just because I don't know—either I get tired of trying to speak French or she gets tired of me not knowing enough vocab." Later, he continued, "if I ever want to practice, she'll speak with me, but it usually doesn't last very long."

Compounding these communicative difficulties was the fact that he said he never made a 'connection' with his tutor, a non-native speaker of French herself and international student at Lyon 2 in the Master's program in French as a Foreign Language:

Ben:	I don't think (.5) my tutor wasn't the most expressive person, even in speech, her voice was very flat and soft, not a lot of emphasis on anything, so yeah not a lot to pick up on.
Dave:	What did you learn about her? Her life, her interests, what she does?
Ben:	Um, not much, just that she (1) I can't even remember where she was from, I think she was Chinese, and she liked cartoons (.5) like Japanese cartoons, Japanese music (1) but other than that I didn't really learn much, I think because I didn't really ask her many questions. So.
Dave:	Is that because (.5) was the interaction really structured feeling, or was it because you didn't really hit it off?
Ben:	Usually it was because the interaction was really structured, um, there wasn't really (.5) much time for it? Because much of the time was spent trying to figure out what the task was, what the questions were, and so, we never really got started on a conversation, because once we got started on a topic, it'd be time to move on.

Here, then, viewed from the perspective of the Berkeley students' orientation to place, we see the possibility that a confluence of factors might have been at work simultaneously in helping to confer upon the students a sense of location. The physical space of the laboratory, the seats and desks, the computer with its hardware and on-screen software interfaces, were certainly among these. As one student (Elizabeth) remarked when asked if she felt that she had been to France by proxy, by virtue of participating in the videoconferencing interactions, "You're not going to France. You're going to the computer." Yet, as Ben intimates by mentioning both his tutor's non-French origins and the time spent trying to "figure out what the task was, what the questions were," factors

such as the students' understood relationship with their tutors—realized in part through the degrees and manners of embodiment enabled by the online medium—and the structuring of the online lessons, were themselves constitutive of the spaces of *F1L*, as experienced by the Berkeley students.[55]

In fact, Ben seems to have represented *more* about his tutor in his drawing than perhaps he was able to perceive in his actual interactions with her: the researchers in the computer lab on noted on successive weeks that Weiyun's mouth, nose, and even eyes were frequently not visible on the screen at all, as her webcam was pointed up and her eyes cast downward (the video feed is in the lower right-hand portion of the screen):
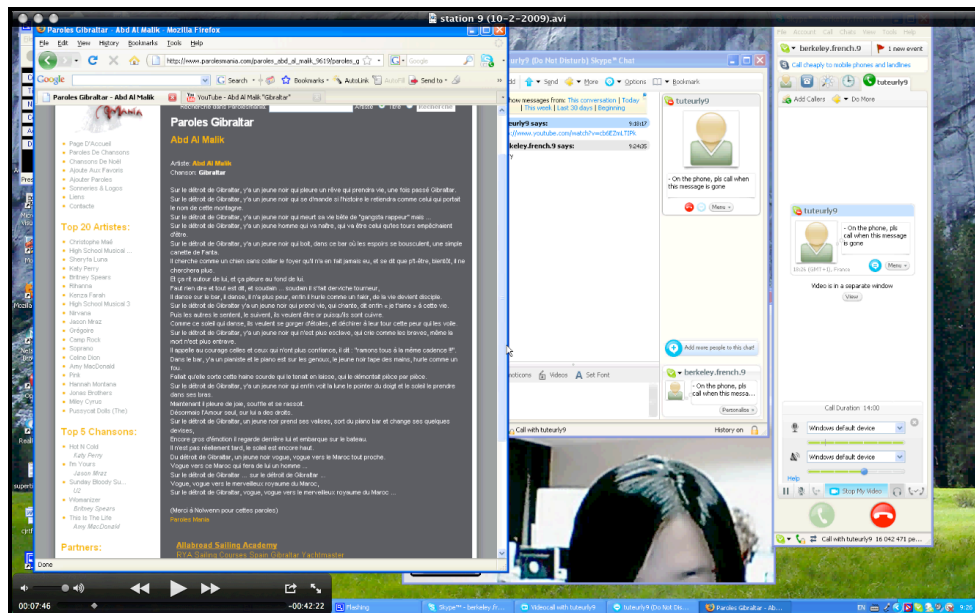
Figure 4.4—Screen capture from Ben's computer. The tutor Weiyun's forehead occupies a minor part of the entire interface visible to Ben.

In the interview, the interviewer Rick is asking Ben to describe his drawing from memory:

Rick:	So there was a picture of her?
Ben:	Uh yeah, a picture in the box.
Rick:	Of her forehead? Or was there a whole person.
Ben:	I think I gave her a mouth. ((laughs))
Dave:	((laughing)) It was a later [ ] picture.
Rick:	((laughing)) So this is the imagined mouth.
Ben:	((laughing)) This is, yeah, This is, if you try to take the dots from her forehead and reconstruct her face
Rick:	((laughing)) Extrapolation.

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[55] See discussion in Section VII, and Chapter 5 on questions of embodiment in telecollaboration.

Weiyun was at times more visible than the screenshot above indicates, and in either case, the visual impairments did not appear to detract from the quality of the lessons as he evaluated them. In the interview, he went so far as to state, "I was hearing her, so I didn't really care about the visual feed. Because, I guess it wasn't, that wasn't as important to me, so, yeah, I don't know, I think the session could've been [the same] without the visual, the video." In this light, Ben's comment that in his drawing he "gave [Weiyun] a mouth", while a seemingly trivial detail, is perhaps indicative of the degree to which students were left up to their own devices to reconstruct their tutors' likenesses, and vice versa.

III. Half in the Lab, and Half in "That World"

More common than the sense expressed by Ben, of remaining totally within the confines of the Berkeley language laboratory during the online interactions, was that of varying degrees of presence in the computer laboratory and of immersion in a shared interactive space with one's tutor. Rani and Helen were typical of many of the students in associating the physical act of donning the headphones with a sense of removal from the laboratory environment:

Dave:	Right, right. Were you aware of other people when you were sitting in the lab? I mean, did you=
Helen:	=Not really
Rani:	No, we kind of enter the Lyon zone
Helen:	Yeah you have your headphones on

In this sense, the drawings of both Helen and Rani reveal something of a hybrid representation of space: on one hand, the computer figures prominently in both, either 'containing' the tutor in a simple cube-like scheme (Rani's drawing, Figure 4.6) or with a larger, more elaborated representation of the Skype videochat window (Helen's drawing, Figure 4.5). On the other, we see a type of ideational or thematic space outside the frame of the computer, one that conforms varyingly or not at all to the fixed topography of the computer as material artifact, or computer lab as physical setting for the interactions: The generic dialog between student and tutor, made familiar through frequent negotiations of technical difficulties, visually bridge the intra- and extra-computer spaces as they appear on the border of the computer's screen:

- Est-ce que vous m'attendez?   (*Are you waiting for me?*)
- Allo? Bonjour!   (*Hello? Hi there!*)
- Je vous entends, mais je ne peux pas vous voir!   (*I can hear you, but I can't see you!*)
- Ah, ça marche   (*Ah, it's working*)

Meanwhile, Helen has written four summative evaluations of her experience in the space around the computer (éducatif (*educational*); c'est amusant (*it's fun*); intimidant (*intimidating*); utile (*useful*)).
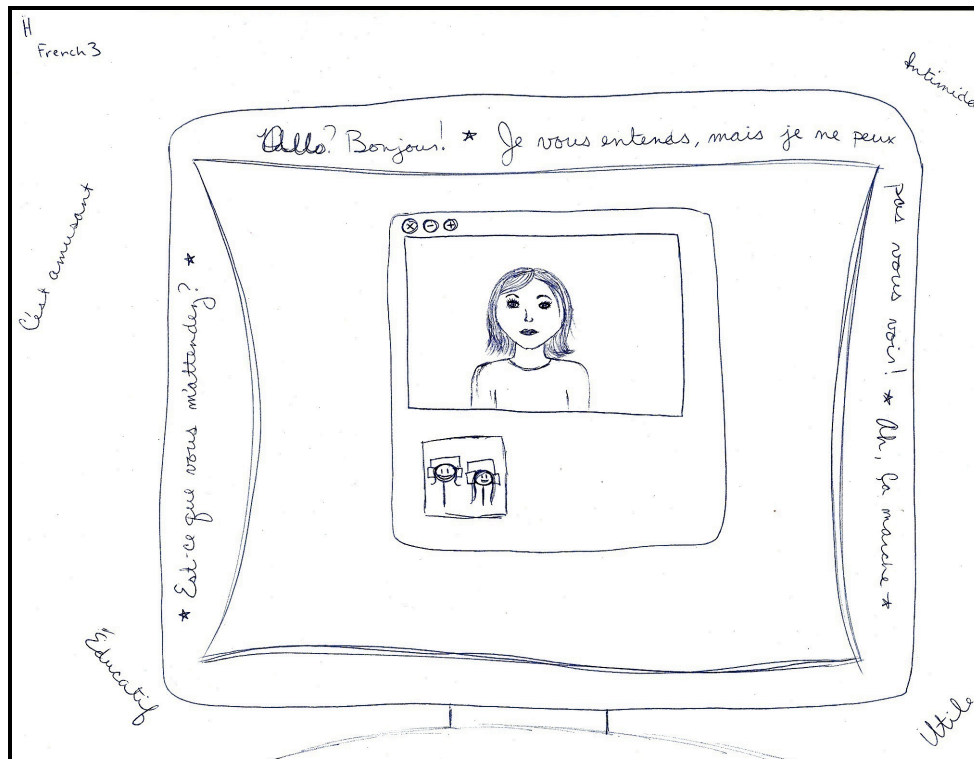

Figure 4.5—Helen's drawing

Rani's drawing contains similar descriptors near the bottom, that do not appear to be part of the drawing proper: "drôle" (*funny*), "se tromper" (*to make a mistake*), "la vocabulaire" (*vocabulary*), "amusante" (*fun*). Her drawing, however, presents a more complex collage-like structure that is at once similar to other students' drawings in that it disaggregates linguistic (le vocab, les prepositions...), relational (amitié (*friendship*)), and technological/material (le blog, les photos) aspects of the students' online interactions with their tutor from the confines of the computer itself, while still electing to depict the *means* of the interaction (the blog, the map-like rendition of the United States and France and the line pointing toward the tutors, the computer). As an indication of the hybridity of spaces that appears to be represented here, we may note that, while Helen and Rani are both donning headphones in both of their drawings, in neither drawing is their tutor Jackeline wearing a headset; this was the case in slightly less than half of the drawings depicting both the students and the tutors.
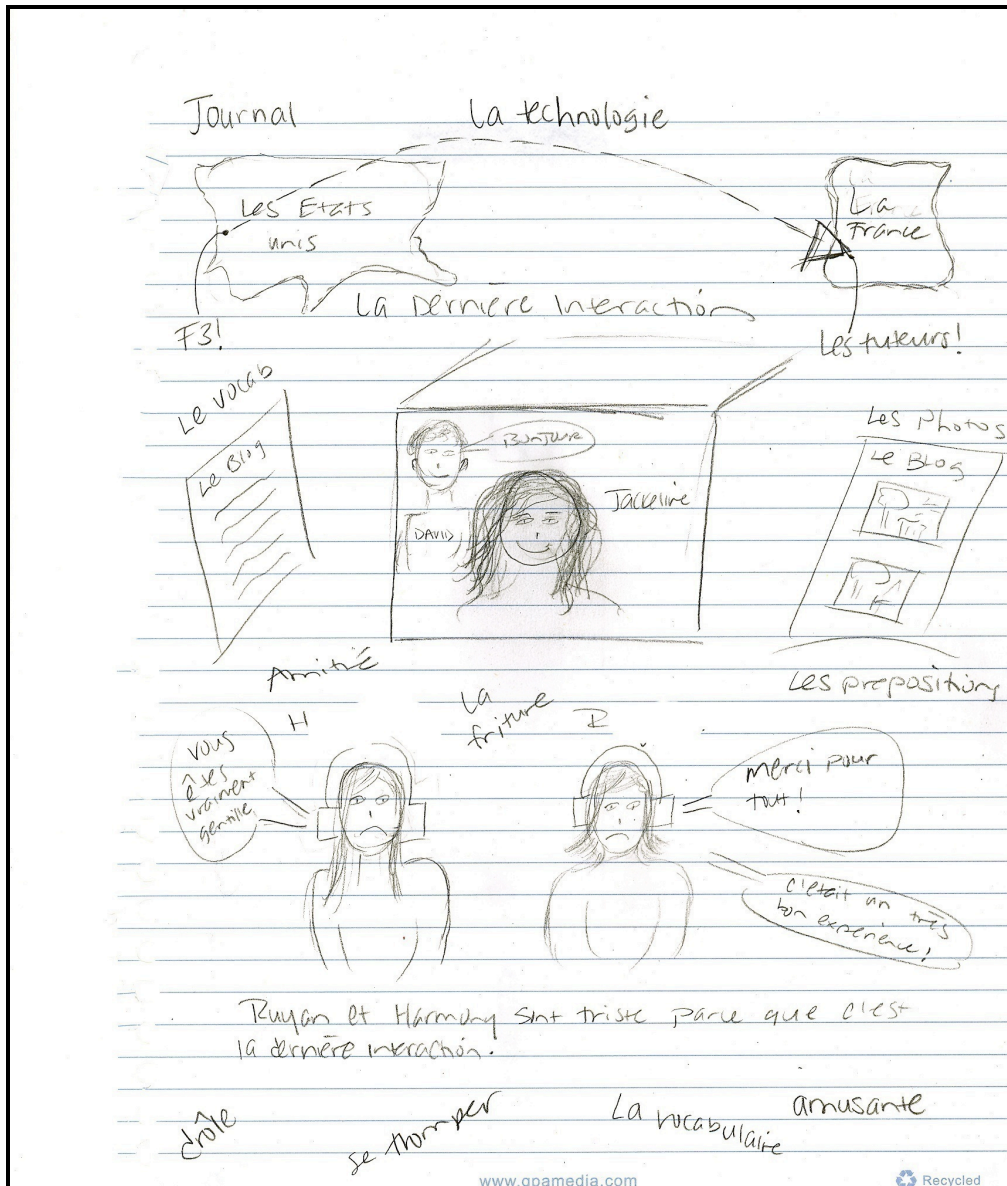
Figure 4.6—Rani's drawing

Helen and Rani were not atypical or the most extreme in their verbal and visual representations of variously engaging with the materiality of the computer and the headsets, and entering into an immersive state in which both technology and room seemed to disappear. Elizabeth and Angela, for instance, described their interactive space with their tutors Boris and Elsa as "a world", even "space", an interactive 'location' that was only reached by donning a "cyber-suit":

Dave:	Yeah (2) what do you think about wearing headsets into the regular class? I thought you said a little earlier you felt more comfortable with the headset once you=
Elizabeth:	=Yeah I kind of felt like a robot like you need a uniform to go into this world
Angela:	Yeah
Elizabeth:	Like it was like (.5) your [cyber-suit or something
Angela:	[Three two one, blast off, or something ((laughing))
Elizabeth:	((laughing)) Yeah
Angela:	Like you're entering like (.5) I don't know (.5) space.
Elizabeth:	Ahh

Elizabeth later described the 're-entry from space' that accompanied the occurrence of frequent technological problems; in particular, she said problems experienced only on the Berkeley side resulted in confusion on the tutors' part as the Berkeley students took off their headsets and looked around for help in the computer lab in Berkeley: "And so like we kind of like depart the world of Skype and re-enter the world of like B-21, and they don't realize what's going on."

Similarly, Ann and Lynn, two students seated facing opposite directions about eight feet away from Elizabeth and Angela, described varying states of immersion while talking with their tutor Jean. Lynn retained a sense of presence in the room, as she related in the interview: "We were in the computer lab, but (laughing)...I mean it still felt like that that with like the earphones on [and like looking at the computer but (.5)..." Ann, on the other hand, described a sense of total immersion in the interaction. Other people disappeared, she said, and ending the interactions was "like waking up"

Dave:	Were you pretty aware of the other people in the room, like when you were talking, ((A laughs)) or?
Lynn:	[not really, yeah
Ann:	[not at all, they totally [disappeared
Dave:	[really?
Lynn and Wendy:	((laughing))
Ann:	Yeah, like it was really scary cause, (.5) you'd be talking to someone, and you'd be focused on the conversation, and you had your little paper ((gesturing to imaginary desktop)) and then he would be like, "Ok, well I'm sorry but I have to go," and we're like "OK, bye", and then we go ((breaks narrative tempo)) I, at least I would look around and I'd be like, "Dude, there's other people in this [room with me? [((laughter))
Ann:	And I had completely no idea 'cause I guess (.5) the headphones kinda just blocked it out and
Lynn:	Yeah
Ann:	I was just, we were just so focused ((quietly to Lynn)) and I don't know if you feel the same way but...

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Dave:	Yeah
Lynn:	Yeah, I didn't really like pay attention ((trailing off))
Ann:	It was like [waking up— ((laughs))

Here Lynn to some extent, and definitely Ann, attest to a sensation of immersion that I, following R. Jones (2005), have termed a "*virtual space*". To be sure, literature on telepresence and virtual reality (Goldberg, 2001; Minsky, 1980; Nowack & Biocca, 2003; Rheingold, 1991) has taken great interest in different manners and modalities of mediation as they inform a person's senses of movement, immersion, and social or perceptual realism, for instance (see Lombard & Ditton, 1997). Yet, did this sense of immersion attested to by language learners in Berkeley affect the salience of the *physical spaces* of the language laboratory, and the *other places* (geographically situated locales) in their learning experiences? And, if so, how?

IV. Students in the Pull of the *Virtual* Cafe

In fact, the Berkeley students' self-awareness of their embodied presence in the computer lab (a "physical space", following the typology introduced in Section I) and their sense of immersion in conversation with their tutors (a "relational space") appeared together in their interview responses with a sense of presence in a generic interactive, "virtual space"—a space in which their geographic situation in Berkeley and Lyon, the state of California and the Rhône-Alpes region, France and the United States, exercised only occasional or ancillary relevance. Several students described the perception that they were in neither locale, but rather in an abstracted cafe setting as they spoke with their tutors. Yasmina, a 2009 student, for example, refers to a UC Berkeley French speaking club that meets weekly in an off-campus cafe as she describes her sense of where she was:

| Dave: | So where are you, in Berkeley still? Or were you in Lyon? |
| Yasmina: | ((laughing)) Kind of like an in-between, you know? Yeah she ... I think we were in Berkeley because we're in Berkeley, you know? and I've never seen Lyon, but um...it was cool. It was like (.5) maybe you could say it was something laid back, like it was kind of a laid back setting, like a café, or like Le Cercle Français? You know how they have that, they speak French every Monday, and it's kind of like oh let's go to a café, let's speak French, and so (.5) it kind of felt like that. Yeah, so (1) I really really loved it, so. ((laughs)) |
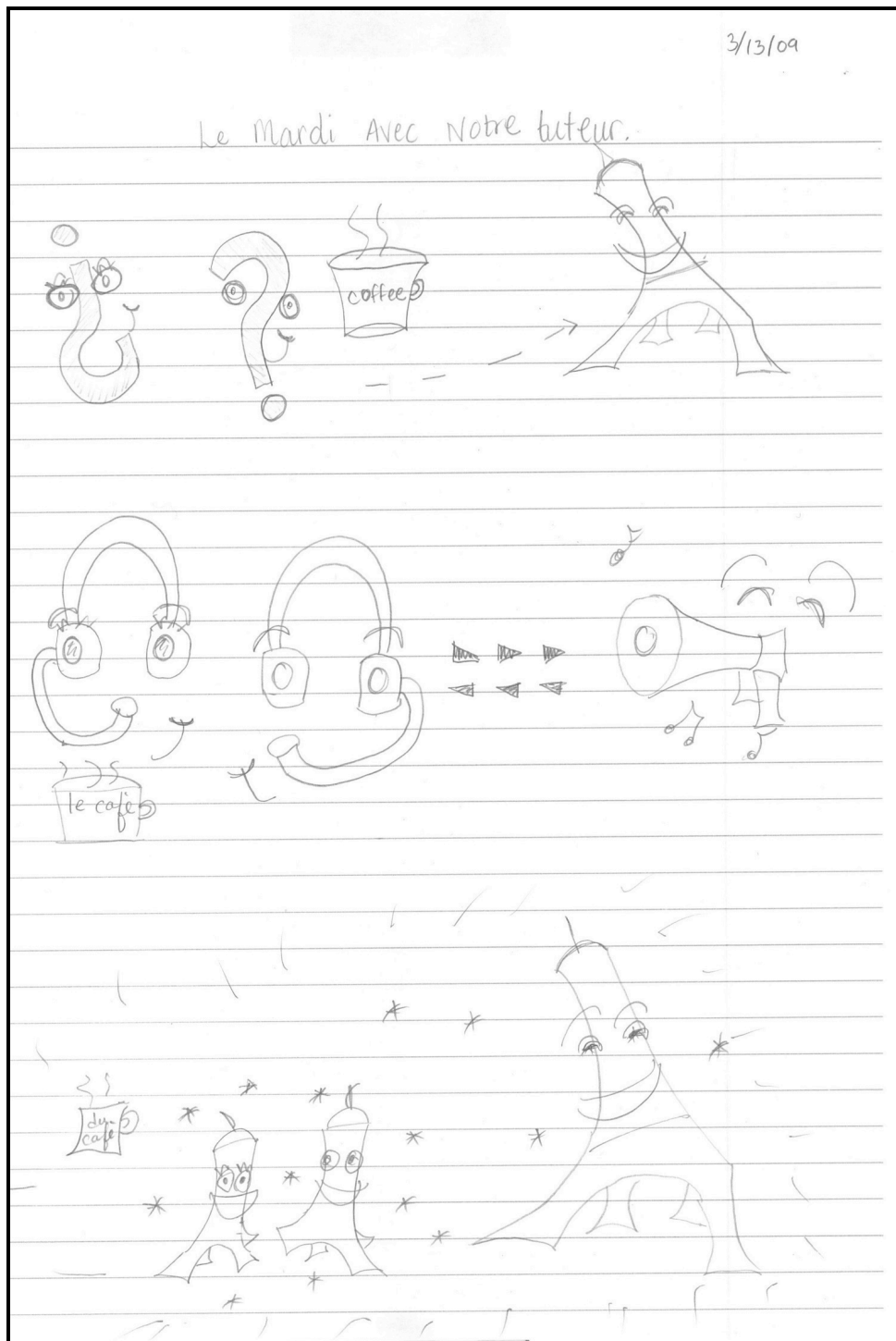
Figure 4.7—Yasmina's drawing

Indeed, the coffee depicted in Yasmina's drawing (Figure 4.7) is a motif that repeats through the three stages of her interaction: she first represents herself and her partner Jeremiah as anthropomorphized (Spanish-style, first inverted) question marks

next to a steaming cup of "coffee" (labeled in English), approaching their tutor Darasy, who appears as a friendly human-like Eiffel Tower.[56] The coffee is present again in the second stage (middle of the drawing), as they interact with Darasy—this time they appear as smiling headsets and the coffee is labeled in French: "le cafè".[57] And in the last stage depicted, they have joined Darasy as miniature Eiffel Towers, smiling together with their tutor/tower in a common space demarcated by outward-pointing lines, and accompanied by their cup of coffee, this time labeled "du cafè" (coffee or cafe).

Other students independently mentioned the cafe setting as well; Ann echoes Yasmina's sense of removal, saying "I was just kinda like, in my head maybe we were in a cafe, or maybe we were talking on the phone and I just happened to see his face but like a lot of times I felt like I was very removed from the situation". Meanwhile, Tanya and Dora, two partners from the 2009 class, were similarly asked at varying points in the interview where they felt themselves to be during the interactions, and also what they would have drawn if they had completed the assignment. They mention the names of both of Lyon and Berkeley by name, but convey a sense of 'location' somewhere in between, and out of focus—a sensibility that Dora associated with the technical difficulties imposed by the headphones and interferences common to online videoconferencing.

Dora:	I feel like it would be more (1) like a fuzzy kind of state not exactly like perfect or like this is where this is or that is. I just feel like it would be a little fuzzy and then a mixture of like Berkeley and Lyon and then somehow represent a little bit of broken understanding just because sometimes you don't hear stuff or the internet disconnects and you don't really get everything the other person is trying to say and then I don't know just like the big headphones on either end
Rick:	So the headphones are kind of salient
Dora:	Yeah
	((laughter))
Dora:	like the head with the headphones=
Tanya:	=[They were killer
Dora:	[the little world between you just kind of all fuzzy but mixed together like it is not specifically oh this is Lyon and this is Berkeley you kinda like interacting and interchangeable.

More focus and detail regarding Lyon as a physical place in the world was to be found in the interview with Juan and Frank, two partners from the 2009 class. In the interview segment below, Frank relates a conversation that he had with their tutor Elodie about her plans to attend a local soccer match. As a soccer player himself, Frank took great interest in the possibility that Elodie was going to see his favorite team playing a match in Lyon:

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[56] Discussion of this drawing continues in Section VII.

[57] Here the "é" (accent aigu) of café appears to be written mistakenly with "è" (accent grave).

Juan: I thought the interaction was really smooth. But it was very (1) I
                 mean (1) I wouldn't have thought of them as, you know, as far
                 away as they are 'cause it's (1) I mean (.5) you can't (.5) I mean
                 (1) when you're looking at them and they're sitting there at the
                 computer, you could see a bit of the background. I mean, it just
                 looks like a normal place. It doesn't look like anything bizarre. It's
                 just a computer lab. So, I mean, it's hard to place it. I didn't think
                 of it as being, "Oh, so faraway in France." You know, it seems
                 very pleasant.
Rick: So, did you think of yourself as being there or them being here or
                 both? Kind of in a neutral=
Juan: =Yeah, it was kind of (.5) I don't think there was any definite
                 space attached to it.
Frank: There was one time that I thought, "I wish I was over there."
                 That's 'cause I thought about soccer. We play soccer, and my
                 team ((inaudible)) was playing at Lyon. And I was like, "Are you
                 gonna go watch the game?" She was like, "Maybe." I was like, "I
                 wish I was there." So I kind of imagine I was there but then it was
                 like, "Oh we have to go." I was like, "Ah," disappointed. That was
                 the only time I kind of felt like I was there.

A few points in this segment are worth discussing. First, Juan's comments reveal
the mundane fact that what is visible in the context of a videoconferencing situation in
which one's interlocutor is situated in a computer laboratory is a view of that computer
laboratory—a *physical space* to be sure, but one that "just looks like a normal place" and
does not (necessarily) bear visible marks of *Frenchness*. Indeed, throughout the history of
the language lab, programmatic visions that styled them as "Teaching Machines" suggest
a common set of standards in dimensions and layout for the various purposes the
laboratory is to fulfill (Morton, 1960); pressures on language labs to prioritize
compartmentalized, semi-private listening (and later, viewing) activities with standard
tools (tape recorders, headsets, TV screens, computers) over communal learning
functions have existed for decades (e.g. Froehlich, 1982).[58]

In contrast to the absence of a sense of place deriving from the nondescript yet
"pleasant" laboratory setting, however, Frank describes a situation in which a turn in the
conversation between Juan, himself, and Elodie made the physicality of Lyon emerge—
not as the material location of the interlocutors but as an "other place" inaugurated in
discourse. The foregrounding of Elodie's planned activity, playing soccer—and Frank's
own association with that activity—seem to have both played a role in this process. In
this sense it is noteworthy that Frank's only experience of a sense of virtual presence in
Lyon ("That was the only time I kind of felt like I was there") arose from an awareness of
his desire to be there, occasioned by his *inability* to do so.

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[58] See the discussion of computer laboratory as non-place in Section VII.

The invocation of participants' own embodied activities in the context of what is commonly understood to be a disembodied medium of communication, and its resolution in both desire and a heightened sense of reality, are phenomena that will be addressed in Chapters 5 and 6 as well; meanwhile, a similar process seemed to be at play in the case of Elizabeth and Angela's discussion of competing perceptions of Lyon as their interactions progressed. In the interview, Elizabeth maintains a sense that the tutors were located in an abstract space (Lyon was "just like the loci [locus] of the tutors"; discussed further in the next section). Angela, however, claims she became more aware of the 'place-ness' of Lyon when they were engaged in discussions of the Lyon metro system, making comparisons with the BART train system of the San Francisco Bay Area.

Angela:	Yeah. If anything, it makes me curious about Lyon, ['cause you're talking about the metro
Elizabeth:	[Yeah, actually I kind of felt like it was like a deep (.5) space. I've never, I've never seen like Lyon, like a picture or a plan of it.
Dave:	Uh-huh.
Elizabeth:	It was just like (.5) the loci of the tutors. (1)
Angela:	And you're like, wow, there's actual people I have conversations with in Lyon. Maybe I can go there and have fun. Like—you actually, it becomes real. It bec—I don't know. There's (2) you (2) I'm curious about it I guess, now.
Dave:	So you had a sense though, of (1) that they were (.5) some—in, in Lyon, in, when they were talking to you, sort of? Or (2)
Angela:	Mmm no I think you just (.5) think about it. 'Cause when you start talking about (1.5) our metro, we were talking about BART, 'cause we were doing the transportation section, and then so they started talking about their metro, and then, that's when you realize (1) oh, I'm still in Berkeley and they're still in Lyon. It was when you started—they asked those questions that you're like, oh, I'm not— I'm actually somewhere (.5; laughs slightly) in Berkeley. (1.5)
Elizabeth:	Yeah, I don't know. It's definitely a weird (2.5) like trying to reconcile with the fact that you guys are actually across the (.5) world from each other is (.3) strange when you're talking to them.

Similar to the soccer match in the conversation between Frank and Elodie, Angela's experience suggests that the parallel structure between familiar real-world activities and structures in their home environments and in the environments of their tutors (riding the metro), draw her into a realization of the 'reality' of her interlocutors and their locale: talking about the metro "makes you curious about Lyon", and the people there are "actual people I have conversations with". And this provoked not only an awareness of one's interlocutors in France, but a reflexive awareness of one's own situation: "...you realize oh, I'm still in Berkeley and they're still in Lyon ... you're like, oh, I'm not—I'm actually somewhere in Berkeley." Here, perhaps, we see stirrings of a reflexive awareness of self, other, and the distance between, emergent from a discussion

of a facet of experience (riding the metro there and here) that was both the different and the same, far yet near.

Yet, we might ask,[59] how did the apparently contingent awareness of students like Frank and Angela of the "reality" of their tutors' and their own *situation* in Lyon and Berkeley relate to their more durable memories and imaginings about these places, and the persons of the ostensibly intercultural others with whom they were in conversation?

If the case of Frank and Juan is any indication, we might surmise that their reference in the interview to an awareness at one point during their interactions to the ontological reality of Lyon (as a distinct place) was made as much to contrast it with the 'normal' state of affairs (in which geographic specificity was irrelevant to the language lesson), than it was to stress its regularity. Neither Juan nor Frank completed the drawing assignment, but when the researcher Marie asked them to imagine what they would have drawn, Juan imagines a cafe table in a cafe *someplace*—but not in Berkeley or Lyon, and not in a computer lab because, as he says just following this segment, "it wouldn't represent the experience":

> Marie: What would you put, though, if you just, like, I mean (1) just
>   ignoring that fact that you or we can't, cannot draw. What would
>   you put if you had, like, a blank piece of paper to like, describe
>   your experience?
> Juan: I guess, I'll probably, not for the computer parts, (inaudible), we
>   could just probably draw a (inaudible) tables speaking one on one.
>   Maybe be I could be in a café..sort of (1) Maybe, 'cause that was
>   how I felt. Maybe like this speaking and talking about our
>   experiences here in the US versus our experiences in France or
>   wherever they've been.
> Frank: What he said, that's what I would say.

V. Beyond L1 CMC: Being in the L2 Online

To some extent, the Berkeley French students' experiences of immersion in the interactive space of their Skype tutorials—their presence in the *virtual* or *cafe space* illustrated in Section IV with the examples of students like Juan, Frank, and Dora—may seem second nature to anyone who has used this or similar online communications technology. Indeed, multi-channel communication online is predicated to some degree on its ability to immerse the user in a virtual interactive space, to say nothing of the immersive expectations held by language educators researching the use of such environments as virtual worlds and online video games (e.g., Felix, 2002; Gee, 2003; Thorne & Black, 2007). In this sense, the explanation given by Alice and Anisa about

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[59] This question points directly to the notion of places as textual, "cultural subsystems", the critical engagement with which is one of the tasks of the foreign language learner operating between languages (MLA, 2007, p. 4-5; see Chapter 1, Section II).

where they were during the interactions with their tutors, in pointing directly to the *mediatedness* of the interaction, might have seemed nothing but commonsense:

Dave:	Where do you feel you were in a larger way during the interaction (.5) do you feel like you were in Lyon together with the tutors do you feel like you were sitting in your chairs in Berkeley do you feel like you we::re
Anisa:	That's a good question
Alice:	Just like having a normal conversation with somebody over Skype I think
Dave:	A normal conversation over Skype with someone
Alice:	Right
Dave:	Which is normal
Alice:	Exactly ((laughs))
Dave:	Ri-ri-right
Alice:	You don't feel like you are *in* a class in Berkeley. You don't feel like you're in Lyon. You just feel like you're talking to somebody except in a different language than you're used to
Dave:	Right yeah
Anisa:	Yeah=
Alice:	=Or do you feel like you're in France ((slight giggle)) maybe you do ((laughs silently))

Yet, several other students' experiences online beg the question of whether or how a language lesson via desktop videoconferencing between an intermediate student of French operating in a largely English-medium context (Berkeley, California, the U.S.) and a teacher-in-training in a French-medium context might constitute a "normal conversation over Skype". As Dora indicated in Section 5, when she described her sense of location as "a little fuzzy" because of the broken understanding ("sometimes you don't hear stuff or the internet disconnects and you don't really get everything the other person is trying to say"), the fact of learning and speaking another language appears to have had a decisive role in dictating students' ability to navigate *spaces* as I (following R. Jones, 2005, Strate, 1999, and others) have outlined them in Section I. Ann, for instance, emphasized the additional attentional resources required by virtue of her speaking French as she postured her head and body so as to be visible to one's partner—and 'postured' her voice so as to be audible to her partners:

Ann:	You know, you're speaking a foreign language, and then you're dealing with the technology, like, "Am I still on the screen?" "Am I speaking loud enough?"
Dave:	Mm, mm, mm
Ann:	And it's just so involving that it's almost like, kind of, dead to the rest of the room.

Angela, too, points to the energy required to sustain such attentional involvement; she discusses the difficulty in understanding exactly what was going on and what was coming next--a question (at least in part) of interactional framing and genre, amplified by technological uncertainty.

> Angela: It just seem—yeah, just, even listening, I think, took more (.5) than listening to Isabelle. Like it took way [more energy]=
> Elizabeth: [Definitely]
> Angela: =just to listen to something than it did to Isabelle 'cause you don't ever know (1) you don't have anything else to go off of, except really the sound. 'Cause the video's not that good. And you don't know what's gonna come at you. You don't know what they're gonna ask or if they're giving directions or (.5) if they're gonna ta-at—if they're talking about the paper in the activity, or if they're just asking about your week, or like, if you're supposed to answer or not. You can't (.5) see (.5) that aspect of it, and so you're just (1) like completely listening to every single word ((laughs slightly))

Indeed, studies that have explored questions of genre in telecollaborative settings suggest that computer mediation changes the ability of the language learner to understand *what is going on* and, in many cases, opens the door to cultural misunderstandings and even conflict that would not necessarily appear in face-to-face settings.[60] However, little attention has been paid to the ways in which the specifics of the interactional technologies being used interact with learners' (and teachers') sense-making efforts as they communicate online. A case study on this topic, discussed in terms of the learner-computer-teacher "interface", is the substance of Chapter 6; of immediate concern here, however, is how the learners' experience of *speaking French online* via a videoconferencing apparatus influenced their awareness of place, and what sort of dialogic distancing it enabled or suppressed.

Elizabeth, from the 2008 class, was another student who articulated the sense that learning a language online imposed *qualitatively* different burdens on herself as a language learner. Using words, she had difficulty pinpointing exactly what was at the root of this feeling, though she was clear about what was not. In the context of a broad discussion in her final interview about the ways in which the internet might be changing the language classroom, she had been discussing the difficulties in seeing and hearing the nuances of her tutor's expression, voice, and posturing on-screen:

> Elizabeth: But it wasn't just that. It's just that like (5) the technology kind of like (2) presupposes your full attention. So (.5) I mean, like I said, you kind of brace yourself every morning. I was never gonna in on

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[60] Thorne and Black (2007), for instance, summarize Kramsch and Thorne's (2002) earlier finding regarding a German-U.S. telecollaborative exchange that "the two partner classes were operating on the different and orthogonal axes of communication as information exchange versus communication for personal engagement" (p. 139).

	Tuesday mornings and be like mopey about like some bad quiz or something, you know. It was
	(2)
Dave:	Right, right
Elizabeth:	It, like, you just totally enter it right then. An:::d that would be exhausting to do all the time
Dave:	Right
Angela:	Yeah [laughs]
Elizabeth:	Um
	(.5)
Dave:	So in a way you're saying that you have to pay more attention when [you're]=
Elizabeth:	[definitely]=
Dave:	=online than when you're not. Or something, I don't know what--
Angela:	[Way more]
Elizabeth:	[Yeah, I] think so, definitely. If you want to get the same kind of (1) uh (2) response (.5) Like if you wanna (1.5) Yeah. 'Cause you have to kind of uh, transgress all the (3) obstacles

The long pauses in Elizabeth's statements were in some sense filled in by the drawing she completed for the course, and which she had narrated prior to this exchange, while her partner Angela looked on:
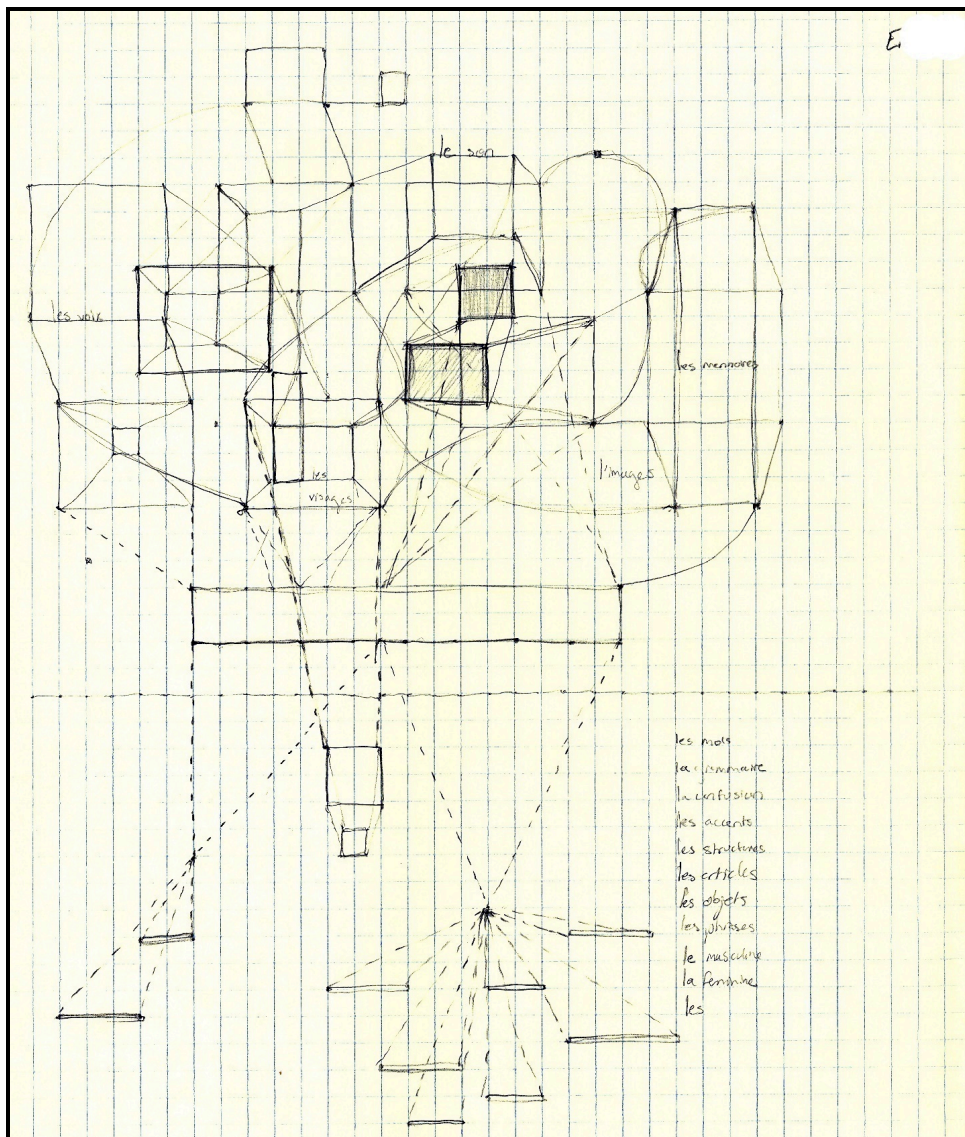
Figure 4.8—Elizabeth's drawing

Elizabeth's schematic drawing was unique among those of her peers, both in her 2008 class, and those who followed her the next year. An architecture major with a short field experience in France, she had also taught English and studied introductory semiotics. She mentioned in her interview that she was attempting to show in abstract form the difference in expressive potential between the students and the tutors:

Elizabeth: ...what I was trying to:::: (1) somehow portray was that like (.5) for them, for us, these words were kind of like stock words (.5) that didn't really have any meaning beyond their translation (.5) but for them (.5) they like have all these associations and stuff. So basically ((indicating the horizontal dashed line)) this is like the

screen (1) and what we were dealing with is like (1.5) kind of like a set of pre-loaded vocabulary that... (2)

The two "nodes" in the bottom section of the drawing (the points of convergence for the dashed lines near the bottom) are a representation of the restrictions on the students' ability to express themselves in French with the linguistic elements listed in the vertical array to the right: *les mots* (words), *la grammaire* (grammar), *la confusion* (confusion), *les accents* (accents), *les structures* (structures), etc. These elements converge in single points in order to stand in opposition to the seeming three-dimensionality and interconnectedness of the meaning-making networks available to the tutors. The horizontal dashed line across the lower-middle of the paper represented the computer screen/interface, she indicated, and above this division, the tutors had available to them resources for communication that went far beyond the students' French "structures": *les voix* (voices) appears in the upper left; *le son* (sound) on top; *les visages* (faces) appears in the middle of the network; *l'images* (images) and *les memoires* (memories) are on the right.

I myself had difficulty during the interview reconciling the drawing's top-bottom division by what Elizabeth identified as "the screen" into two halves that were *not*, she asserted, populated by people per se. Taken together with her comment above about how "the technology presupposes your full attention", and in the previous section that, to her, Lyon was "like a deep space...just like the loci of the tutors", the ensuing back-and-forth between Elizabeth and myself in the interview might present valuable insights as to the interactions between an online language learner's self-awareness and the analytic constructs of attentional spaces I have employed (loosely following R. Jones, 2005) with an eye to understanding the nature of the distance between student and tutor.

Dave:	So you're here with the—I just wanted to get, like, see, if I understood what these things are, like, so are these [pointing to the two points in the bottom of the drawing] people right here?
Elizabeth:	No that was just, [I was just trying to say], if you think of like, semiotics,
Dave:	[the sort of nodes]
Elizabeth:	[Like I was] trying to say like (.5)
Dave:	[Mm-hmm]
Elizabeth:	Here ((indicating the top half of the drawing)) the signs like, have depth kind of
Dave:	Mm-hmm
Elizabeth:	And here ((indicating the bottom)), they're really just like pre-loaded (.5) so these were like me and Angela or something
Angela:	((laughs))
Dave:	[Like the two, the two points?
Elizabeth:	[like, little nodes yeah, and this ((indicating the horizontal line in the middle)) is supposed to be the computer screen, and then, for them, I just felt like (2)

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Dave:	Mmm (2)
Elizabeth:	Yeah, I don't know. This is, this should not be over-analyzed, though, by any means. It's just a very abstract way of trying to say that (1) ummm (2) that there's a real sense of like the- our (1) the restriction of (1) our knowledge of these words that really becomes apparent when you speak to a native speaker

On a first approach to understanding the meaning that Elizabeth tries to give to her drawing, we might posit the need for a 6th space (or 7th, if we are to count the ability of an online interlocutor to refer to one's own body as a space): a *language space*, or the actional and identity potentials invoked by the use of a particular language, broadly understood. In this interview, we see how, within such a language space, the depiction of differences in expressive potential between the Berkeley students and their tutors in Lyon occasion attributions of speaker-identities: the other as "native speaker" and the self as *not*, separated not so much by geographic distance (and thus, potentially, traversable) but by the screen as boundary object, both virtual and actual.

At this point in the interview, I had perceived that on the bottom half (the students' side) of the drawing there were two identifiable 'nodes'—which I had read as abstractions of the persons of Elizabeth and Angela—but no corresponding nodes for their tutors, Boris and Elsa. I continued asking into the possibility of a relationship between these linguistic networks and the living, breathing people of this telecollaborative exchange:

Dave:	Are they, are there nodes for the, the tutors on the other side too?
Elizabeth:	No, because I wouldn't possibly know (.5) I—that's what I was trying to say, is that, like, when I'm speaking in French, I'm thinking about words, structures, articles, grammar, whatever.
Dave:	Mmm
Elizabeth:	But when they're speaking, when someone speaks (2) they're not thinking about their language in those formal terms
Dave:	Right
Elizabeth:	it's like (2.5) relative (1) but, I don't know
Dave:	Right, right, but it's all—is it all out there, or is it being channeled through people here somehow too
Elizabeth:	No no no, I just, I just was trying to say that like for them it's much more of like an inter[connected]=
Dave:	[Yeah]
Elizabeth:	=network (1) versus like ours which is very (2) partitioned in a way, like, by chapter by chapter
Angela:	Mm-hmm
Dave:	Yeah.

Here we might read Angela's "Mm-hmm" as an agreement with what Elizabeth had just said about the textbook's partitioning of linguistic knowledge by chapter, as it stood in contrast with the linguistic interconnections evident in their tutors' unreflective

(natural) speech; it might also be read as an attempt to rescue her partner from a long and perhaps frustrating line of questioning by the interviewer. Indeed, the number of conversational turns here and any frustration that either Elizabeth and Angela might have felt could have been due to my asking for something that *was not there* at all: the *virtual space* of the Skype video conferencing session made possible a *relational* space among students and tutors that was realized in the screen's decisive separation of the tutors' and students' linguistic abilities. If Lyon was essentially the "locus" of the tutors, as Elizabeth had indicated—a locus where memories, voices, and images *in French* existed together with faces for the tutors, this place, and Boris and Elsa within it, had been thoroughly virtualized, 'real' to be sure, but without depth or body. Indeed, at a separate point in the interview, Elizabeth indicated that, at times, she might have preferred to know her tutors in Lyon as abstract nodes in a network, rather than human teachers beyond it. Here she describes the transformation she experienced when donning the headset and interacting with Boris and Elsa:

> Elizabeth: uh, (clears throat) but it was like, it was kind of like, I'm going into my tutor mode, it almost took away some of the weirdness. I felt in the end how strange it would be to meet them in person, in a way it became the ground that mediated our conversation that created a sense of security once you got used to it. I thought it was so obvious when you heard the last person in class get off, and like the whole class is off and the last person is like laughing hysterically or something (.5) um (1) so but you don't notice that at all (1) it wasn't about (.5) Lyon or (.5) here (.5) Like I didn't feel like I was in Berkeley when I was—you really felt like you were in some cyberspace world.

VI. Fantasy Places Online

What becomes of the places that intercultural others speak from, and of the distance between them if, for language students like Elizabeth, the flat screen becomes both the means of conveyance of language and interpersonal relationships, and their insurmountable limit? In this section, I show examples that suggest that, for a number of students and in a number of contexts, "Lyon" may have functioned in this project as an imaginary or fantasy place—but not a distanced and unknown *elsewhere* as much as an empty signifier for more familiar, and closer locales. I explore this briefly in the discussion in the following section (Section VII) as a phenomenon of *simulation* (Baudrillard, 1994; Eco, 1986; Turkle, 1995). But here it should be restated that the Berkeley students as a whole had had little experience in France or other francophone countries. And, as the students pointed out at great length in the interviews and in the program-final surveys given by the instructor, their tutors had not endeavored to engage them in conversations of a personal sort, or to introduce them to Lyon per se. Presenting examples of what might appear to be students' mis-representations of Lyon, as I do

below, is not meant as an evaluation of their learning (nor do I want to over-generalize from what is admittedly a small snapshot into much larger processes of learning). The question to be asked here, rather, is the manner in which the Berkeley students characterized the reality of the online people, places, and topics of their online interactions both within the frames of classroom interaction and 'completion of assignments' like the drawing assignment, and within the shifting frames of the research interview itself (Goffman, 1981; see Chapter 3).

Kelly, a student in the 2008 class who viewed herself as having more difficulty with speaking French than her classmates, including her partner Eduardo, expressed positive sentiments about her online lessons with their tutor Amandine. This was so even though, she said, she would have liked "less structured" interactions ("It was nice having unguided speech. I mean, yeah, we had the activities laid out for us, but the parts I really enjoyed was when she said, OK, what are you doing this weekend? What are your plans?"). And in contrast to many classmates and students who followed them in 2009, both Kelly and Eduardo described their relationship with their tutor in pragmatic, transactional terms, rather than that of a "friend".

Kelly:	I think she's very supportive (.5) of (.5) what we were doing when we were trying to learn and (1.5) just encouraging (.5)
Dave:	Yeah (1) Wh—do you feel like she was a:: (.5) friend, a teacher, a tutor, a peer, a:: (.5) anything like that? If you, if you were gonna (.5) describe her that way what you say?
Eduardo:	I'd say a tutor, I don't, [I don't] I don't see her as a friend
Kelly:	[Yeah]
Kelly:	A tutor or a teacher, yeah

In seeming contradiction to her characterizations of the 'structured' quality of her online learning experience, though, Kelly's drawing depicted a pleasant scene in which mountains in the background, and the ocean and beach in the foreground, provided a backdrop for a car on a journey down a long road. As Kelly explained, the car represented the students in her class, on the long journey of learning the French language.

Figure 4.9—Kelly's drawing

In the course of narrating her drawing, Kelly explained:

Kelly:	So this is our French class, and we're just going in the future (.5)
Dave:	Oh, OK
Kelly:	Just, just (.5) this is our journey through Frenchland ((laughs)) and um
Dave:	Right, right, right. Is it uh::: this semester, like the road is only this semester long or [or is it lifelong or is it like
Kelly:	[sure, or just
Kelly:	Yeah, it could be whatever (.5) ((D laughs)) is appropriate to the people. It's a big car so [it's=
Dave:	=[that's a big car!
Kelly:	=people can get out as they go, right? So....

In the sense that it depicted, metaphorically at least, the entire class together (in the car), and all of the tutors together (in the gas station, labeled *L'Essence*), Kelly's drawing was unique. At most, the other students' drawings only showed the students at the next computer workstation in the language laboratory, and no students depicted any of the other students' tutors.[61]

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[61] It should also be noted that the Berkeley classroom teacher did not appear in any of the student drawings in either 2008 or 2009.

While the students and tutors were all present in the drawing, the dichotomy in their roles was clear: the students were traveling "through Frenchland", as Kelly stated, while the tutors were there to "fill up" the students' car with gas along the way. Kelly explains:

Kelly: And this is our class in our car (.5) ((voice tone changes)) on our journey into the future (.5) and here's our stop ((Eduardo laughing)) getting gas with the tutors, who are helping us
Dave: Oh!
Kelly: It's just a very brief moment (.5) where, you know, they come, you replenish, and you keep going ((laughs))
Dave: Oh, wow, uh-huh

This transactional relationship is not opposed to what is expressed as a positive affective orientation toward the tutoring sessions and the tutors themselves: The sentences in the upper left portion of the drawing read: *Je pense de l'avenir* (I think of the future); *Je pense de la plage en France* (I think of the beach in France); *Je pense des alpins* (I think of the alpines); *Je suis triste que les sceances ont fini* (I'm sad that the sessions [misspelled] are over); *J'espère que nous nous palerons encore...* (I hope we talk [misspelled] again); *J'espère que nous nous verrons encore* (I hope we see each other again).

But the tutors appear quite literally to be written into the landscape, an element of a generic French backdrop ("Frenchland") that is at once language, French scenery, and the city of *Lyon* as well. Kelly had begun her drawing's narration in the following way:

Kelly: So for mine, it's a mixture of different things from, um, (.5) different activities we did during (1.5) the (.5) interactions (.5) so like (.5) these mountains are from—((to Eduardo)) whenever we were talking about vacations=
Eduardo: OK. And ((inaudible))
Kelly: =and the plage, like, ((to Dave)) Lyon's near (.5) the beach (.5) right? I don't know. That's my picture of it but we also talked about [the beach]
Dave: [you know I really] didn't go outside of Lyon so I...((laughing))
Kelly: So, so like and I know there was other times that we talked about the beach and so that's a very peaceful place and (.5) bright (.3) colors for (.3) French, yay!

In fact, though the beach as a topic did come up in the interactions between Amandine, Kelly, and Eduardo, it did not surface with reference to Lyon—and the actual city of Lyon is far removed from any beach. Kelly's association remained to the research team something of a mystery.

If it was mysterious, however, the students' reading of the tutors and the online interactions not just as *in* an imaginary French landscape, but *as* the French landscape itself, was not a phenomenon unique to Kelly's situation. The appearance of maps of

France (and their labeling with *les tuteurs*", "the tutors") and of the United States in the students' drawings was frequent. Rani's drawing has already been discussed (Figure 4.6, Section III), and the drawings of Ernesto and Rosa made use of this convention as well. More strikingly, we might return to the drawing of Yasmina (Figure 4.7, Section IV), the three-step process in which she and her question-mark partner first transformed into human headphones and then into miniature Eiffel Towers as they studied with their big Eiffel Tower tutor. Given this quintessential icon of Frenchness, located in the country's capital of Paris, Lyon seemed to be quite ancillary to the online lessons; here Yasmina's words bear repeating: "I've never seen Lyon, but um...it was cool. It was like—maybe you could say it was something laid back, like it was kind of a laid back setting, like a café, or like Le Cercle Français?" Indeed, not only did the particularity of *Lyon* become irrelevant in the face of Yasmina's online experience of speaking with a tutor of the French language, but her (Cambodian-background) tutor's showing her images of famous sites from several cities (including Lyon's famous "castle", the Basilica of Fourvière) occasioned some observations about the ultimate *sameness* of people in France, the United States, and elsewhere.

Dave:	Hm, interesting. Yeah (.5) what do you imagine Lyon being like? You said you'd never seen it.
Yasmina:	Ohhhh (.5) you know, there was an activity where we had to pick where we'd go on vacation, and they showed us a picture of La Martinique, and I forget where else, and Lyon, and they showed us like this castle, and I don't think, like, if we go to Lyon, I think it, it, you know, there's the usual sights, you know to see, people are people, and um it's not like, you know, the stereotypes, you know, they're people, and so I figure it's the same, everybody's got their passions, everybody's you know who they are, and so (.5) I really love (1) I imagine it being like here, just speaking French, you know? ((laughs)) instead of English.
Dave:	Yeah, yeah. Did you feel more like that, after the interactions, that people are people, or did you have some ideas beforehand that you changed, during that interaction?
Yasmina:	Um (.5) no, I think it's because I really like to follow French cinemas, so, sometimes they depict them in realistic terms, you know, how they are, you've got your crooks and like you've got your good guys, you know? And so (.5) I think just my experience beforehand just, I mean, it's not like I was expecting you know a guy in like a striped you know black white (.5) you know, you know (.5) shirt, you know? No, uh, it definitely helped, you know, (inaudible) it was so strange (.5) like she's from Cambodia, you know, and she's there, just like I know someone from Greece, you know, and she's there, and like I'm from Guatemala and I'm here, you know? So. I think that helped a lot, yeah.

On one hand, statements like Yasmina's might be celebrated by foreign language educators for their demonstration of a student's refutation of stereotypes and appreciation of the essential humanity of people living in the mixed spaces of a globalized world. On the other, if the essential lesson to be gleaned from online language lessons and viewing of French films is that "people are people", and "it's the same, everybody's got their passions, everybody's who they are", such statements would seem to offer little evidence of an engagement with that which is *foreign* about a foreign language and culture. As intercultural educators taking a broad interest in the experiences of Yasmina and other students of the *FIL* project, we might ask: does the sense of Lyon as, at bottom, 'a place like any other' demonstrate the kind of knowledge, interpretive skills, and critical awareness that are held as central tenets of 'mainstream' models of intercultural communicative competence in telecollaboration? Or does it (also) illustrate the "stripping" of historicity from *multiculturalism* as it is known in the United States? (Zarate, Levy, & Kramsch, 2011, p. 9).[62]

For the purpose of this chapter—that of understanding the re-figurings of distance and location in the context of telecollaborative exchange, and their consequences upon students' ability to enter into dialog with the foreign—statements such as Yasmina's and Kelly's give rise to questions that appear much simpler: in telecollaboration, is there really a Lyon, and is there a Berkeley?

VII. Discussion: Hyperreality Seen from Non-Place

In presenting the happenings of the online lessons of the *FIL* project, I have foregrounded the Berkeley students' drawings, in which they reflected upon their online experiences, and interpreted these through students' own descriptions and narrations. Doing so has firstly, I hope, exploited the power of the visual medium to show a different reality than that which can be solely narrated through language (e.g., Kress, 2003). What the drawings have revealed is, from the perspective taken here, an awareness of the different spatial realities experienced by the online language learner—that which R. Jones (2005) has termed the *attentional spaces* of mediated activity. I use these, first, to analyze geographical distance and place as they are represented in the students' online interactions and the telecollaborative medium more generally and, second, to draw inferences based on these findings about the nature of, and roadblocks to, dialogic distancing and discursive positioning as necessary elements of the foreignness of foreign language education (as discussed in Chapter 2). The findings presented herein lend themselves to a more poststructuralist interpretation of typologies of online spatiality: rather than elaborating on each of a set of discrete categories of online space and place, a focus on principles of foreignness leads to a questioning of the very conditions of possibility of such a typology itself (Crampton, 2003; Foucault, 1971).

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[62] See also the case of Gupta & Ferguson (1997a) who, in their critique of anthropological thinking that binds unitary cultures to places, contend, "'Multiculturalism' is both a feeble recognition of the fact that cultures have lost their moorings in definite places and an attempt to subsume this plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity" (p. 35).

As I attempted to show in Sections II, III, and IV, we do see evidence of the attentional spaces outlined at the beginning of the chapter: the *physical spaces*, *virtual spaces*, *relational space*, *screen space*, and *other places* common to computer-mediated communication. The drawings of Peter, Ben, Helen, and Rani (Figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, and 4.6, respectively) all depicted directly, or bore traces of, the physical spaces inhabited by the learners while they spoke to their tutors: 'stuck' in the computer lab, sitting in chairs in front of computer terminals that sat upon desks, aware of the material boundaries of the computer's screen, and looking into webcams. Ben's drawing was a particularly detailed representation of the screen space experienced by all of the students, with the rectangular windows of the computer's virtual desktop representing the videoconferencing and other applications running on the computer. Helen's drawing was probably more typical in that it showed simply the videoconferencing application, containing two nested video windows—a larger one with her tutor above, and a smaller one below with herself next to her partner Rani. Virtual spaces, meanwhile, might be seen in the 'world' of photos, blogs, depictions of vocabulary, friendship, and conversations that thematized and structured the students' online lessons with their tutors. Indeed, Dennis' drawing, introduced here for the first, time, is a particularly striking example of the collage-like juxtaposition of pedagogical themes, memorable activities, and emotions (as well as elements of the physical space and screen space) that might be called the virtual spaces of a telecollaborative exchange:
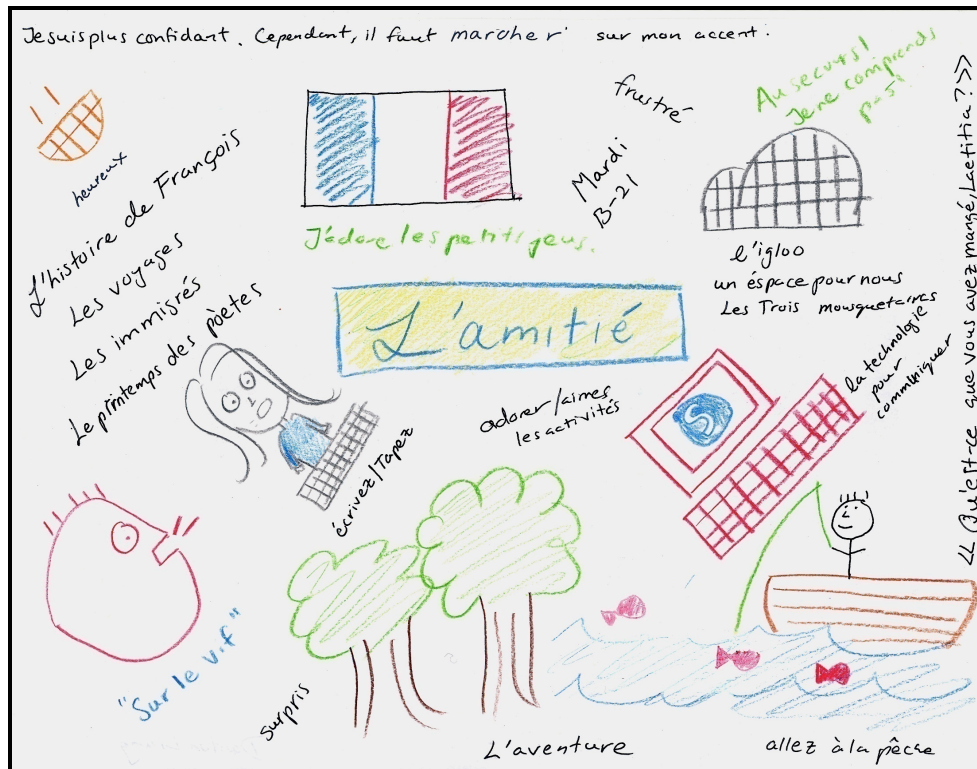

Figure 4.10—Dennis' drawing

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In Dennis' collage, showing spaces both virtual and physical, experienced and imagined, inside the language classroom and out, we might also see evidence of Nunes' (2006) reading of cyberspace in its 'second generation' as *lived space* (as opposed to being 'somewhere else' ancillary to where life is really lived), Kern's (2006) contention that the computer has become prototypically a *medium* (and not a tool or tutor) in many contexts of language learning and teaching, and Thorne's (2008) observation of the nature of online communication today as "itself the real thing—the medium through which we perform social and professional roles and through which we engage in interpersonal and informational activity" (p. 307). Dennis' emotions of happiness, frustration and surprise are interspersed with *"Mardi B-21"* (the day and place of the online lessons), the side-view student/speaker of French imagined by the French 3 textbook *Sur le vif*, a sampling of the *other places* visited in the course of the students' conversations with Laetitia (the forest, the fishing boat), the Skype icon prominently displayed on the computer screen, the central principle of *L'amitié* (friendship),[63] and— of crucial concern to me in this chapter—both the French national flag and, in the upper-right portion of the picture, *l'igloo: un éspace pour nous, Les Trois Mousquetaires"* (the igloo: a space for us, The Three Musketeers).

In their final interview, Dennis and his partner Louise explained the significance of this imaginary place, salient enough in his memories of the online lessons with Laetitia for him to have included it in his drawing:

Dennis:	So the igloo, I think, it was, um (.5) what, what Laetitia called a "space for us", or like (.5)
Louise:	((romantically)) A home.
Dennis:	A home.
Louise:	I don't know why an igloo ((laughs))
Dennis:	So:: what is—how did that play out in terms of your actual (.5) interactions? I mean, what was the igloo? (.5)
Louise:	Nothing
Dennis:	Oh she never mentioned the igloo ((inaudible))
Louise:	She never mentioned—it was just like ((starts laughing))
Dennis:	But it was mentioned on the blog (.5) like, maybe she called her blog the igloo.

The igloo did figure on their tutor Laetitia's blog, as a metaphorical 'resting home' for the students on the long educational journeys she imagined for them within "the country of the French language" (*le Pays de la langue française*).[64] One question to

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[63] The notion of "relational spaces" as defined by R. Jones (2005) is more difficult than the others to be read in drawings, but might be typified by Dennis' *"L'amitié"*: here the value of understanding students' drawings as only one element in their more expansive (verbal and visual, narrated and depicted) representations of their online experiences. Dennis and his partner Louise both identified their tutor Laetitia primarily as a "friend" rather than a "tutor" or "teacher" during their interview.

[64] In a longer post addressed primarily to Louise, Laetitia had written, "Dennis a réussi à bien s'installer, il s'est même construit un petit blog (une sorte d'igloo chauffé "à la parole", plus tu parles en français, plus il

be raised here, then, is what is the nature of Dennis' experience of spaces in interaction with his tutor and partner—online and within their respective material and institutional contexts—that might have allowed the French flag and *l'igloo* to appear together? And, by extension, how might understanding these particular relationships help us to comprehend other students' experiences of Lyon, as the geographically and historically situated place of the tutors in relation to, variously, the imagined cafe setting mentioned by Juan and others, Yasmina's anthropomorphized Eiffel Tower, or Kelly's beachfront highway in *Frenchland*?

On one hand, of course, one might remark that these are just quick drawings that do not do justice to the richness or truth of the students' experiences, or to the nature of the 'content' of their learning with their French tutors; in this regard, the warning of Lefebvre (1991) about the duplicity of maps, plans, drawings and other representations of space with respect to lived practice seems to hold for participants' own representations. He writes, "Like all social practice, spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized; but the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life, and so does very little justice to the 'unconscious level of lived experience per se" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 34).

On the other hand, in the terms of the attentional spaces I have used here as an analytic framework, we see that students' experiences in the virtual and screen spaces of the computer are most salient, whether expressed implicitly, or explicitly--as in Ben's statement that "the tutor was in the screen; I never tried to picture her where she would actually be in reality", and Elizabeth's that "You're not going to France. You're going to the computer". Helen's drawing of the computer monitor, for instance, shows the tutor's face inside the Skype window, a striking example of the presence of the tutors on the screen, regardless of whether or how they were understood to be in a *physical space* (the computer lab on 'the other side') or in an *other place* (the university or city of Lyon, for example). Indeed, it is striking that, in both Helen's and her partner Rani's drawings, their tutor Jacqueline ('in Lyon') is shown without a headset on, while headsets figure prominently in their depictions of Helen and Rani themselves ('in Berkeley'). In these moments of drawing, at least, Jacqueline's presence on the screen appeared to be paramount, and not her embodied presence in the lab, on the campus, in the university, or in the city 'on the other side'.

The experiences of the Berkeley students online appear to support Nunes' (2006) statement on the reflexive and constitutive nature of *cyberspace* with respect to established notions and typologies of spatiality. He writes, "[Cyberspace] brings to the foreground both our assumptions about the nature of space and the ways in which our everyday experiences of space undermine these same assumptions" (p. xx). In this sense, the beachside *Frenchland* landscape with the carful of students getting their French language skills (the car) 'refueled' by the tutors in Kelly's drawing depicts a virtual space that was as much a grounding reality for the students' interactions as any physical space. Indeed, such experiences call into question the very distinction between virtuality and physicality with respect to notions of place in telecollaboration: whether or not Lyon was

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fait chaud !!), pour communiquer avec laetitia, sa tutrice!" (Dennis was able to set himself up well. He even built a small blog (a sort of igloo heated "by speech", the more French you speak, the hotter it gets!!) to communicate with his tutor Laetitia!).

'really' near the beach, as Kelly asked her interviewers in an after-the-fact manner, was less salient in her representation of her tutorial experience than its serving as a metaphorical vehicle for her feeling of having been 'replenished' somewhere away from the French classroom at Berkeley. Similarly, in Yasmina's anthropomorphized Eiffel Towers, photos of Lyon, Martinique, and other prototypically 'French' locales we saw her conclude that, in the end, "people are people" and "everybody's who they are".

Here I contend that theorists and practitioners of telecollaboration might benefit from consideration of an alternate conception of spatial relationships, one that sees networked *topologies* as much as it does typologies of spaces held apart by the "metric of distance" (Borgmann, 2011). Specifically, I raise the question of whether drawings such as those by Kelly and Dennis might show that the geographic distance and physical places that are nominally understood to undergird the *tele-* of telecollaboration might be prey to the logic of what Baudrillard, in typically dramatic fashion, terms the "specter raised by simulation: namely that truth, reference and objective causes have ceased to exist" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 6). Without contextualization in the lessons given to the students, and yet ever available as symbolic resources to signal the *trans-Atlantic* character of the *F1L* project, French flags, maps of France, and images of Lyon's own cultural landmarks might contribute to a *hyperreality* of telecollaboration—the iconic re-creation of historically and culturally significant events, objects and places such that the copy is taken to be more real than the original (Eco, 1986). Indeed, Kramsch, drawing on the work of Turkle (1995) and Murray (1997) on authorship and identity work online, sounds such a warning with respect to the foreign language learner online. She writes, "electronic technology not only represents reality, it manipulates, re-orients, transforms reality into a hyperreality that is in fact a simulacrum, co-constructed by multiple users. This simulacrum risks being substituted for reality" (Kramsch 2009b, p. 177).

From the perspective of intercultural dialogue (as developed in Chapter 2), in which the places invoked in the foreign language are a vital part of the "particular background reality" that is "reestablished on a daily basis" (MLA, 2007, p. 5), one risk of telecollaborative partnerships might be that foreign countries, regions, cities, districts, and even neighborhoods might lose their power to situate their speakers. In writings on the hyperreality of place, the analogy made perhaps most often is none other than Disneyland[65]—what Baudrillard (2001, p. 174) terms "a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulation" Baudrillard, 2001, p. 174). While such an analogy might be extreme in the case of cities like Berkeley and Lyon (and while the *F1L* lessons were not *about* place per se), the visual and verbal representations of the Berkeley student participants do, I suggest, raise the question of whether the these cities fulfill a Disneyland-like function: "to supply a 'sign' that will then be forgotten as such... to abolish the distinction of the reference, the mechanism of replacement" (Eco, 1986, p. 7).

Of course, such an interpretation with respect to the data presented in this chapter might be extreme if it were not to speak meaningfully to the question of the nature of the *physical spaces* in which online language learners are located. Here again, Baudrillard's central purpose in discussing simulation through the example of Disneyland is instructive: his argument is that, beyond allowing its visitors to revel in the fantasylands

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[65] See, for example, Huxtable (1997).

and 'real America' (Main Street U.S.A.) that have been recreated in miniature form inside the park's boundaries, Disneyland exists in order to conceal the essentially simulational nature of the entire country. Baudrillard explains, "Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation" (Baudrillard, 2001, p. 175). In fact, in Section I of Chapter 5, I present an extract from an interaction among Kelly, her Berkeley partner Eduardo and their tutor Amandine in order to demonstrate that the geography of Berkeley's own campus appears to have succumbed to this logic of simulation, in the context of an 'authentic' communicative task.

In the present chapter, the statements of the students about the very space of the language laboratory as an "old lady's basement" and its seeming *irrelevance* to the content and form of the students' online interactions (it was a place to be left behind), bespeak the role of *non-places* (Augé, 1995) in fostering the simulational virtualization of what we have unproblematically called *other places*--the 'real', geographically extensive, situated and unique locales of the world--and, in the process, rendering inconsequential *learners' and teachers' own bodies* (see next chapter). Marc Augé, an anthropologist of "supermodernity" (the "acceleration or enhancement of the determining constituents of modernity", characterized by "a triple excess (of information, images and individuality)", Augé, 1996, p. 177), theorizes the often media-saturated spaces of freeways, chain stores, and airport lounges as the antithesis of anthropological place. Echoing the arguments of Virilio (1991) about the social effects of a media-induced temporal compression, he writes,

> Non-places are the contemporary spaces where supermodernity can be found, in conflict with identity, relationship and history. They are the spaces of circulation, communication and consumption, where solitudes coexist without creating any social bond or even a social emotion (Augé, 1996, p. 178).

Such lack of social bond or even "social emotion" was evidenced in partnerships like (student) Ben's and (tutor) Weiyun's. Recall that Ben had described his tutor as "in the screen" and not "in Lyon"; he had said, "I never tried to picture her where she would actually be in reality. She was just in a room somewhere. She could've been down the hall, for all I knew. Because...there wasn't like a French feel, physically". In online lessons that he characterized as beset by technical problems, focused on decontextualized tasks, and on the whole "stressful and frustrating", Ben was in a sense unable to escape his own self-awareness. Unable to see more than his tutor's forehead or to differentiate her voice from the background buzz of the audio connection ("her voice was very flat and soft, not a lot of emphasis on anything"), Ben was mostly aware of his own discomfort in front of the screen: "I would say that the interaction was all focused on my own senses-- what I was seeing, what I was hearing".

Even in 'successful' cases of telecollaborative partnership, however, we might question the degree to which students were able to enter into relation with their tutors as intercultural others (in Buber's terms; see Chapter 2, Section V) or to achieve the outsideness of dialogue (as described by Bakhtin). Yasmina, for instance, described

improvements in her vocabulary and pronunciation, reported bragging about the opportunity to learn online to her friends at Berkeley, and said she felt "really happy" at the end of the seven-week program--a fact evidenced as well by her self-depiction as a smiling Eiffel Tower. At the same time, she said she had no intention of staying in touch with her tutor Darasy as several of her classmates had with theirs, and described her inability to overcome her own reservations about using the "*tu*" address form as evidence of the distanced "acquaintance"-style relationship she felt with her tutor. In fact, while her awareness of ethnic and cultural heterogeneity (noting, for instance, her tutor's Cambodian background and her own Guatemalan heritage) had led her to assert that "everybody's who they are" and "people are people", this also appeared to substantively impede her from becoming 'friends' with Darasy: the French use of *vous* as a formal address term coincided with the Spanish *usted* that, for her, marked the "respect" accorded to one's parents and other family members, but which was unsuitable for 'friends'. She had said,

> I kept using *vous*, and then every now and then I'd forget and I'd say *tu*, you know, and I thought that was pretty cool, I was like wow! Because you know I'm very strict about it, you know, with my background, even in English, it feels weird saying "you" because there's no alternative, you know?

Asserting that Yasmina both felt "distant" from Darasy and that she appeared unable to enter into "distanced" dialogic relations may seem contradictory. Yet her inability (or lack of desire) to broach a topic which was apparently the source of internal tension and, seemingly, rich educational potential (that is, students' and tutors' own positionalities with respect to ethnic and cultural diversity in France and the U.S., for example) appears to bespeak a difficulty in addressing Darasy from an outside subject position—precisely what is necessary, in Bakhtin's view, to engage her subjectivity (Emerson, 1997). Instead, we witness Darasy herself as the stable "mama" Eiffel Tower (Yasmina's words), literally assimilated with the iconic French landscape.

If, as I am arguing, the language lab setting behaves as much as a *non-place* as it does a "physical space", and the "other places" of the telecollaborative language lesson (the geographical sites understood to lie *at a distance* from the foreign language classroom as the site of learning) tend toward hyperreality as much as reality, there are important consequences for the ability of language learners to realize the productive value of foreignness as distance, outsideness, and reflexive awareness in dialogic relation to others: Metaphorically, there may be common ground *between* student and teacher (or tutor and tutee, or transatlantic 'friends'), but it is a ground whose very substance has been transformed, with its ability to afford distance between speaking positions replaced (to a degree, at least) by its affordance of a second-order, mythical *sense* of distance (see Barthes, 1972).

In the end, I suggest that the metaphor of a ground with little depth or width may be productive for exploring another, *corporeal* consequence of investigating foreign language study in non-places. For while Augé argues that "frequentation of non-places today provides an experience—without real historical precedent—of solitary individuality with non-human mediation" (Augé, 1995, p. 117), clearly it is the human

embodiment of the learners and tutors themselves--their faces, voices, and bodies--that are themselves visually and aurally mediated in desktop videoconferencing. In Chapter 5, then, we turn to the question of bodies in dialogue.

CHAPTER 5

ON THE (IM)POSSIBILITY OF SEEING THE OTHER ONLINE: VIDEOCONFERENCING, EMBODIMENT, AND DIALOGUE IN TELECOLLABORATION

I. Introduction: Bodies in Telecollaborative Hyperreality

Overview

And yet, if one considers that the image of the mirror resides for us in an inaccessible space, and that we will never be able to be where our corpse will be; if one thinks that the mirror and the corpse are themselves in an invincible elsewhere, then one discovers that only utopias can close in on themselves, and hide, for an instant, the profound and sovereign utopia of the body (Foucault, 2006, p. 233).

In the last chapter I argued that foreign language learners and their tutors in the *Français en (première) ligne* (*F1L*) telecollaborative partnership may have had difficulty approaching the foreignness of their others in dialogue due to the hyperreal nature of distance and place online. Touted as a trans-Atlantic cross-cultural exchange, a class project in which participants sat in front of computer terminals interacting with their partners' on-screen likenesses saw the conversion of its material laboratory settings into *non-places* (Augé, 1995) and decontextualization of foreign places according to a logic of simulation (Baudrillard, 1991; Eco, 1986).

Following this discussion of distance and place, in this chapter I raise a different question about the ontological underpinnings of the telecollaborative exchange with direct bearing on the learner's ability to partake in relations of foreignness through dialogue (Chapter 2), this time with an eye to that which is visible directly through the medium of the *Le français en (première) ligne* (F1L) project: the language learners' and teachers' own bodies. Herein, I subject to analysis an interaction between two Berkeley students and their tutor in Lyon—one that demonstrates the conditions for the creation of hyperreality of place—for what it reveals about the nature of telecollaborative bodies in interaction. In particular, this exchange is interrogated with respect to the *embodiment and wholeness* of the language learner, both crucial elements to the notion of dialogue that defines, in large part, the productive and necessary *foreignness* of foreign language education (refer to research questions, Chapter 3, Section I).

On the Place of the Body Online, in the Classroom

Like other online intercultural language learning projects that utilize desktop videoconferencing (e.g., Hampel & Baber, 2003; Jauregi & Bañados, 2008; Lee, 2007),[66] *F1L* is premised upon tutors' and language learners' ability to not only read each other's written words and exchange media asynchronously, or even just to engage in synchronous voice interactions (as in Hampel & Hauck, 2004), but to *see* each other's expressions, gestures, and other movement in interactions that must be described as both *online* and *face-to-face*.[67] Develotte, Guichon and Kern (2008), in an overview of the pedagogical characteristics of the F1L project's multimodal, synchronous communications environment, point to the real-time negotiation of linguistic meaning, the availability of paralinguistic cues, the potential reduction of anxiety, and the heightening of a sense of community as potential affordances of the videoconferencing medium (p. 133-4)—all enabled by the fact of two or more interlocutors' visual and aural co-presence via camera, microphone, screen and headsets. Indeed, "webcamming" as such is identified by Develotte, Guichon, and Vincent (2010) as a discrete and multi-aspectual teaching skill for online language instructors, with implications primarily for the socio-affective and interpersonal dimensions of language learning. Findings such as these with respect to the Lyon-Berkeley *F1L* project would appear to corroborate O'Dowd's statement of the holistic benefits of telecollaborative videoconferencing as a medium that approaches the reality of embodied interaction: "The contribution of visual images to online communication and the immediacy of 'live' face-to-face interaction seem to offer a much more authentic and personal side to long-distance telecollaboration" (O'Dowd, 2006, p. 92-3).

However, underrepresented in the literature on telecollaborative and internet-mediated intercultural language learning, and the goal of this chapter, is a critical interrogation of the language learner's own *embodiment*, the consequences of which are alluded to in Ess' (2009) critique of culture and the individual in online learning: "we come to know the Other as a complete human being only by experiencing one another as embodied human beings who are members of specific communities, marked by specific cultures and subcultures, etc." (p. 28). Hauck (e.g., 2007, 2010), as well, hints at the significance of embodiment—or its apparent absence—in online exchanges in her analyses of students' experience in synchronous audio telecollaborative exchanges: "[W]hile participants in online language learning may experience a 'loss of embodiment', this is—at times—perceived as an advantage as it allows learners to remain 'incognito'

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[66] See the discussion of these texts with respect to the supposed transparency of the computer interface in Chapter 6, Section II.

[67] Chen and Wang (2008) distinguish between physically co-present "face-to-face" and "cyber face-to-face" of the videoconferencing and synchronous learning management systems (SLMSs) that they study. They write that interaction in such environments "resembles most closely but is significantly different from face-to-face interaction in the traditional classroom. Thus the concept of "*cyber face-to-face*" interaction is used here to denote the differences" (p. 97). While they argue that Ellis' (2005) ten principles of instructed language learning in accordance with the Interaction Hypothesis of Michael Long and others (e.g. M. Long, 1996) can be followed online albeit in a different manner than in the traditional classroom, the authors limit their discussion to the students' and teachers' use of the various features of the SLMS platform that they study.

and to speak more freely" (citing Hauck & Hurd, 2005, n.p.). Technological mediation, it would seem, is poised to expose through its transformations of place, time, and material resources the bodily inscriptions and enactments (e.g., Foucault, 1977) that are, from a critical social perspective, in large part constitutive of language (and literacy) education. In a passage arguably as relevant to the online classroom as it is for the 'traditional' brick-and-mortar classrooms he analyzes, Luke writes, "the discourses of pedagogy are built around claims about 'truth' and the 'real' which in turn are transformed and rearticulated in the multiplicity of material practices deployed in the site of the classroom" (Luke, 1992, p. 115).

Yet, even where literature on telecollaboration includes the bodies of learners and teachers on the screen, we must ask how it treats those very bodies as they are seated in front of computer terminals (at school or elsewhere) or, as is increasingly the case, as they manipulate language learning applications on mobile handheld devices in *other places* (for a slightly dated but broad review of mobile assisted language learning, see Chinnery, 2006). Again, Luke's observation about a tendency to overlook the role of the body in earlier classroom-based research seems apt today: "By stressing the heard (voice), the seen (text), and the unseen (mind), by readily explaining ethnographic and linguistic evidence via psychological metanarrative, much interactionist classroom research has participated, however tacitly, in that exclusion" (Luke, 1992, p. 124-5). In this light, even researchers of online and distance language learning like Hauck, who aims to understand intercultural communicative competence in relation to a "multimodal communicative competence" that takes into consideration the physical setting and contextual factors such as gestures and gaze (Hauck, 2010, p. 229), appear to focus more on learners' and teachers' engagement with on-screen content, and less on the bearing of learners' and teachers' bodies with respect to those screens. In the context of the F1L project itself, the concept of "webcamming" (Develotte, Guichon, & Vincent 2010) is organized around the primacy of "the webcam image" with its "crucial semiotic importance as a component to speech" and multimodal potential as a "facilitator of comprehension" (p. 294)—a formulation that has images structuring the behavior of embodied language teachers, and not the other way around.

The question of how language learners' and teachers' bodies become images for their intercultural others (and the related question of what may be lost or changed in the process) must be answered with respect to the innovation that 'webcamming' seems to offer in online communications. Following the development of computer technologies and increasing capacities for networked data transmission in previous decades, such communications have understandably been more text-based than voice, image, or video-based, and thus less able to directly convey aspects of computer users' embodied presence. Such limitations converged with early visions of cyberspace in areas such as "cyberpunk" fiction (inaugurated by William Gibson's 1984 *Neuromancer*), where the body was regarded as the all-too-human 'meat' that could only be left behind with one's entry into the virtual reality of cyberspace; this vision came to be enshrined in volumes of literature on cyberspace, virtual reality and telepresence in the later 1980s and 1990s (for reviews and discussions of this phenomenon see, for example, Benedikt, 1991; Lombard & Ditton, 1997; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Rheingold, 1991). Sherry Turkle's (1995) investigation of identity on the internet is one such outcome of this techno-social reality:

still widely cited and critiqued for demonstrating the liberatory potential of identity play on text-based bulletin boards and Multi-User Dungeons (MUDs), Turkle wrote, for example, that "one's body is represented by one's own textual description, so the obese can be slender, the beautiful plain, the 'nerdy' sophisticated" (p. 12).

Even though earlier contentions about the lack of a need to "warrant" one's online persona with an actual-world physical body (see, for example, Stone, 1991) have been challenged in studies of gender, race, and other 'identity markers' as they condition, enable, or silence all manners of online presence (e.g., Haraway, 1991, Nakamura, 2002), contingent performances of identity online arguably continue to define "the quality of being real" (Donath, 2001, p. 311) even into the 2010s. The conferring of the Loebner Prize in the annual Turing Test, discussed in Christian's (2011) book *The most human human*, is but one example of this. To the degree that disembodied interaction, normatively via written language, is held to be a 'proving ground' for not just the humanity of computers but humans themselves, the computer user's whole body risks being left behind. In this light, it is perhaps ironic that a warning against theorizing human thought separately from the whole person comes from none other than Noam Chomsky, whose abstracted notion of linguistic competence has been critiqued for decades by scholars of language and society for, among other things, *its* removal of the speaker's body. Pointing out the fact that Alan Turing himself immediately brushed aside the very question, "Can machines think?" (Turing, 1950), Chomsky writes, "we may say that people think, not their brains, though their brains provide the mechanisms of thought. As noted, it is a great leap, which often gives rise to pointless questions, to pass from common sense intentional attributions to people, to such attributions to parts of people, and then to other objects" (Chomsky, 2004, p. 320).

A Telecollaborative Dilemma: Can the "Full Difference of the Other" be Seen on a Screen?

Amidst the trends outlined above, the medium of desktop videoconferencing would seem to have succeeded in "reconstructing the body for online interaction" (Canny & Paulos, 2000) by integrating participants' real-time linguistic behaviors (speech and writing) with their accompanying movements, gestures, and expressions and, simultaneously, revealing their vocal and visual identities. With the foregrounded mediation of learners' embodiment via desktop videoconferencing, then, we might ask ourselves what remains of Ess' (2009) critique of what (he argues) has heretofore been *lacking* in computer-mediated communication—"[coming] to know the Other as a complete human being only by experiencing one another as embodied human beings who are members of specific communities, marked by specific cultures and subcultures, etc." (p. 28). Ess, known for his research on ethics and communications technologies (and for redubbing CMC "*computer-mediated colonization*") presents an extended critique of online interactions for "eliminating the irreducible differences that define the Other as radically distinct from oneself" (Ess 2009, p. 27; see also Ess, 2002)—a conception that, we will see in the next section, resonates with the *dialogic* principle of wholeness of person consonant with the views of Bakhtin and Buber (Chapter 2). Here I present Ess'

concerns at length, for comparison with the particular forms of embodiment via desktop videoconferencing:

> Our encounters with one another online—at least with current technologies and applications—often miss much of the elements of our face-to-face encounters with one another that most powerfully convey our irreducible differences from one another. That is, in our offline encounters with one another as embodied beings, the full difference of the Other is on display, so to speak, for example, through dress, actions, voice, gesture and the whole suite of behaviours that both define much of our sense of who we are--and at the same time are culturally relative. But many, sometimes most, of these elements are eliminated in the online context, making it easy to presume that 'the Other' is indeed more or less just like us, and hence we need not worry about ethnocentrism and its attendant dangers (Ess, 2009, p. 28).

As demonstrated in the data analyzed previously (Chapter 4), and in those presented in the current chapter, "the full difference of the Other" does appear to be on display in the videoconferencing exchange: dress, actions, voice, gesture and other behaviors are visible in the unfolding of interaction online. This display before the other may in fact be what prompted the students in Hauck and Hurd's (2005) study to say they preferred audio to video conferencing, because they were able "to remain 'incognito' and to speak more freely" (cited above); it may present the greatest challenge yet to Dreyfus' (2001) famous contention that the horizontal organization and disembodied, anonymous participation structure of the internet lead to a loss of vulnerability and responsibility on the part of its users, and, thus, to a loss of their abilities to make meaning and learn. Certainly, if, as Crampton (2003) suggests, the impossibility of simply being an authentic, real self online led to a complex of practices of textual *confession*, or "authentication procedures" (such as choosing appropriate usernames, entering passwords, filling out personal profile information, introducing oneself in a chatroom), then videoconferencing may have restored to one's face and body the act of "*confession [that] produces a truth which authorizes one's being*" (p. 80; italics in original).

Language learners and tutors, in this view, may be seen as who they are by virtue of their visibility on the screen. Yet, as I attempt to show with respect to the Berkeley student participants in *F1L*, one's body on-screen may not be one's own.

II. Moving Away From the Body, or Moving From the Body?: Views on Embodiment from Foucault and Merleau-Ponty

I opened this chapter with a quote from philosopher Michel Foucault's 1966 radio address, "Le corps utopique" (*The utopian body*) because, similarly, it narrates a sort of restoration of the body, albeit of a different sort than the return of the face and body to the screens of CMC in desktop videoconferencing outlined at the end of Section I. In this section, I read his essay in tandem with perspectives from phenomenologist Maurice

Merleau-Ponty, finding in the juxtaposition of the two a way to give flesh to the research questions that drive this chapter: "What is the nature of the language learner's body online, and of the bodies of intercultural others? Does one need a body to be foreign?" (see Chapter 3, Section I). In particular, notions such as embodied posturing, extension, and movement bring nuance to the notion of "wholeness of person" as introduced in Chapter 2, and discussed further in the next section.

Foucault's short meditation begins with an observation of the body's negation in the utopia, similar in a sense to the cyberpunk vision of the body as meat: the body is blemished, ugly, clumsy, the inescapable prison that people nonetheless yearn to escape; it is that in virtue of which utopias must have come to exist. Foucault writes,

> The prestige of utopia—to what does utopia owe its beauty, its marvel? Utopia is a place outside all places, but it is a place where I will have a body without body, a body that will be beautiful, limpid, transparent, luminous, speedy, colossal in its power, infinite in its duration. Untethered, invisible, protected—always transfigured. It may very well be that the first utopia, the one most deeply rooted in the hearts of men, is precisely the utopia of an incorporeal body (Foucault, 2006, p. 229).

Gradually, however, Foucault comes to recognize the fact that even his own body has its 'other places'—it conceals mysterious spots beyond reach and beyond vision, has both depth and thickness and draws upon, as Foucault says, "its own phantasmagoric resources" (Foucault, 2006, p. 230). He reverses the position with which he started his address (that utopias constituted an escape from, and thus a denial of, the body); rather, he argues, the body must be the source of all utopias. Foucault explains, "All those utopias by which I evaded my body—well they had, quite simply, their model and their first application, they had their place of origin, in my body itself" (p. 231).

In fact, Foucault argues, the makeup that people apply, the masks they don, the tattoos they get, the clothes they wear, and even *their own flesh* leads toward and folds into other places, "let[ting] the utopias sealed in the body blossom into sensible and colorful form" (Foucault, 2006, p. 232). He illustrates this conception of the *body-in-transition* through the example of the dancer, of whom he asks: "After all, isn't the body of the dancer precisely a body dilated along an entire space that is both exterior and interior to it?" (p. 232). The body, in the end, is perceptible in its totality only in the mirror and as a corpse—both of which are 'places' that people, alive and in their own bodies, can never go (p. 233).[68]

In practice, the notion of a body as "dilated along an entire space that is both exterior and interior to it" is one that might be more typically ascribed to Maurice Merleau-Ponty, a figure that new media theorist Mark Hansen (2006) has described as "the phenomenologist most committed to the ontological dimension of (human) embodiment" (p. 21), rather than a thinker famously known for his views of the body as the quintessential site for socio-political observation, pacification, and discipline (e.g.,

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[68] To this short list we might venture to add the computer screen of the webcamming language learner and teacher, as it shows the likenesses of oneself along with the other, moving in real time on the surface of the screen. This idea is developed below and in later sections.

Foucault 1977). However, as Crossley (1996) has argued, the popular dichotomy drawn between Merleau-Ponty's theorized body as 'lived and active' and Foucault's as 'acted upon' may be more the result of the two thinkers' divergence in basic theoretical interest and scales of analysis. He notes, "while Merleau-Ponty understands historical behaviours or habits in terms of their existential functions, as ways of being-in-the-world, Foucault understands them in terms of their political history and functions" (Crossley, 1996, p. 102). Both, however, view the body—and not "ideology", "culture", or "social structure" in the abstract—as the focal location for understanding social phenomena; both understand the body as not just reactive or reflective but formative of social structure and meaning; and both see the body as the site of incorporated history (Crossley, 1996).

However, because he focuses his analyses on the here and now of embodied action, linking perception to behavior and knowledge, Merleau-Ponty's thought is of particular value to those investigating the paradoxical situation of bodies online (Hansen 2006 and Kozel 2007 are two examples taken up in this dissertation), as he challenges his reader to see *all* action as embodied: "The body is the vehicle of being in the world, and having a body is, for a living creature, to be intervolved in a definite environment, to identify oneself with certain projects and be continually committed to them" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 82). If, as Hanks observed with respect to the thought of Merleau-Ponty, the body "is a ground, or to use the phenomenological term, a 'horizon,' relative to which other objects and spatial relations are grasped" (Hanks, 1999, p. 21), then the body's very ability to *ground* relations with (for example) telecollaborative partners on the computer screen becomes particularly problematic.

From the perspective of Merleau-Ponty, the (prototypically) seated computer user, interacting with textual and graphic representations on a two-dimensional screen, presents a foundational dilemma for bodies whose fundamental modality of being-in-the-world is *being in motion.* As Merleau-Ponty writes, "Our bodily experience of movement is not a particular case of knowledge; it provides us with a way of access to the world and the object, with a 'praktognosia', which has to be recognized as original and perhaps as primary" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 162). The mutual 'folding' of body into the world, and the 'reaching out' of the world toward the body, are perhaps most precisely expressed in the notion of the "corporeal schema", the systematic awareness of one's body in interrelation with the environment. Again, Merleau-Ponty's words are instructive: "The consciousness I have of my body is not the consciousness of an isolated mass; it is a *postural schema*. It is the perception of my body's position in relation to the vertical, the horizontal, and certain other axes of important co-ordinates of its environment" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p. 117). While this formulation does not solve the question of where or how language learners and others go when they *go online*, it does suggest that actions taken in videoconferencing interactions have as one foundation the postural schemas of learners moving (virtually) from their particular material and cultural locations (in the university, in the classroom, in the chair at the table). As in Merleau-Ponty's famous 'prosthetic' example of the cane extending a man's *reach* (a notion that sees no fundamental distinction between the flesh and wood of an arm), the keyboards, monitors, and computer laboratories on the UC Berkeley and Lyon 2 campuses can be understood as dynamic participants in embodied activity, potentially extending and transforming the 'reach' of language learners and tutors in ways yet to be explored.

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Merleau-Ponty would likely agree with Foucault that one's corpse would stand as an exception to the rule that people cannot perceive themselves in totality, because the nature of the body as an object from which one moves (as an object that *one moves with*) is fundamentally different from other objects and people of the world. However, he would likely disagree with Foucault that perceiving one's mirror image constitutes a second exception to this rule. The *arrest* of movement involved with catching sight of one's own 'double' in the videoconferencing inset window—and in one's earphones, as one's voice echoes back to oneself—is a finding of this chapter and explored more fully in Chapter 6. For now, however, we take from Foucault the notion that an individual's 'whole body' might both conceal unknown places to oneself, and the premise that it might extend significantly beyond the bounds of one's own skin, *incorporating* oneself with outside objects and other bodies through the medium of the computer.

In light of these observations, and considering the experiences of the UC Berkeley students and their tutors in Lyon (as revealed in their verbal and visual statements about their online lessons, and in the videoconferencing data itself) we will find that the notion of the *whole body in telecollaboration* is a challenging one indeed. In the pages that follow, the language learner's body is shown to be not only arrested in place, but also taken apart along visual and aural modalities, a situation that raises problems of re-aggregation and synthesis. However, in order to contain our evolving notion of the body that we have seen dilating, extending, and folding into its surroundings, we first return to the thought of Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin. Together, they demonstrate that, after all and especially online, wholeness of person is a crucial precondition of *dialogue* and thus, from the perspective taken in this dissertation, of *foreignness* itself.

III. Buber and Bakhtin on Wholeness in Dialogue, Bodies in Place

As I argued in Chapter 2, both Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin considered the wholeness of the self and other to be fundamental to one's ability to enter into dialogic relations. Importantly, this wholeness is guaranteed by bodies that are perceptible in relation to one's own and the locus of the utterance in speech, gesture, and other modalities. And, as we will see in this chapter's sections to follow, attaining (and maintaining) wholeness of person is precisely the difficulty for the Berkeley student participants in the *français en (première) ligne* project.

In his discussion of I and Thou relations, Buber raises an important point about the relationship between the body and the *being* of the individual who is capable of moving between *I-Thou* and *I-It* relations: on one hand, the body, in the material facts of its fleshy form, its motility, its locus as the center of sensory perception, etc., is necessary for being in the world and in dialogic relation with others. On the other, the body as such is not coextensive with the temporal and spatial boundaries of one's dialogic *being* in the world. In describing the emergence of the "I" in the life of the individual, Buber writes, "[the longing for the Thou] reaches out from the undivided primal world which precedes form, out of which the bodily individual who is born into the world, but not yet the personal, actualised being, has fully emerged" (Buber, 1958, p. 28). Here we see that

"personalization" and "actualization" are not outcomes of having a body per se; rather, "only gradually, by entering into relations, is the latter to develop out of this primal world" (p. 28). Personalization and actualization are, however, only possible when the objective boundaries of the body have been established; the state of movement between *I-It* relations and *I-Thou* relations that is for Buber the "swinging of the *I* in its lonely truth" (Buber, 1958, p. 63) and the foundation of human subjectivity is predicated on the ability to engage with others as discrete entities (a relation of thirdness, in the terms of C.S. Peirce (Chapter 2), only to temporarily transgress the subject-object boundaries to enter into the expansive present of *I-Thou* relations (a relation of firstness, immediacy, and non-duality). Body-ness, then, can be seen from this perspective as a passing into and out of objecthood, both a setting-forth and a transgression of borders that together enable a life in dialogue.[69]

Bakhtin, as well, offers insights into the importance of the body as a fundamental unit in his vision of social heteroglossia (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981, p. 264), a concept referring to the condition of polyvocality in both human society and language itself. The body is a necessary precondition for positions of *outsideness* to obtain in dialogue, since, according to the 'law of placement' that Holquist (2002) identifies in Bakhtin's thought, "everything is perceived from a unique position in existence; its corollary is that the meaning of whatever is observed is shaped by the place from which it is perceived" (p. 21). Indeed, as the "I" of Buber's thought demonstrates the centeredness of the place from which one speaks in dialogue, Bakhtin's notion that human subjects and social voices occupy 'unique positions in existence' has significance in the asymmetry of perspectives between those in dialogue; as Bakhtin wrote (quoted earlier),

> one cannot really see one's own exterior and comprehend it as a whole, and no mirrors or photographs can help; our real exterior can be seen and understood only by other people, because they are located outside us in space and because they are *others* (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 7)

Holquist describes in detail the nature of the other when, as in Bakhtin's view, existence is seen as a unified event: "In order that the event of existence be more than a random happening, it must have meaning, and to do that it must be perceptible as a stable figure against the ground of the flux and indeterminacy of everything else" (Holquist, 2002, p. 25). In making of the other a comprehensible figure—to perceive, understand, and interact with an other—we must (says Bakhtin) assign categories to the other that

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[69] Indeed, a parallel might be drawn between this movement back and forth between body-as-object and body-as-potential and the sort of movement between the virtual and the actual that Pierre Lévy (1999) describes as *virtualization* and *actualization*. Lévy argues that "the virtual" comprises two tendencies: a "detachment from the here and now" (p. 27; a sort of deterritorialization in the manner of Deleuze and Guattari), and a "transition from interior to exterior and from exterior to interior" (p. 33). Yet his concern is not with "the virtual" per se but rather *processes* of virtualization, which he describes thus: "Virtualization can be defined as the movement of actualization in reverse. It consists in the transition from the actual to the virtual, an *exponentiation* of the entity under consideration. Virtualization is not a derealization (the transformation of a reality into a collection of possibles) but a change of identity, a displacement of the center of ontological gravity of the object considered. Rather than being defined principally through its actuality (a solution), the entity now finds its essential consistency within a problematic field" (p. 26).

allow events to be "consummated", to be completed and 'closed off' in time and space, in a way that the perceiving self cannot be (to oneself).

> When I look at you, I see your whole body, and I see it as having a definite place in the total configuration of a whole landscape. I see you as occupying a certain position *vis-a-vis* other persons and objects in the landscape (Holquist, 2002, p. 27).

The 'wholeness' of the other, her locatability (if not location) in the temporal and spatial categories employed by the speaker, and her existence in a field of social relations and objects in a shared landscape are all problematic conceptual and practical issues in the case of telecollaborative desktop videoconferencing, as they are essential to a Bakhtinian (and, I would argue, Buberian) understanding of dialogue. As I have suggested in the last section (cf. discussion of Foucault's utopian body), the body may not be just that which is present or absent in a chair, in front of the computer screen, *or* on the computer screen; rather it might be seen to implicate all of these simultaneously, in effect existing 'beyond the skin', in movement that simultaneously enacts and transgresses its own confines, both literally and figuratively. And as we will see in the next two sections, *movement* is precisely that which is so difficult for the Berkeley students Kelly and Eduardo, and for their tutor Amandine.

In closing this section, however, I suggest further that in reading Bakhtin and Buber with an eye to the 'wholeness' of other and self in dialogue, we must also consider the body as the site of the material and symbolic *voicing* of language. We might say that the body is made whole both in and by language, as the body both generates words in the course of human interaction, and gains a social existence by being called, or interpellated (Althusser, 2001[1971]) by those very words. As Buber writes,

> just as talk in a language may well first take the form of words in the brain of the man, and then sound in his throat, and yet both are merely refractions of the true event, for in actuality speech does not abide in man, but man takes his stand in speech and talks from there; so with every word and every spirit. Spirit is not in the *I*, but between *I* and *Thou* (Buber, 1958, p. 39).

Bakhtin, also, draws upon imagery of the human speech apparatus in using the concept of *voice* to mean both a unique social ideological position that finds expression in the ongoing flow of discourse, and as the very instrument of language's articulation. Indeed, the physicality of language, and its paradoxical nature as both a resource for individual expression and a cultural/historical tool that resists an individual's attempts to make it submit to one's own intents, can be seen in the body's own relation to the stuff of language, the "words and forms that can belong to 'no one'" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). Bakhtin explains,

> Not all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them

and who now speaks them; they cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it; it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294).

With respect to the dialogic views of Bakhtin and Buber on the relationship between words and the body *as they are spoken*, we may see something of philosopher Judith Butler's *excitability* of speech: the notion that speech "is always in some ways out of our control" (Butler, 1997, p. 15) due to "the simultaneity of the production and delivery of the expression" (p. 152). The body producing speech, and the speech produced, make meaning together—a layering that can create contradictions just as easily as it can amplify intended meanings. And, we must ask, if speech is acknowledged to mean more than 'merely what is said' due to the sometimes incongruous "bearing of the body as the rhetorical instrument of expression" (Butler, 1997, p. 152) in prototypically L1-L1 interactions among speakers physically co-present (audibly, visibly, tactilely proximal) to each other, then what becomes of the power of language, and the power of bodies to signify online?

IV. What is it that's Really Going on Here?: Frames Mixed up in a Telecollaborative Guessing Game

Overview of the Data

In this and the next section of this chapter, I present data from the *F1L* project that centers on an online interaction between two students, Kelly and Eduardo, and their tutor Amandine. As indicated in the previous sections, I will interpret this data for what it says about embodiment seen from a perspective of dialogic wholeness, with implications for theorizing 'bodies beyond the skin' in the foreign language classroom that find continuation in the analysis in the next chapter (Chapter 6).

A multimodal transcript of a 10-minute online activity between the students and their tutors on the first day of online tutorials in the 2008 sessions (Appendix F) showcases confusions of identity, problems with both the video and sound channels of the videoconferencing medium, and outside interventions by project research assistants. As such, it shows an interaction that is both less than ideal from a pedagogical perspective, and one which was, in that sense, typical of a project that was regularly beset with technical problems (see Chapter 3, Section III). At the same time, this particular segment of data is significant in that it offers insights into how phenomena related to embodiment may have been implicated in the construction of Lyon, Berkeley, and the other places of the project as *hyperreal* (see Chapter 4). In this exchange, a discussion of the students' Berkeley campus environment quickly becomes a place guessing game gone awry, as disappearing video feeds, echoing voices, double gazes, and hidden gestures amplify the already significant gaps in students' linguistic comprehension, rendering place doubly iconic: two postcard-ready campus locales were chosen, likely for their very suitability for such a game, and then were dropped as soon as they had fulfilled their

basic requirement demanded by such a language-learning game: quite simply, to be places. At the outset, then, the data from this chapter point back to and (attempt to) corroborate the findings of Chapter 4—this time through a turn-by-turn, micro-level analysis of spoken and visual discourse from an unfolding interaction online. In this section I give an overview of the context, highlights, and flow of the activity, focusing on the experiences of the students Kelly and Eduardo.

Participant Background: Berkeley Students Kelly and Eduardo

Kelly, a native speaker of English, reported having had little speaking experience with French prior to her online tutoring with Amandine. She had taken French in middle school for one year and for three years in high school before placing into (second semester) French 2 at UC Berkeley. Eduardo, whose first language was Spanish, said that he had no experience learning French prior to taking French 1 and 2 at Berkeley. Neither student had spent any time in a francophone country, and both expressed anxiety in an initial survey that asked them how they felt about receiving tutoring online: Eduardo wrote that he was afraid he wouldn't be able to clearly express his opinions, while Kelly said she was excited but "I think it would be less intimidating if we only instant messaged instead of webcasted but hopefully this will translate to learning faster".

As was the case with other students, Eduardo and Kelly were asked in their final interview to narrate their drawings in an effort to elicit discussion about key themes, critical experiences, and overall impressions of their online tutoring experiences. Eduardo, however, had produced less of a drawing than a simple array of words on the page. As he directed attention toward his 8 1/2" X 11" paper (Figure 5.1), he said apologetically that he had done it five minutes before classes started:
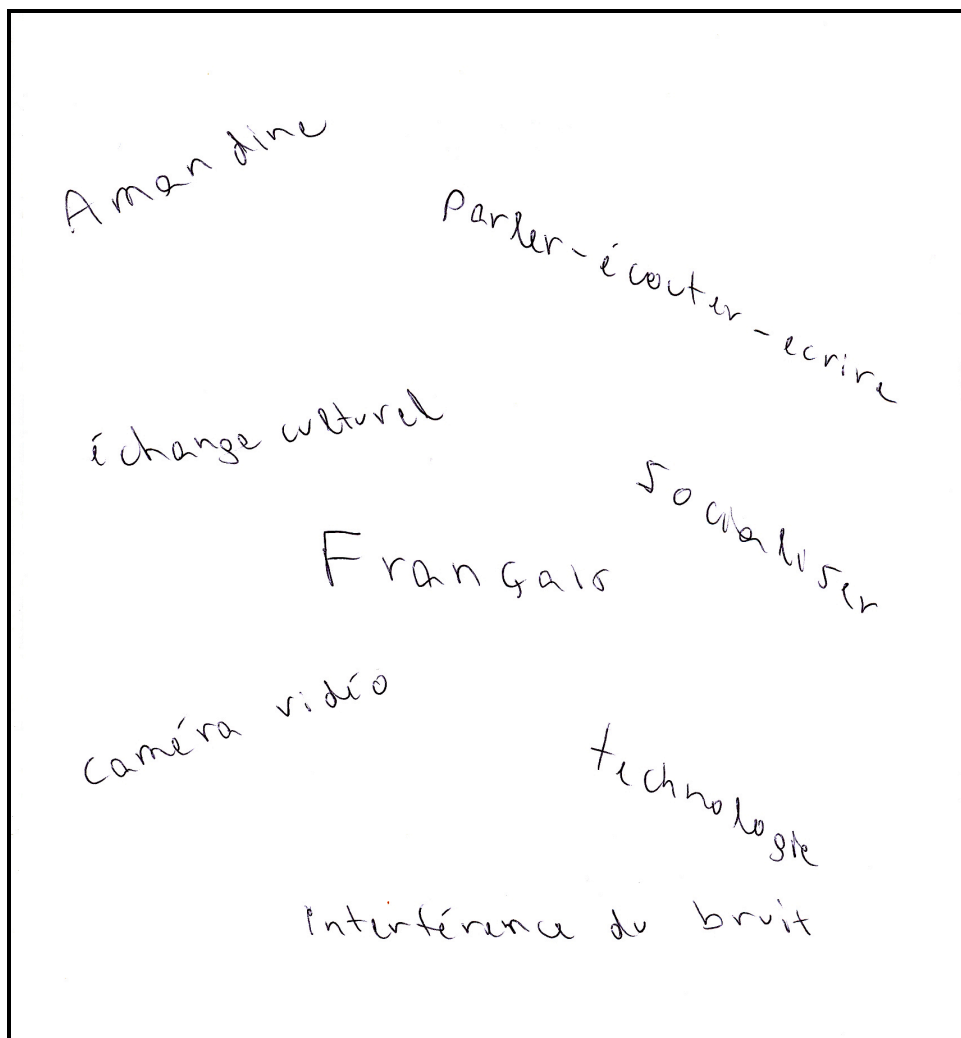
Figure 5.1—Eduardo's drawing

Discussion about "Amandine" centered on the fact of the students' being randomly assigned to their tutor and the relative fixity of seating in the computer lab as opposed to the traditional classroom; both students recognized "interférence du bruit" (*noise interference*) as a salient aspect of their experience online with their tutor. Eduardo's sequence "parler-écouter-ecrire" (*speaking-listening-writing*) is perhaps as indicative of the rushed conditions under which he produced this array of words as it is of what they actually did: writing was not required of the students in their Tuesday online lessons, though it was a regular part of their French 3 classroom lessons, a fact that he himself noted as he narrated his own drawing: "...these, these [online] exercises combined everything. You can talk to someone, and you listen to the person, and you also were able to write stuff...although I think we didn't write that much, but..."

The presence of "Amandine" in the undifferentiated space of this 'drawing' that also included the generic categories "French", "technology", and "cultural exchange", and Eduardo's statements about being randomly assigned to Amandine and finding her at the appropriate computer workstation in the lab every Tuesday, might be read to express

a functional equivalence between the human and the technological, a question that might have been read as well (in the visual mode) from Helen and Rani's drawings of their tutor-in-the-computer (Chapter 4, Section III). Kelly's drawing, depicting the UC Berkeley students of French 3 traveling through a beachfront landscape in "Frenchland" to get their French language ability "filled up" by their (gas station attendant) tutors, is of immediate relevance to demonstrating that the hyperreality of place may have been one outcome of the activity between Amandine, Eduardo, and Kelly that is the focus of this chapter. Here I reproduce the drawing, first introduced in Chapter 4, Section VI:
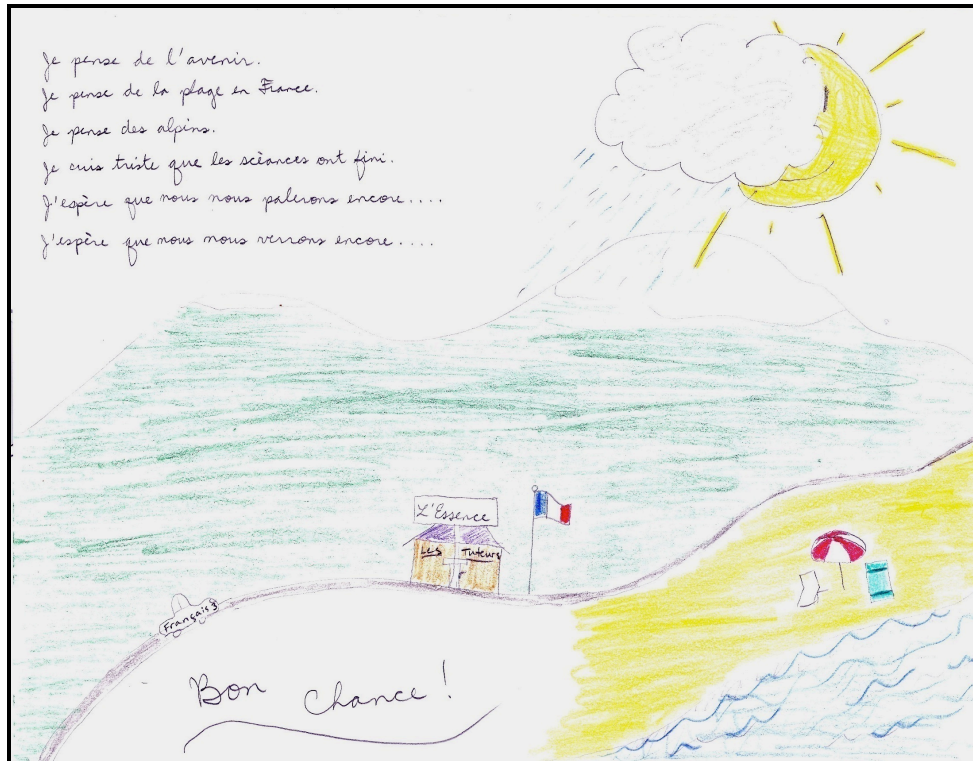
Figure 5.2—Kelly's drawing

In Chapter 4, I interpreted the conversion of French tutors in Kelly's drawing into part of a generic French landscape, with little specificity attributed either to the identity of the landscape or the person of the tutor(s), as emblematic of a possible lack of dialogic distancing and position-taking between student and tutor over the course of their online interactions. Yet what were the living, breathing tutors and students actually saying, doing, seeing, and hearing as they had these conversations that, in part, might have led students like Kelly to create their drawings and narrate them as they did?

A first Activity Online: The Place Guessing Game

Tuesday, January 29, 2008 was the first day of online lessons between Kelly, Eduardo, and their tutor Amandine. The two students had decided the previous day in

class that they would be partners; when they entered the computer laboratory downstairs shortly after 9am on Tuesday (and just after 6pm Lyon time), as Kelly recounted in her interview, "it was like, 'OK, go to an open computer," and that was your tutor." The pair had had no prior indication that they would be working with Amandine, nor did Amandine know who she would be tutoring, although the tutors had all posted photos or self-introductions on their "mini-blogs"[70] prior to Tuesday's lesson.

Following the establishment of a Skype video connection between students and tutors, and brief self-introductions by Amandine, Kelly, and Eduardo, the first activity of the day--analyzed in detail in the following three sections--was a place guessing game between the two students, entitled "Quel est son lieu préféré? (sur le campus de Berkeley)" (*What's his/her favorite place?* (*on the Berkeley campus*)). As with other activities in the lesson plans devised each week by pairs of tutors, the activity had one main and several sub-goals, a description of the format to be followed and instructions given, and cultural or vocabulary notes for enriching the activity. In order for students to be able to "Present their favorite place on the Berkeley campus," the plan outlined several formal features of French that they would be encouraged to employ: the present indicative and imperative, question words such as "where", "when", "why", "with whom", and a number of vocabulary items related to the university and student life. Tutors were to ask the students to think of their favorite place on campus, and then to take turns asking questions of the other to try to locate the place. After guessing each others' places, the plan called for the tutor to ask of the students questions like "What can you do there?", "Why do you like it?", "Do you meet your friends there?", "When?", and so on.

Despite significant technical problems at the outset of the interaction (discussed in detail in the following sections), Amandine was able to carry out this activity more or less to the letter: she opened by asking the students whether or not they liked the Berkeley campus, a question which led to statements by Eduardo and Kelly about the green and pleasant atmosphere on campus, and the weather which had not been nice in previous days and weeks (an exchange which occurred just prior to the start of the Berkeley-side recording transcribed in Appendix F). Amandine then directed Eduardo and Kelly to each think of a place they liked on campus and to keep it secret from their partner, modeling target questions that one could use to guess one's partner's secret place, beginning with "What...", "How...", "With whom...", etc. The entire activity lasted just over twelve minutes, and may have been considered a limited success from the perspective of the lesson: Eduardo and Kelly each asked several questions of their partner, each building upon the previous one, but neither was able to guess the other's place correctly. Kelly had chosen Sather Tower ("the Campanile"), Berkeley's iconic bell clock tower, while Eduardo's place of choice was Memorial Glade, a grassy expanse behind the campus' main library that was popular with students for playing sports and relaxing; unsurprisingly, Amandine was not familiar with either name, and asked the students briefly to explain what each place was after their turns, a request that appeared to create significant demand upon the students' linguistic capacities (Lines 703-730 and 857-879). At the end of the activity, Amandine offers congratulations to the students for their good

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[70] Amandine's photo and invitation to Eduardo and Kelly to post their own photos appears at http://amandine-lyonberkeley.blogspot.com/2008/01/test-de-personnalit.html.

speaking performance—an offering of positive affective reinforcement which was, it should be noted, also written into the lesson plan:[71] "Super" (*Great*), she tells Eduardo and Kelly. "On va, vous avez (.5) c'est tres bien, vous avez tres bien parlé." (*Let's, you have (.5) it's really good, you have spoken very well.*)

Figure 5.3—Sather Tower (the Campanile; left), and Memorial Glade (right), the favorite places on the UC Berkeley campus selected by Kelly and Eduardo

Losing Offline Place in the Start of an Online Game

The measured success of this activity within the parameters set forth by the lesson plan must be understood with respect to the many other goings-on and goings-off of an encounter where the negotiation of meaning was anything but transparent: after Amandine initiated the activity with her bid to introduce the topic and activate students' schema ("Alors, est-ce que vous aimez bien le campus de Berkeley?" (*So, do you like the Berkeley campus?*)), she had to spend over six minutes explaining and confirming directions for the activity with Eduardo and Kelly; in particular, Kelly, who was chosen to be the first to think of a place, did not appear to understand that the activity was a guessing game between her and her partner seated next to her in Berkeley, and not (for example) with her tutor in Lyon—a point she herself made in her final interview: "Umm the first session I had was rea::lly difficult for me because I didn't understand we were

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[71] In the notes for the introductory segment before this activity, the lesson plan offers the following directive: "L'objectif est de nouer le contact et de mettre les étudiants en confiance. Donc soyez chaleureux, souriant, n'oubliez pas la gestuelle et de prendre le temps de bien articuler et de parler lentement." (*The goal is to make contact and put students at ease. So be friendly, smile, and don't forget to gesture and to take the time to articulate well and speak slowly.*)

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doing a guessing game and, so like, I just didn't know the word, and and the vocab for it s—of like, what the activity was." Compounding these attempts to *begin* the activity was the first of many technical difficulties faced by the participants, as Amandine's video feed went blank and she spent several conversational turns asking the students alternately whether they could understand her directions and whether they could see her on the screen (Lines 96-230). And, complicating all of this, in the first few minutes of the interaction, was the fact that Amandine had been addressing Kelly as "Kathy" as she gave her the directions and checked for comprehension; only after 90 seconds into this activity did the tutor then ask for the students to write their first names, using the chat window because the audio connection was out, and then by voice when it was restored (Line 159 (chat); Lines 191-2 (voice): "Est-ce que vous pouvez m'écrire votre prénom?" (*Can you write your first name?*)

And, amidst these layers of confusion, what happened to the placeness of the *other places* (the two locations on the UC Berkeley campus mentioned above) that were, in name at least, at the center of this activity? In what was perhaps an inauspicious beginning, when Amandine gave directions for the guessing game, instructing Kelly "Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus. Mais tu ne dis pas" (*Think about a place on campus that you like. But don't say it*; Lines 238-246), Kelly said that she did not know the word "lieu" (*place*). Amandine explained (Lines 254-269),[72] Kelly indicated she understood, and the activity went on. But the exchange that ensued was almost comic in the inability of tutor and even students either to identify or to identify with the places named: Kelly originally had in mind the campus' large grassy expanse known as Memorial Glade, but gives her answer away as Eduardo asks her if she likes to study in her secret place, not yet understanding that they were playing a game (Lines 487-8). Following the efforts of Amandine and Eduardo to re-explain the game, Kelly 'successfully' begins to give yes-or-no responses to Eduardo's questions, apparently with a new place in mind (although nobody had confirmed this). Meanwhile, Amandine listens on as Eduardo asks about the proximity of her place to streets bordering the campus, in all likelihood totally unfamiliar to Amandine (Lines 540-554). When Eduardo gives up, citing a lack of "imagination", Amandine intervenes to encourage him to ask Kelly what her place is (Lines 646-653). She nods as Eduardo seems to recognize Kelly's chosen place, "the Campanile", but is not herself familiar with it. She asks what it is, the students explain briefly, and Amandine responds with a few brief affirmations ("Mm:: super. Super. Okay" (*Mm:: great. Great. Okay*)) before directing the students to switch roles. They do, and this time Kelly (having understood by now the fact that they are playing a game) is able to successfully guess Eduardo's place. It is, ironically, the same place that she herself had chosen the first time, and even mentioned out loud (Memorial Glade). However, Eduardo does not appear to know the name of the place he himself had chosen (Lines 816-7), while Amandine shows no surprise at this turn of events—including the fact that Kelly has to give a physical description of the place that Eduardo had

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[72] Amandine: Ah—a—un lieu est une place (.5) a:: un bâtiment:: ou uhh (.5) un lieu c'est une place dans campus, un espace dans campus. Tu comprends?
(*Ah—a—a "lieu" is a place (.5) a:: a building:: or uhh (.5) a "lieu" is a place on campus, a space in the campus. Do you understand?*)
    Kelly: Okay. Uhm:: (Okay. Umm::)

supposedly been keeping secret from her. As a coda to the activity (and apparently in an effort to augment the students' vocabularies, as she also types this word using text chat), Amandine tells the students that Memorial Glade, the grassy expanse where, Kelly explains to her, students can play "foosball [sic] or, um, frisbee or ah:: soccer" (Lines 865-7), is in fact *un stade*, a stadium. And at this point, two minutes over time for the guessing game activity, it is time to move on to Activity #3 (Lines 903-919). And so they do.

Frames and Bodies in Telecollaboration: A Theoretical-Methodological Orientation

This was the basic flow of events narrated with primary attention given to linguistic evidence; paying attention to the assemblage of visual and audio streams of information that presented themselves to the students in the first few minutes of the activity, in tandem with the positioning and movement of bodies on both sides of the screens, heightens our awareness of the complexity, indeterminacy (and, from the perspective taken here, eventual banality) of this exchange. What evidence do we find (or not) in this exchange of the *wholeness* of Kelly, Eduardo, and Amandine as embodied, intercultural others in dialogue? And how do the realities of dis/embodied interaction online influence the nature of the telecollaborative exchange as a venue for approaching the foreign?

Consonant with my methodological interest (Chapter 3) in asking how the Berkeley language students know *what it is that is going on* and, from a Goffmanian perspective, "under what circumstances [they] think things are real" (Goffman, 1974, p. 2; see discussion on frame analysis in Chapter 3, Section II), we may here identify several possible *frames* that might have been salient in the learning experiences of Eduardo and Kelly, and which can serve as reference points throughout this chapter:

1. The **on-the-interface frame**: A one, two, three, or multi-way interactive state in which the student(s) and/or the tutor(s) attempt to establish or terminate audio, video, and written channels of communication among themselves, remedy technical problems on one or both sides, etc.
2. The **conversational frame**: Two or three-way conversation about aspects of students' and tutors' everyday experience, exchange of opinions, etc. (e.g. experiences of, and favorite places on, the Berkeley campus)
3. The **directions and feedback frame**: One-way (tutor-to-student) giving of directions, clarification, and feedback about activities and performance
4. The **activity performance frame**: Two-way (student-to-student) enactment/performance of activities (role-plays, etc.) with the tutor observing and offering feedback
5. The **metalocational frame**: Three-way interactions conducted with the purpose of accomplishing entry or exit into one of the other frames; negotiating 'where' and 'when' interactions are to take place, resources are to be found, used or shared; discussing the relative positioning of one's interlocutor(s) in spatio-temporal terms

This list is particular to the data taken up here, and is not intended to be exhaustive. My assumption is less that any one or number of these "frames" is or is not accurate in describing the students' and tutor's emergent sense of what was going on; indeed, the salient interactive frames between student and tutor were not equally predetermined before the interactions started, and struggling with the question of what they *were to be* was perhaps one of the most valuable cultural learnings that could have taken place (see discussions of *genre* in telecollaboration by Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Ware & Kramsch, 2005). Rather, I invoke this mini-typology in order to facilitate the decomposition of the typology itself—to suggest that the moments of overlapping, confusion, negotiation, and collaborative re-assignment of frames in the student-tutor interactions might hold both potential for the emergence of dialogic growth between intercultural others (and, thus, a productive engagement with foreignness) *and* a danger of the mediated banalization of 'reality'—a shift in which the people, places, and cultures of the foreign language classroom tend as much toward hyperreality as they do reality.

V. Telecollaborative Arrest: Fixing Learners' Bodies in Place, Movement, Sight, and Sound

Overview: The Social Situation of the F1L Lesson

Before discussing an incident that, I argue in Section I of Chapter 6, is revelatory of the conditions that allow for telecollaborative interlocutors such as the students Kelly and Eduardo, and their tutor Amandine to be seen *as whole people*, I concentrate here on outlining some basic conditions of their embodiment online—conditions that, I suggest, were critical in defining the nature of their learning experience. A key contention herein is that, in the opening minutes of their online lessons especially, Kelly and Eduardo were learning as much about their embodied "intervolvement" and motility within the online medium as they were 'just learning French'.[73] In fact, in this chapter, I assert that these two kinds of learnings were interrelated, through the very fact of the language learner's embodiment online.

To begin, in order to explore the ways in which students' and tutors' bodies were positioned in the *F1L* project with respect to the French language they spoke, I employ another of Goffman's sociological insights into the rules and structures of social life. Citing a lack in ethnomedological studies of a way to correlate social variables (age, sex, class, region etc.) with both the said and the unsaid in social encounters of all sorts, Goffman (1964, p. 135) posited the "neglected" *social situation* as "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present,' and similarly find them accessible to him" (Goffman, 1964, p. 135). Of note in recent studies of CMC, Rodney Jones (2004) has given special attention to the *presence* aspect of Goffman's formulation

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[73] On "intervolvement" and the relevance of the corporeal schema in the context of this study, see the discussion of Merleau-Ponty's thought in the previous section.

in his discussions of context online, finding new modalities of social presence that result from transformations in mutual monitoring possibilities.[74] In considering the situation of students like Eduardo and Kelly online with their tutor Amandine, and located physically in computer laboratories surrounded by other students all engaged in the same activity, we might equally well direct our attention to the very *modalities of monitoring* made possible in tele-mediated regimes--and question in particular Goffman's assumption that the senses must be *naked* for prototypical social situations to arise.[75] In this telelecollaborative setting, we may ask, in what *frames* (Section III) are Kelly's and Eduardo's 'whole persons' made available (or not) to Amandine, and to each other?

Here I present a photo of Kelly and Eduardo in conversation with Amandine (Figure 5.4) for some general observations, which I then elaborate according to several specific modalities of interaction and monitoring that are evident from a variety of data sources: photos such as this one, classroom observations, the students' own interview statements, blog entries, and drawings.

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[74] Jones writes, "What makes communicating with new technologies different from face-to-face communication is not so much, as others have suggested, the 'despatialization' of communication (Katriel 1999) or the loss of communication cues (Dubrovsky 1985; Dubrovsky et al. 1991; Sproull and Kiesler 1986), but rather the different sets of "mutual monitoring possibilities" that these technologies make available, the different ways in which they allow us to be *present* to one another and to be aware of other people's *presence*" (R. Jones, 2004, p. 23).

[75] In the same article, Goffman suggests that talk on the telephone "must first be seen as a departure from the norm, else its structure and significance will be lost" (Goffman 1964, p. 136), but, as those who draw upon Goffman's thought for understanding contemporary forms of mediated communication would likely agree, this is not an assumption that can be made in the case of the telecollaborative language classroom, due to the growing ubiquity and variety of mediated sociality.

Figure 5.4—Kelly and Eduardo (foreground, backs to camera) online with Amandine in the Berkeley computer lab

The language lab's three long rows of computer terminals are visible from a diagonal angle in the photo. Kelly and Eduardo are in the foreground, backs to the camera, sitting next to each other on large rolling office chairs in front of a monitor on which the face of their tutor Amandine is visible, looking down. Eduardo, seated on the right, is also looking down, at lesson materials distributed to the students at the beginning of the hour (it is likely that Kelly is as well, though we are not sure from this angle). In this particular moment in the lesson, the importance of the audio connection between students and learners is paramount since, as in the face-to-face conversations in physical co-presence favored for analysis by Goffman (for example), students and tutors can continue talking while looking up or directly at their interlocutors only at particular points or periods of the conversational flow.[76] To enable this three-way audio connection to continue, Kelly and Eduardo are wearing headphones with mouthpiece microphones. A research video camera is visible against the back wall of the room, capturing the back row of students from the side. Like the majority of the students in the laboratory at this time, the classroom teacher is not visible in this photo; she is usually seated at the opposite (front) end of the lab from the camera, although in this case she has been briefly circling the room and is now standing, taking this photo.

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[76] In her final interview, Kelly attests to the importance of sound by comparing the relative severity of disruptions in video and sound: "I think there's a lot to be said for visual communication, so I think the webcam is really important to have, but it didn't impede us as much as static or echoes."

The still image here serves as a metaphorical reference point for processes among Kelly's, Eduardo's, and Amandine's bodies in communication that, while evolving and changing, appear in significant ways to be *fixed in place* along distinct but interlinked modalities: location, (im)motility, vision, and sound. As with the mini-typology of interactive frames presented at the end of the previous section (Section III), this classificatory scheme is intended to be suggestive and hopefully illustrative, but not exhaustive. Throughout, I refer to observations from practices in "the traditional classroom" in which Eduardo and Kelly's French 3 class met on other days of the week.

Location/distribution of Student Bodies

The typically circular arrangement of chairs preferred by the teacher in the traditional classroom stood in marked contrast to the rows of chairs in front of monitors in the computer laboratory. In their interview, Eduardo and Kelly recounted how, once they had randomly selected a "computer with a tutor" to sit at, they had to sit in the same seats every week, because each station was numbered and Skype connections with tutors were established before the students arrived in the room:

Kelly:	Well once um:: (.5) the first week kinda decided who your tutor was, so then it was like, OK, just go to your (.5) to the computer that has your tutor=
Eduardo:	=That was the computer that was basically [set up
Kelly:	[So
Dave:	Ri::ght. How did you know which computer it was?
Kelly:	It was where you sat last time.
Dave:	Yeah. You just counted 'em or something like that?
Kelly:	Mm-hm.

The fixity of this seating arrangement was in relative contrast to that of the traditional classroom, where Kelly remarked that "the right half of the classroom changes a lot. The left half, mostly is the same seats. I don't know why", and Eduardo noted, "I move around. And I usually don't do that. I usually sit in the same region". Thus, whereas the traditional classroom was seen more in terms of 'regions'—some of them more flexible than others in terms of where one could sit—seating in the computer laboratory appeared to be fixed by the (pre)established location of the audio/visual connection with Amandine. On their days of online lessons, Eduardo and Kelly even noted that they always sat in the same left/right configuration with respect to each other. "I was on the right," Eduardo said, laughing. When asked why or how that happened, Kelly laughed as Eduardo replied, "I don't know," and Kelly remarked, "We just did."

Of course, the whole-class perspective inside the language laboratory is most available to those with either (or both) the height or ability to move and look to and from different places; as mentioned earlier, the picture above (Figure 5.4) was taken by the teacher as she walked among students seated at terminals during their online lessons. Once seated, Kelly and Eduardo would have had difficulty seeing the faces of their

fellow students in the laboratory, because of their arrangement in rows and the height and size of the computer monitors. Indeed, when the pair described their awareness of the other students in the laboratory, it was only in terms of sound: Kelly, for example, noted that "I'd say the people next to us are always laughing and having a good time, which, I mean, we were too, but, not ... So, that seemed like they, tended to be still wrapping up while the teacher was talking." The only other students readily visible to Eduardo and Kelly were each other; and even looking at each other was not easy, as they wore headphones and strove to remain visible to their tutor within the confines of the camera.

Factors of (Im)motility

In the observations I made of the traditional classroom, students for the most part stayed seated, positioning their chairs closer together for pair or group work, and occasionally standing up at the teachers' direction to do boardwork; at the teacher's direction, they re-arranged their desks for quizzes and exams into rows and columns. As such, movement (or, the ability to move) came most during the more free give-and-take of what I have termed the "conversational frame", and during activity performance. Examination, a type of activity not present in the online lessons, was accompanied by the most rigid proscription against movement.

Shifts in interactional frame in the course of Kelly and Eduardo's online lessons with Amandine—from the *on-the-interface* frame of establishing connections and solving technical problems, to the *metalocational* frame of establishing joint attention on a video or text passage or other pedagogical resource, to the *directions and feedback* frame in which Amandine instructed Kelly, for example, to choose her favorite place on campus and keep it secret from Eduardo—were not and could not be accompanied by drastic movements of the learners' bodies with respect to each other, their tutor, or the room. One of Amandine's first requests to the students (and one that she and other tutors repeated frequently) was to ask Kelly and Eduardo to sit closer together so that they would appear together in her Skype video window. After her first such request, and at the outset of the place guessing game described earlier (Section III), approximately 3/4 of Kelly's head and upper torso, and slightly less than half of Eduardo's, could be seen in Amandine's video window on the right side of her screen (Figure 5.5):
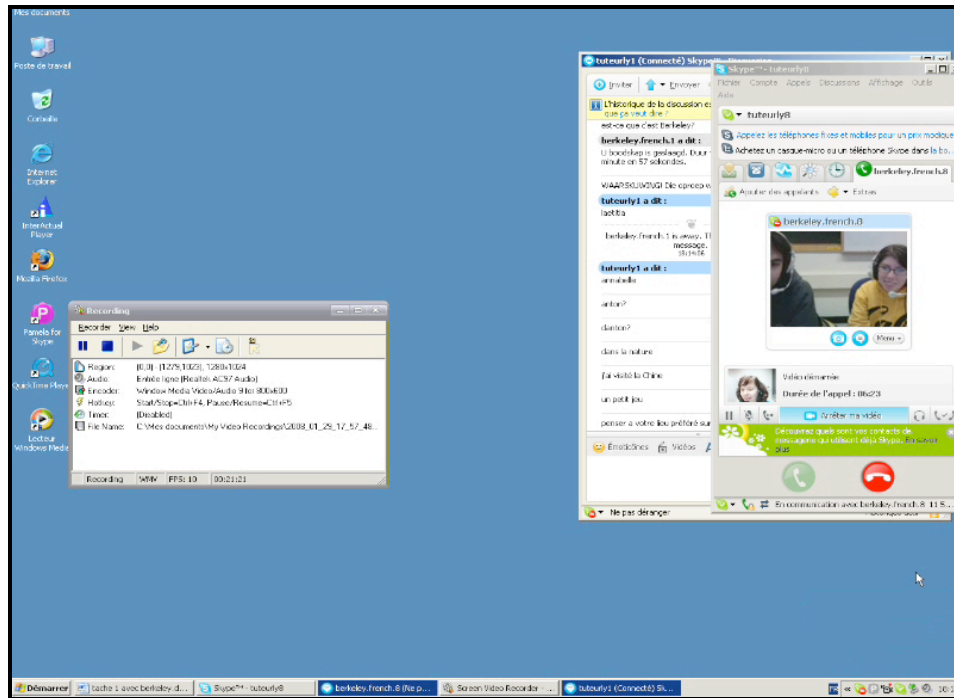
Figure 5.5—Screen capture of Amandine's desktop at 0:08 in the transcript of the *What's his/her favorite place? (on the Berkeley campus)* activity

In this way, the limited field of view of the video camera created an invisible rectangular boundary in actual space (the space of the computer laboratory) within which visibility was realized on-screen. Students often remarked that they were asked to sit closer together than they initially felt comfortable with; and irrespective of proxemic 'comfort', the imperative to be visible to their tutor required them to interlock the legs of their office chairs on the ground, rendering lateral and forward/backward movement difficult. These factors, coupled with being physically attached to the computer (and to each other) through headphones and headphone cords that were plugged into the back of the computer, meant that any bodily movement had immediate social, technical, and visible consequences—physically, to the body of one's partner and the 'body' of the computer, and existentially, to one's own presence on the screen of one's telecollaborative partner.

Of course, shifts in frame in the traditional classroom, like all social situations, are not accomplished solely by movements and re-alignments of the students alone; the teacher's own mobility, her ability to stand or sit before the students, circulate among them, to assume an 'equal' position in the circle of students or to disappear altogether into a corner of the room, are crucial in this achievement, while marking the very difference in power among the teacher's and student's pedagogical roles. Eduardo, for example, expressed an awareness of (and distaste for) his own immobility in the traditional classroom precisely when he suspected he was being evaluated for his spoken performance by means of the classroom teacher's approaching him and other students, observing from a proximal location, and taking notes:

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Eduardo:	I think, I guess it would be harder for her (.5) from like, grading point of view (.5) but I think (.5) one thing that I don't like is when she walks around with her (.5) note, like with her notebook and starts taking notes, like, going next to like, walking around the (.5)
Dave:	Ri::ght
Eduardo:	And I think she's, like, listening to who's participating and stuff, like doing stuff like that, but it's kind of intimidating that there's like (1) right like, grading you, like (.5) while you're speaking, I don't like that too much.

Notwithstanding Eduardo's subjective response to this situation, he clearly was aware of its implications in large part due to its embodied reality in the classroom: the teacher was walking among the students, looking at their work, taking notes, and for the most part *not* talking, precisely at the times she was physically most proximal to the students.

While, on the basis of the observational data collected for this project, no definite conclusions can be drawn about correlations between shifts in pedagogical frame and movement, proximity, and other coarse-scale aspects of embodied practice (as opposed to, say, slight changes in posture and facial expression), it seems clear that entry into some pedagogical frames in the classroom was accompanied by the establishment of mutual visibility (mutual monitoring, in Goffman's sense) and embodied action in different ways than for others. In particular, the classroom *directions and feedback frame*, encompassing times in which teachers or tutors assumed more directive speaking roles, appeared to impose many of the same constraints on the students' potential for movement and corporeal extension into the surrounding environment (including into the perceptual fields of their peers) that the technical apparatus of headphones, camera, chair and computer monitor imposed upon the learner at all times, in all pedagogical frames.

The Body Viewable

As expressed directly above, an organic linkage between vision (of the other), visibility (of the self), and embodied action did not seem possible in the same way in the *F1L* online lessons as it did in the traditional classroom. I have attempted to demonstrate above how students' (and, by extension, tutors') bodies may have been fixed in place both in the whole-room context of the computer lab ("*Location/distribution of student bodies*") and more locally, in front of their computers ("*Factors of (im)motility*"). And I have hinted that this 'fixing' was in large part due to the imperative to self-position so as to be maximally visible on the screen of one's partner.

In some sense, this may seem merely to articulate the basic physical preconditions of prototypical computer-mediated communication: interlocutors are 'stationed' in front of computer 'terminals' so that they can 'enter' the (cyber)space of digitally mediated interactions with others. Yet, while the possibility of mutual monitoring can usually be unthinkingly assumed in situations of mutual co-presence offline, for Kelly, Eduardo, and other students of the French 3 classes, this was not an assumption that could be safely

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made in their videoconferencing lessons. While at times the ability of student and tutor to see each other was assumed, at others it could not be. In fact, from the researchers' perspective, the ability to mutually monitor was a sort of techno-social accomplishment the verbalization of which became emblematic of the exchanges themselves;[77] when unverbalized between tutors and students, however, this added layer of perceptual indeterminacy may have had profound consequences as they struggled to determine what was really happening at crucial moments in their lessons.

Learning to recognize Amandine's gaze was, as I attempt to demonstrate in the next section (Section V), a significant endeavor for Kelly (as it was no doubt for Eduardo as well) in the opening minutes of their first online lesson. By the time the interactions had finished, however, after approximately six hours together online over a period of two months, the two students felt confident that they knew when Amandine was looking at them--or, at least, at their likenesses on the screen:

Kelly:	I mean, the, the webcam, because of the position of the camera, you can't look at the camera, and look at the screen.
Eduardo:	Right
Kelly:	So it's always, like, but you can feel that connection when she's looking at the screen, 'cause you know that (.5) even though her eyes are pointed down, she's meaning to look at us (.5)
Dave:	[Mm, mm
Eduardo:	[Right
Kelly:	And so, like that was all fine, I mean we understood that (.5) without any problems.

Re-visiting Figure 5.5 (above), showing Amandine's desktop at the beginning of the favorite place guessing activity, shows how (arbitrarily) the window with the video feed of Kelly and Eduardo is near the right-hand extremity of her screen. The corresponding image of Amandine available to the two students at this moment in time appears below (Figure 5.6): Amandine is gazing down and to her right, at the screen, at Eduardo and Kelly.

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[77] The title of an important publication introducing the *F1L* project (Develotte, Guichon & Kern 2008) illustrated this well: "Âllo Berkeley? Ici Lyon... Vous nous voyez bien?" (*Hello Berkeley? This is Lyon...Can you see us?)*
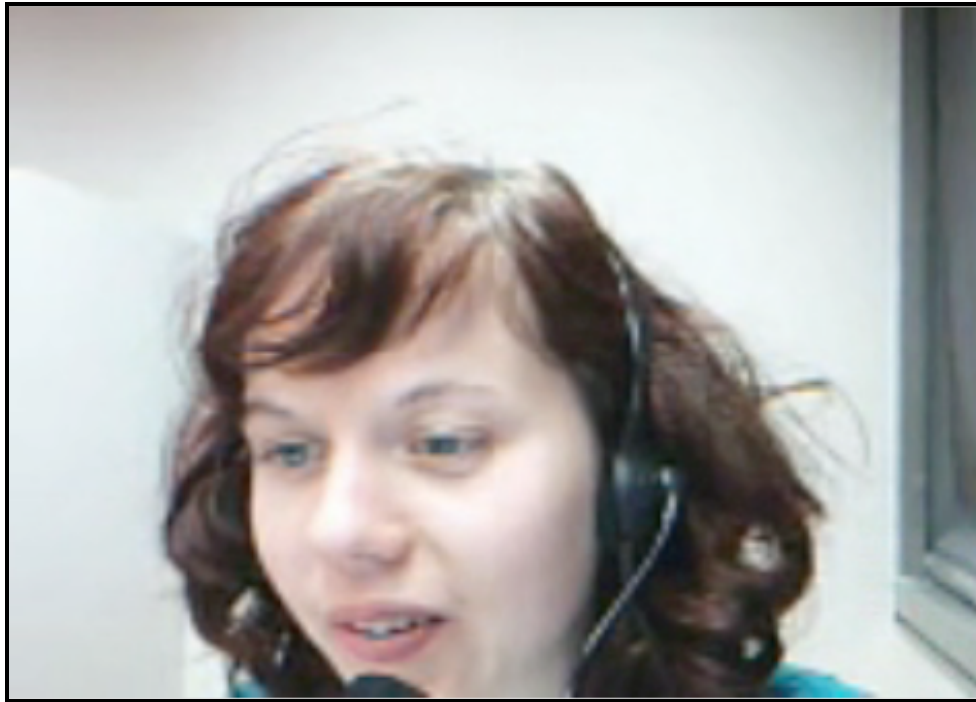
Figure 5.6—Video window capture of Amandine on Eduardo and Kelly's screen, at 0:08 in the transcript of the *What's his/her favorite place? (on the Berkeley campus)* activity

For Kelly, "that connection" that she felt when Amandine was "looking at the screen" with her eyes pointed down but "meaning to look at us" translated to a sense of being under more constant observation than when she was in the traditional classroom--a sense that, she said, was "nice" because she could expect more immediate corrections for her spoken mistakes:

Kelly: It's harder to hide the like, I don't understand what's going on when it was, for me, like when we were doing the webcam stuff. (.5) In class I think it's easier because you can kind of just sit there and be like, "Uh huh, uh huh," wait for the ne—wait for that moment when she's not gonna have her eyes on you when you can turn and talk, say to your friend, [quietly] "What are we doing?"

Dave: ((laughs)) Right.

Kelly: So, um, I think it was (.5) um (.5) more (1) obvious for me when, um, for her to see when I wasn't understanding. So that was nice, 'cause then she could (.5) rephrase or, or whatever and try and help me out, s—so that she could see and I could overcome that embarrassment or whatever.

However, as I hinted at the end of the previous sub-section ("Factors of (im)motility"), the "niceness" of one's visibility in front of the tutor as a statement of one's receptiveness to helpful correction might also be seen as foregrounding the permanent salience of a *directions and feedback* interactive frame, at the potential

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expense, for example, of a *conversational* frame. In fact, in answering the interviewer's question as to whether she would consider keeping in touch with Amandine after the interaction ended, Kelly responded that, despite her sense of "connection" via Amandine's gaze, she never felt "connected" personally to her tutor:

Kelly: I want to and (.5) I'm probably going to um (2) I forget about what
            (1) but (1) like (.5) I don't know. I didn't feel like we (.3)
            connected (.3) very much because (.5) like, what I—when I really
            enjoyed it, again, was like when we had those beginning
            conversations of "What are you doing this weekend?"
Dave: Right, [right]
Kelly: [And I] think if we had had more, it would have built more of (.5)
            "Hey, if I ever come to France, can I come and, you know (.5) will
            you show me a good time, you know, like show me the town?" and
            (.5) um (1)

Indeed, although a fuller analysis of the video data from the *F1L* project across all pairs and activities with respect to embodied communication and pedagogical frames remains to be done, in the approximately twelve minutes of the place guessing game activity studied in this chapter Amandine could be seen leaning closest to the screen while looking at (or very nearly at) the video feed of the students' faces when she was giving directions and explanations (e.g., Image #2--0:12, Image #6–0:51, Image #21– 5:44, Image #36–10:04, Image #43–12:05, Image #46–12:24), checking comprehension and progress on the activity (e.g., Image #4–0:26, Image #29–8:39), and offering feedback (e.g., Image #35–9:58, Image #44–12:12). Moments when she was obviously not looking at the students on the screen included those when they were asking each other questions about each other's secret places (what I have termed the *activity performance* frame, in which the tutor observes the students carrying out an activity; e.g. Image #27– 7:25, Image #32–9:27, Image #37–10:32, Image #38–10:39), when she was asking the students what Kelly's favorite place was (e.g., Image #33–9:32), when she was entering written corrections to students' speaking errors in the chat window (e.g., Image #42– 11:51), and in the few instances noted when she made remarks to herself under her breath (e.g., Image #30–9:13).[78]

In Chapter 6, I explore the questions raised here, inquiring into the complications of the fact that recognizing the gaze of the other in contexts of desktop videoconferencing is also to recognize oneself in the gaze of the other; Kelly's and Eduardo's experience with looking at Amandine, and being looked at by her (as with other *pairs* of students and their tutors), was certainly complicated by the fact that they were both equally the objects of her gaze when she was looking at their onscreen image--that is, it would have been impossible to differentiate whether she was looking at one or the other of them. Here I conclude by suggesting that, in the limited projected spaces of the rectangular video

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[78] This list is of course meant to be suggestive and not exhaustive; there were also (albeit fewer recorded) times at which Amandine was looking at the students' image while they performed the guessing game (e.g. Image #25–6:06, Image #28–7:37), although these frequently came either immediately before or after events more obviously in the *directions and feedback* frame.

frames, and with bodies similarly fixed in front of screens, behind monitors, and between earphones, Kelly and Eduardo may not have been able to *see* Amandine, or to be seen by her, beyond the *directions and feedback* frame that tended toward *evaluation* of students' performance. This was precisely the interactive frame joining the motile, surveying and note-taking classroom teacher with the seated student in the traditional classroom that Eduardo had taken issue with at the conclusion of the previous sub-section ("Factors of (im)motility"). In the case of the online tele-mediated tutor, Kelly and Eduardo said they were not nearly as sure whether or not they were being evaluated--or when they were, if they were--even though they had been told before the online lessons started that they would not figure into their class grades. Kelly elaborated on this question in the interview:

Dave:	Right (.5) And did you feel like Amandine was, was Amandine evaluating you at all, too? Or, or
Kelly:	I don't know
Eduardo:	I don't know
Kelly:	I don't know
Dave:	Uh-huh
Kelly:	Which (1)
Eduardo:	I didn't feel that way though
Kelly:	I didn't <u>feel</u> like we were being evaluated (.5) but (.5) at the same time, it's kinda like
Dave:	Yeah
Kelly:	You know, I know this is an experiment, but it also feels like, but it's also class, so you kind of feel like (.5) you know, gosh, <u>is</u> she grading me? Because I said this all wrong, and I feel all embarrassed (.5) and (.5) but, I, I, I don't know.

If, as Hanks argued, the body is "a 'horizon,' relative to which other objects and spatial relations are grasped" (Hanks, 1999, p. 21), and if the body's experience of *wholeness* is, in the sense of Merleau-Ponty, predicated upon its posturing *into* the surrounding environment, then the apparent inescapability of possible observation and evaluation by the online teacher/tutor might have left Kelly, Eduardo, and other telecollaborative learners with a particular dilemma: attempts at movement outward might be encumbered by an immediate evaluative movement back.

Twice the Other, Twice Oneself: Aural Doubling

Whereas video frozen in time yields an (analyzable) image, there is no similar 'snapshot' for sound; this fundamental difference in trans-modal correspondences may well have led to a visual bias in my analysis of Kelly and Eduardo's experiences with Amandine and, in a larger sense, to the privileging of *visualizable* data in the *F1L* project as a whole. Yet what of sound? As noted above, in comparing the relative importance of the video and audio connections with Amandine over the course of their interactions,

Kelly herself had accorded greater importance to the audio ("I think there's a lot to be said for visual communication, so I think the webcam is really important to have, but it didn't impede us as much as static or echoes"). And the student interview data from the Chapter 4, as well, attest to the primary importance of wearing headsets and the corresponding audio immersion in creating the sense of "being in another world", "dreaming", "entering space", or "entering the Lyon zone", for example. To be sure, sound—including but not limited to the voices of one's interlocutors and oneself—was an important modality through which student-tutor pairs were immersed in interaction, while remaining 'fixed' in place in the computer laboratory.

In her interview, Kelly made a distinction between the varieties of sound interference she and Eduardo experienced in their efforts to hear and be heard by Amandine via the videoconferencing medium. One type of disruption, she said, rendered communication much more difficult than the other:

Kelly: After that, it was a lot of (.5) um, a lot of connection problems, I
            think, as far as like, I think, ((changes to high pitch voice)) going
            fine ((changes to low pitch voice)) and then we get static (.5)
            ((returns to normal speaking voice)) and it'd be really loud and we
            couldn't (.3) stop it
Dave: Mmm
Kelly: We had—that was the real common problem (.5) But then, we also
            (.3) one time, we had echoes going (.5) That was <u>really</u> hard. (.5)
            That was really hard to deal with. Cause, like, static, you can kinda
            still hear through it and (.5) and, you know, communicate, but
            echoes in French, was like (.5)
Dave: ((laughs)) Yeah
Kelly: "What?" ((laughs slightly)) So you're really trying to like, look at
            her and see what she was saying, like, or speaking (.5) um (.5) with
            echoes it was really hard.

The echo—of one's interlocutor's voice and, significantly, of one's *own* voice—prompts consideration of an issue that is much more obvious in its visual analogue: the doubling of the learner's aural or visual image (speech and movement in real time) from an outside perspective, one that is immediately reflected back to the learner and available as 'input'. Below, I present a brief segment of the transcript of the place guessing game during which this technical problem is most apparent in the recording, making brief observations on the possible significance of this phenomenon to both Kelly's understanding of *what it is that is going on* (the ongoing concern with frames as in Goffman, 1974) and the hyperreality of place. In order to do so, I present the same transcription *twice*—once following the transcription conventions I have employed for interview data throughout this dissertation, with echoing treated as an "environmental sound" (see Chapter 3, Section VI), and once introducing a technique for representing doubled voices as machinic 'shadow speakers', offset and to a degree independent from their flesh-and-blood, student and tutor 'original speakers'. In the next and final section of this chapter (Section VI), I comment upon this transcription technique as a heuristic

for understanding what I consider a particularly vexing problem of synchronous communication online—one that spans verbal and visual modes, and that (to varying degrees) is to be found in *all* tele-mediated communications technologies.

This echo phenomenon, one I have provisionally called "aural doubling", is present in the Berkeley-side audio recording of the interaction between Eduardo, Kelly, and Amandine for approximately 20 seconds, from 2:39 to 3:00 of the transcript (Lines 192-215). This corresponds to a period near the beginning of the place guessing activity—after the warm-up discussion about whether or not the students like the Berkeley campus, Amandine had instructed Kelly to think of a place and keep it secret from Eduardo (but had been addressing her as "Kathy"; see next section). When Amandine's video feed went out, the conversation went silent for over 30 seconds, even though the Berkeley students could still hear background noise from Lyon. Amandine, presumably believing that the two-way audio connection was lost along with her video, continues by chat, and then later by voice, to repeat her instructions, ask the students to type out their first names, and to check whether they can see her.

Amandine:	((echoing)) Alors en attendant (1) en attendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (1) (*Okay, in the meantime in the meantime we'll start. Kelly?*)
Kelly:	((echoing)) Oui? (*Yes?*)
Amandine:	((echoing)) Kelly? (*Kelly?*)
Kelly:	((echoing)) Oui? (*Yes?*)
Amandine:	((echoing)) Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le cam**pus**.[79] Mais tu ne dis pas. (*You need to think about a place on cam**pus** that you like. But don't say it.*) (.5)

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[79] Here and in Chapter 6, underlined word(s) in bold correspond to the point at which video window captures were taken (see note below Figure 5.7).
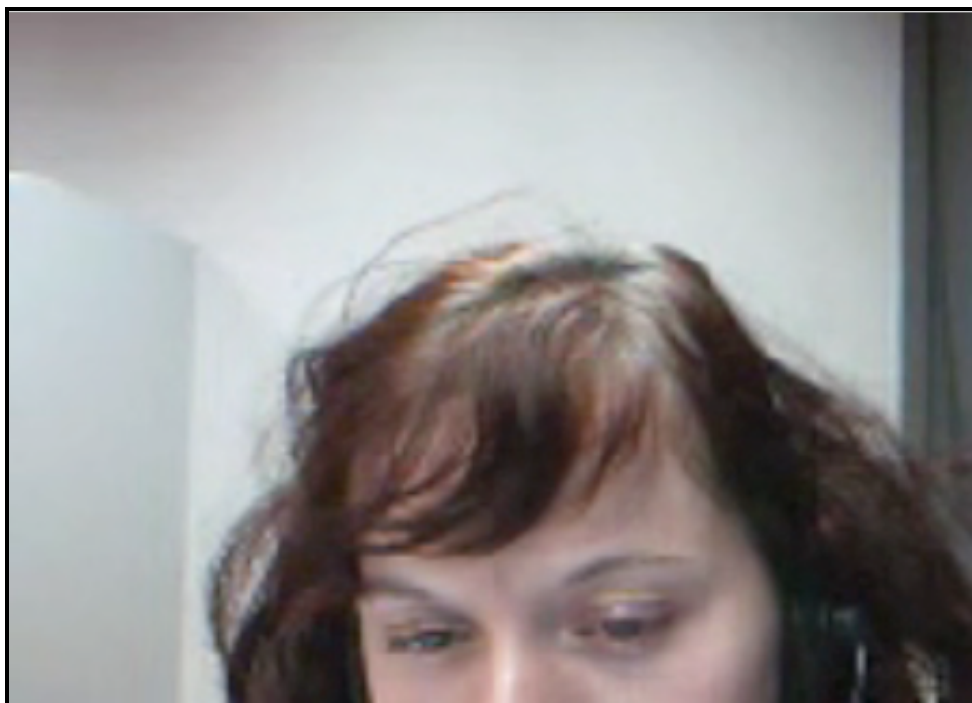
Figure 5.7—Video window capture of Amandine (at 2:50). This image from Eduardo and Kelly's video feed corresponds to the moment Amandine utters the word "campus" (IMG#13 in Appendix F). She is addressing Kelly, though her video feed remains non-functional and her eyes are fixed on a different area of the screen.

Amandine continues,

Amandine:	((echoing)) Tu penses dans ta tête (.5) à un lieu que tu aimes. (2) Tu comprends? Alors. (*Think to yourself (.5) about a place that you like. (2) Do you understand? Okay.*)
Kelly:	((echoing)) Uh, je ne sais pas quoi lieu (.5) est. (*Uh, I don't know what 'lieu' is.*)

After Kelly says that she doesn't know the meaning of the word "lieu", Amandine proceeds to explain, "Ah—a—un lieu c'est une place (.5) euh:: un bâtiment:: ou euh (.5) un lieu c'est une place dans le campus, un espace dans le campus." (*Ah—a—a "lieu" is a place (.5) a:: a building:: or uhh (.5) a "lieu" is a place on campus, a space on the campus*). And then she asks whether Kelly understands ("Tu comprends?" (*Do you understand?*)), and the activity moves on--unsuccessfully, as Kelly has still not understood that Amandine is not asking for her to respond to Eduardo's (and her) questions about favorite places on campus, but rather for Eduardo and her to play a guessing game while Amandine watches on.

Kelly's obvious struggles with language (her question to Amandine, for instance, is awkwardly formed) are compounded, to say the least, by the disjointed and partial mediation of body and voice via the videoconferencing medium: as suggested in Figure 5.7, Amandine's mouth is not visible to Kelly as she gives her the directions for the

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activity. And her voice, echoing through the Skype audio-video connection, enters Kelly's ears twice from within the headphones. In an effort to reproduce visually this confusion of input at this point in the conversation, as indicated above, I have created second, 'shadow speakers' whose words, following those of their 'originators', are visually doubled and displaced both to the right (indicating the temporal lag) and below the original utterance discussion below).

Amandine:	Alors [en attendant (1)
Amandine₂:	[Alors en attendant (.5)
	en at[tendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (1)
	[en attendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (.5)
Kelly:	Oui?
Kelly₂:	Oui?=
Amandine:	=Kelly?
Amandine₂:	Kelly?
Kelly:	Oui?
Kelly₂:	Oui?
Amandine:	Tu pe[nses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus.
Amandine₂:	[Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus=
	=Mais [tu ne dis pas.
	[Mais tu ne dis [pas
	Tu] pe[nses dans ta tête (.5)
	[Tu penses dans ta tête=
	=à un [lieu que tu aimes. (2)
	[à un lieu que tu aimes. (1.5)
	Tu co[mprends? Alors.
	[Tu comprends? [Alors.
Kelly:	Uh], je [ne sais pas quoi lieu (.5)
Kelly₂:	[Uh, je ne sais pas quoi lieu=
	=est.
	est.

Figure 5.8—"Echoing" transcription of Amandine-Kelly exchange.

In this re-transcription, I have imposed an artificially regular system of visual representation,[80] first in order to illustrate confusions of time: each speaker's entire utterance is played back for all three interlocutors (Amandine, Kelly, Eduardo) to hear, with a latency of just under half a second (rounded to 0.5). In practical terms, this means that as Kelly and Amandine were speaking, they heard their own words echo back into their ears just after they had spoken them, and slight pauses between utterances were eliminated as the echoed end of the previous line of speech latched onto or overlapped with the next.

Such an audio phenomenon, a common experience to users of desktop videoconferencing, was at the crux of what Kelly had described frustratedly in her interview as "trying to speak French with echoes going". And the unpredictable appearance and disappearance of this problem no doubt added to her troubles. A preliminary contention of this sub-section, then, requiring further empirical investigation (and much re-transcription) to substantiate, would be that this type of echoing constituted a form of 'audio arrest', in effect delaying, complicating, or outright preventing students' comprehension of language and full participation in online interaction. Kelly's response to Amandine's "Do you understand?" with the statement that "I don't know what 'lieu' is" may have suggested to Amandine that Kelly understood everything *but* the word for "place"; however, judging from the length of time it took Kelly to apprehend the *game* frame that Amandine was trying to initiate--and from Kelly's own interview statements about the trauma of not knowing what was going on--she may just have well been trying to survive in a sea of disjointed words and images.

As I develop in Chapter 6, however, through juxtaposition with the case of another student-pair, the telecollaborative videoconferencing environment entered by Kelly, Eduardo, Amandine, may have presented its greatest "disjointed stoppages" not in what technical problems like audio static, delays, and echoes did to language, but what the distribution and immobilizing of learners in the classroom, and their re-rendering in these partial and disjointed modalities of audio/visual transmission did to *learners themselves.* As Kelly herself suggested in the quote above about the problem of hearing through echoes, the difficulty was not just with making out what Amandine said, but integrating this occasionally interrupted or distorted language with a very partial view of their tutor's on-screen animations: "So you're really trying to like, look at her and see what she was saying, like, or speaking (.5) um (.5) with echoes it was really hard." By describing these phenomena of sound in synchronous telecollaboration as *aural doubling* and not "audio doubling", and by labeling the echoed lines in the second transcript above with their *own* "shadow" speakers, Amandine$_2$ and Kelly$_2$, I suggest that what was fundamentally at stake was the duplication, integration, and analog wholeness of learners and tutors online, who literally found themselves in digital pieces.

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[80] Here I have in mind the explicit warnings of Ochs (1979) and the implicit lessons of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) about the unavoidable ideological nature of any transcription technique: depending on the content and form of transcription, certain actors may be foregrounded over others, certain processes take precedent over others, agency causality, and attributions may be changed, created, or outright eliminated.

VI. Looking Forward, Moving Beyond the Body

In this chapter's previous two sections, I presented the case of the Berkeley students Kelly and Eduardo in an online lesson with their Lyon tutor Amandine. The communicative exercise under consideration, a game in which the students were to take turns guessing each other's favorite place on the Berkeley campus, took place on the first day of *F1L* lessons. Accordingly, many difficulties the students appeared to experience in determining the *frame* of the activity (or, following the phrasing of Goffman, 1974, "what it was that was going on") were likely due to the novelty of aspects such as the speaking situation, the tutors' pedagogical approach, and the particular technologies employed: students and tutor had only conversed for five minutes by the time the activity commenced, they did not yet know each other's names well, and echoes from the headphones and freezing video images seemed contrived to inhibit understanding at every turn. And, as I elaborate in a turn-by-turn analysis of the opening seconds of this activity at the beginning of Chapter 6 (Section I), participants in this telecollaborative activity had to contend with representations of their on-screen and in-headphone partners that were "segmented" (C. Jones, 2006) along sensory modality (sight, sound, movement) and only partial in scope. In these physical and material senses, the case of Kelly and Eduardo would seem to have illustrated vividly some difficulties that language learners online might generally face in perceiving, situating, and addressing intercultural others as *whole persons in dialogue* (see Chapter 2, Section V).

Yet, as I have also attempted to show in this chapter, notions of embodiment and wholeness, while calling attention to the ways in which the *bodies* of language learners are essential to dialogue, are not limited to physical, material domains.[81] Indeed, the notion of *wholeness* that I read from the thought of Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Buber (1958) derives from the existential concerns of both, realized in subjects' discursive moves that address the assumed historical, geographic, social, and cultural location of the Other, even as that Other is seen, heard, and felt with the physical senses. In this light, Buber's contention that "the primary word *I-Thou* can be spoken only with the whole being" (Buber, 1958, p. 11) serves as counterpoint to Bakhtin's stipulation that the Other must be addressed from a position of outsideness for dialogue to obtain (see Holquist 2002, p. 31): people on both 'sides' of dialogue, and especially foreign language learners in telecollaboration, must be able to see into the conditions from which their interlocutors' utterances emanate, and not just the physical contours of 'the people themselves.'

A concept of wholeness of person that sees embodiment as a phenomenon that extends both literally and figuratively beyond the bounds of flesh and bone would appear to be necessary given the 'segmented' experiences of Kelly and Eduardo explored in Section V; such a concept is precisely what I hope to have prepared by preceding my re-introduction of Buber and Bakhtin (Section III) with a discussion of notions of embodiment from Foucault (1977, 2006) and Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964). The assignment of students like Eduardo and Kelly to a certain "workstation" for the duration of their tutorials, their literal attachment to their computers through headphones and

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[81] Partly for this reason, as well, neither are they specific to any particular configuration of tools used in a given telecollaborative setting.

cables, and the confinement of their actual bodies to the representational boundaries set by camera and screen were, I argue, physical evidence of a more comprehensive *arrest*. Merleau-Ponty's notion of the corporeal, or postural schema as an ever-changing and self-aware *positioning* in the world, and Foucault's observation that the body is not static but in transition, "dilated along an entire space that is both exterior and interior to it" Foucault, 2006, p. 232) are important insights for language classrooms both online and off in that they organically link bodily dispositions typically thought of as *interior* (e.g., awareness of one's own body, one's thoughts, memories, emotion) with those considered *exterior* (e.g., position relative to one's peers and surroundings, perspective on the world) through physical and symbolic motion.

  With such a perspective on embodiment—and crucial to our consideration of transcultural language learning online—we are in a position to argue, as well, that it may make less sense to speak of embodiment *either* online or offline than it does to address bodies as "processes of materialization articulated by social norms" (Nunes, 2006, p. 135; cf. Butler, 1993), in which technological artifacts such as keyboards, headphones, and screens help to embed mediated representations of other and self in everyday, embodied experience (Hansen, 2006). Building on formulations such as these, I would suggest, avenues for future research in telecollaboration and other manners of internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education are many (see Chapter 7, Section V); in this chapter, I have suggested that *aural doublings* and other auditory phenomena should not be overlooked in settings in which video and other visual-based media are employed.[82] In the next chapter, however, I do look squarely at the visual: building upon an analysis of Eduardo and Kelly's interaction with Amandine, I present the case of their classmate Ann, arguing that the videoconferencing interface of cameras and screens, in particular, may offer up for display the faces of one's intercultural partner and oneself in conversation, but may in fact inhibit their ability to see each other in dialogue.

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[82] On the bias toward the visual in studies of multimodality and the human sensorium, see, for example, Finnegan (2000) and C. Jones (2006).

CHAPTER 6

A TELECOLLABORATIVE PARADOX:
SEEING THE INTERFACE IN THE FACE

I. Introduction: The 'in-between' in Telecollaboration and Desktop Videoconferencing

Looking Back, and Looking Forward: The Interface in Dialogue

Following the exploration in Chapter 4 of place and distance in internet-mediated intercultural foreign language learning, Chapter 5 investigated another fundamental element in the ontology of the telecollaborative classroom: the bodies of language learners and their online tutors. The data presented centered on a video transcript of the Berkeley students Kelly and Eduardo in an activity near the beginning of their lessons with Amandine. At the end of six minutes of alternating attempts at direction-giving from their tutor and technical disruptions, the Berkeley students were able to ascertain that they were in fact supposed to play a place-guessing game, and not converse about the on-campus locales that Amandine had asked them to imagine. In a running qualitative analysis incorporating students' verbal narratives and visual depictions, I argued that part of their difficulties in apprehending the *frame* (Goffman, 1974) of the game was to be found in their inability to address their interlocutors (and to be addressed) as whole people, where wholeness is understood dialogically as the physical and discursive enabling of positions from which embodied, historical subjects can speak and act, and outside of which they can be addressed (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Buber, 1958). In the computer laboratories of the *Le français en (première) ligne* (*F1L*) project, language learners were shown to be fixed in place in the room and on the screen, with faces standing in for bodies made invisible and amplified, and voices and pixelated images doubling back into hearing ears and seeing eyes—disembodiments that, together with the everyday pedagogical challenges of teaching and learning on a first day of class, appear to have *arrested* learning and rendered inaccessible the foreignness of the Other.

Of course, befitting the case study approach taken in these chapters (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Erickson, 1986; see Chapter 3), these allegations are meant to provoke further inquiry into the reality conditions (See Chapter 1, Section II) of telecollaborative and other online language learning projects, rather than to make conclusions about the specific practices and identities taken up by *F1L* students and tutors.[83] To the end of the first purpose, and to continue this dissertation's inquiry into foreignness as a goal of intercultural *dialogue*, in Chapter 6 I investigate the role of a third participant that we

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[83] See discussion of pedagogical implications in Chapter 7, Section III. As I note there, my aim is to conduct a critical analysis of telecollaborative settings and practices as they enable relations of foreignness, seen dialogically through such concepts as translingual/transcultural competence and "operating between languages". I do not aim to study or evaluate the particular pedagogical approaches employed by the tutors and teachers of the *F1L* project.

might see as partly responsible for both the failures and successes of telecollaboration: the networked interface between learners and teachers. Here, the provisional use of the animate term "participant" is intentional, as it reflects the post-modern suppositions of this dissertation, where an assemblage of mechanical, digital, and representational technologies mediating human-to-human interaction can in itself be seen as an *actant* in a techno-social-pedagogical network (Latour, 1991). In an abstracted sense, then, the interface is the site for investigation into the third characteristic of dialogue identified in Chapter 2 (*distance* between partners in dialogue, *wholeness* of person in dialogue, and *reflexive self-awareness* in the presence of the other): literally and figuratively "the face between the faces" (Poster, 1995), the desktop videoconferencing interface both obfuscates and creates new opportunities for language learners' critical self-awareness and reflection—a key objective of foreign language education from a transcultural and translingual perspective (MLA, 2007).

The Interface: A Gap in the Literature

As asserted in Chapter 1, an explicit concern with the interactive and social effects of technology and material settings has been relatively lacking in the literature on telecollaboration, and could make a particular contribution to the sub-genre of studies addressing miscommunication, missed communication and conflict in telecollaboration (e.g, O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006; Schneider & von der Emde, 2006; Ware, 2005). At the same time, as reviewed earlier, researchers investigating desktop videoconferencing for telecollaboration and other distance-educational purposes often sing its praises for offering the closest approximation possible to unmediated, face-to-face interaction. Because language learners and teachers are able to both hear and see each other in real time, the assumption goes, the technological interface is not fundamentally transformative of the meanings made by learners in distal interaction; it is, at worst, an obstacle to understanding what would have been said and done anyway.

However, as I demonstrated in part in the last chapter, videoconferencing, while reproducing likenesses of the interlocutors and thus a "face to face" technology in one sense, is a mode of interaction that departs significantly from co-present, embodied interaction (see, for example, Coverdale-Jones, 2000; Kinginger, 1998; Zähner, Fauverge, & Wong, 2000). Due partly to bandwidth limitations and internet connection instabilities, videoconferencing suffers from frequent audio latencies and video/audio gaps, with the effect of confusing interlocutors and disrupting conversation (Goodfellow, Jefferys, Miles, & Shirra, 1996); Goodfellow et al. also point to the ways in which expressions, gestures, and other body language—even when they occur within the limited field of view of the video camera—are difficult for learners to disambiguate in the flow of online conversation (p. 12). And, critically for the student participants in the *F1L* project, making eye contact is a highly problematic endeavor, as interlocutors must choose to either look at the partner's on-screen representation or at the camera (Goodfellow et al., 1996; McAndrew et al., 1996). In fact, this chapter examines this last phenomenon in detail, taking up the case of a Berkeley student who said that her online tutoring experience with her tutor in Lyon had everything to do with *looking*, and

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showing how her evolving relationships with her tutor and herself on the screen both thwarted and opened possibilities for critical self-awareness and growth as a learner of French.

The Interface: A Gap in the Data

Before entertaining the reflexive twist that this new *interface story* will (I hope) add to the larger inquiry into dialogue and foreignness in foreign language education that is the larger purpose of this dissertation, however, I continue with the story of Kelly (begun in Chapter 4 and summarized above), as she tries in effect to put herself together in the opening minutes of the place-guessing activity with her tutor Amandine and partner Eduardo. My purpose in returning to this data is to demonstrate that the imperative to theorize the role(s) of the interface in telecollaboration derives not only from the literature on videoconferencing (for example), but as well internally by the data I have already presented. These data are, I have argued, typical for such exchanges in their propensity for confusions and misunderstandings, especially in the first sessions-- and, as such, they offer a particularly rich resource for understanding how participant roles, behavioral expectations, and other *pedagogical realities* are formed.

The particular turns of talk and activity that I reproduce and analyze here are near the beginning of the *game that Kelly does not yet realize is a game*; they come from a period of approximately six minutes of back-and-forth between tutor and students in which Amandine gives Kelly directions multiple times, and Eduardo takes the initiative to explain the rules in English (Appendix F, lines 471-472). Kelly, meanwhile, brought up the fact that she 'didn't get it' of her own accord in her final interview, recalling to her interviewers (and in front of Eduardo), "the first session I had was reeeally difficult for me because I didn't understand we were doing a guessing game. And, so like, I just didn't know the word. And and the vocab for it s—of like, what the activity was."

As of the opening moments of the activity, then, Amandine and Eduardo had been speaking for approximately three minutes before Kelly joined them for two more minutes of general introductions and pleasantries. Throughout, Amandine had mistaken Kelly's name for "Kathy", and called her that several times by the time she first attempted to have the students begin the place guessing game. At this point, Kelly is responding to Amandine's having asked the students whether they like the Berkeley campus with remarks about the recent weather in Berkeley:

Kelly: =il ne fait pas beau. [laughs] (1) (=*the weather's not nice.*)
Amandine: Oh il ne fait pas beau, d'ac**cord** [Figure 6.1] A::h (1) (*Oh, the weather's not nice, **right**. A::h*)

Conversation about the weather is dropped at Amandine's "d'accord"—a word that might just as well signal her tutorial stance recognizing the correctness of Kelly's French sentence "Il ne fait pas beau" as it engages the substantive content of that utterance—and is not picked up in the rest of the lesson. And, as I argued in Chapter 4, this is precisely the type of lived experience of place that is all but inaccessible to the

telecollaborative partner and, as such, productive in part of the hyperreality of place in such contexts.

Crucial to the purposes of this chapter, however, is Amandine's gaze as she acknowledges the bad weather—it is not at the camera but visibly "off line". From the students' perspective, Amandine is looking down and to the left, toward a position that they must only guess is on her computer screen. They might assume, if they had not surmised so already (both Eduardo and Kelly said they had prior experience using Skype and similar applications for video calls with family and friends) that at the moment captured in this screenshot—Amandine's utterance of the second syllable of "d'accord" (*I see*)—she was looking directly at their image.
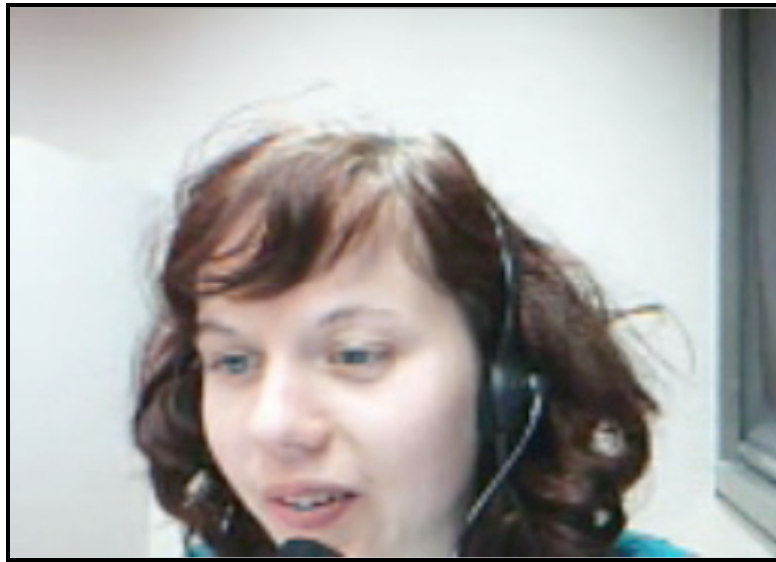
Figure 6.1—Video window capture of Amandine (at 0:07). Amandine looks down at her screen as she repeats Kelly's words, "Oh il ne fait pas beau, d'ac**cord**. A::h"

And if Eduardo and Kelly had had any doubt as to the object of Amandine's gaze at this early point in their interaction, it would likely have dissipated as their tutor continued to gaze at the same spot on her screen while making a bid to introduce a new topic ("Alors..." (*Okay*)) and then leaning forward, in the direction of her gaze, while telling the students that she wanted to them to do something:

(Amandine): Alors, je vais vous demander (.5) de **faire** [Figure 6.2] quelque chose (.5) (*Okay, I am going to ask you (.5) to **do** something*)

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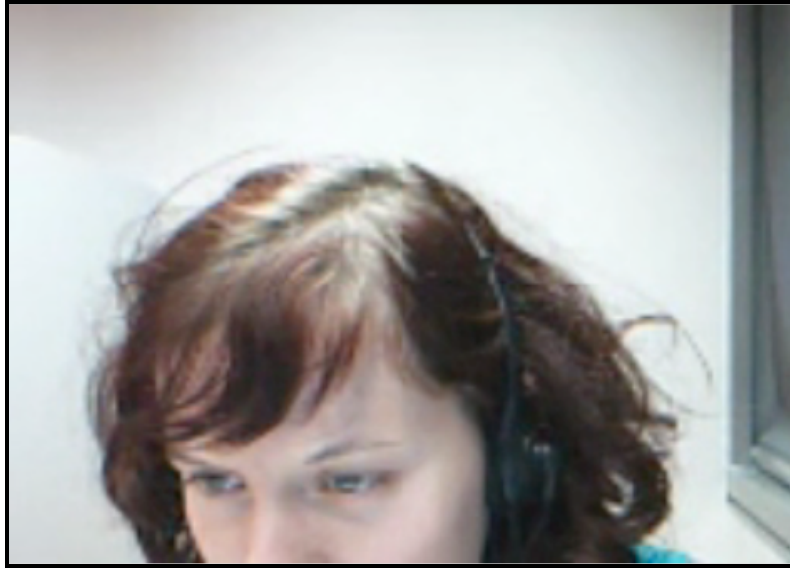
Figure 6.2—Video window capture of Amandine (at 0:12). Amandine leans forward as she tells Eduardo and Kelly, "Alors, je vais vous demander de **faire** quelque chose"

After a slight pause, in which time the students have not responded verbally or visually (to the degree that this is visible in the recording of Amandine's screen from this interaction), Amandine continues. However, at this point she switches from addressing both of them ("vous" (*you—pl.*)) to addressing Kelly in the singular ("tu" (*you—sing.*)). She leans back slightly, eyes still fixed on the same place, and continues,

(Amandine):   Alors (1) Ka<u>thy</u> [Figure 6.3] (.5) tu vas, tu vas penser à un lieu que tu aimes bien sur le campus. (1.5) (*Okay (1) Ka<u>thy</u> (.5) You will think of a place on campus that you like.*)
Kelly: Mm: (1) (*Mm:*)

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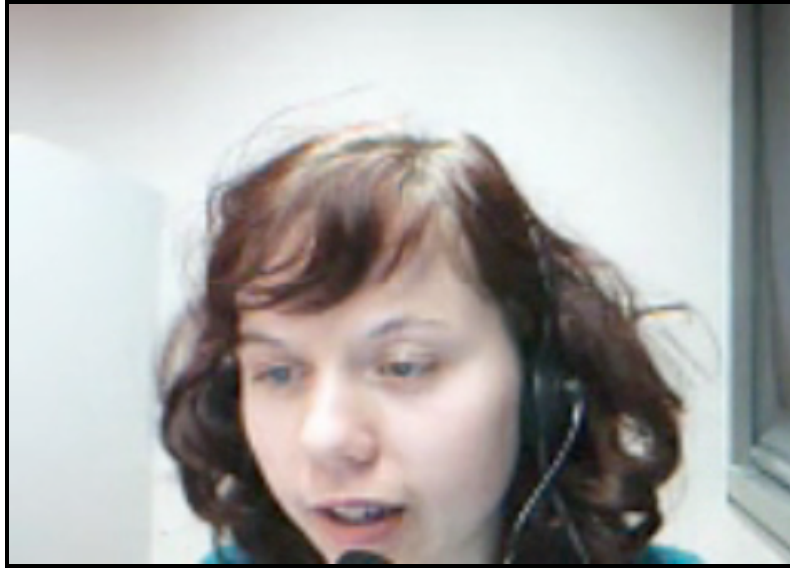
Figure 6.3—Video window capture of Amandine (at 0:17). Amandine addresses Kelly: "Alors (1) Ka**thy** (.5) tu vas, tu vas penser..."

Seamlessly, Amandine's words to both Berkeley partners have begun to address someone who, by name, is not there at all. At this point, however, Kelly's response, an elongated "Mmm" followed by a pause, is read by Amandine as a lack of an ability to hear her instructions.

> Amandine: Kathy, tu m'en**tends**? [Figure 6.4] (3) Kathy? (*Kathy, do you **hear** me? (3) Kathy?*)
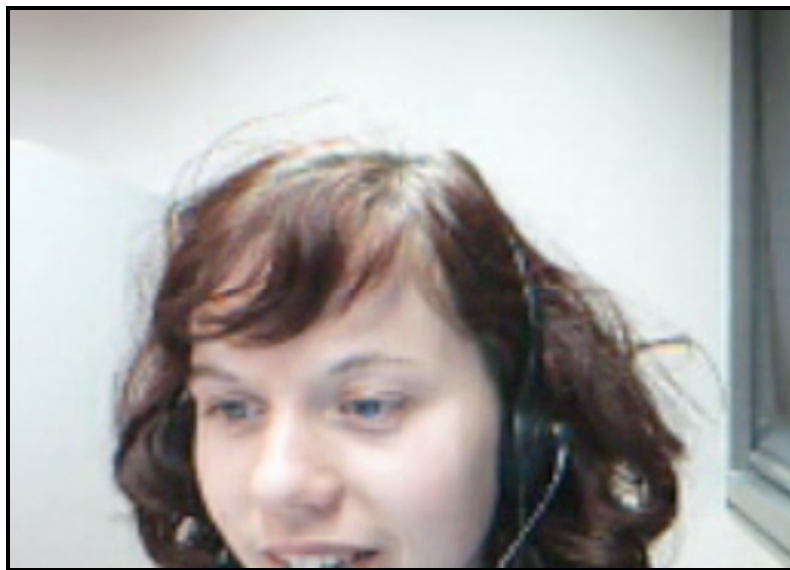
Figure 6.4—Video window capture of Amandine (at 0:26). Amandine addresses Kelly: "Kathy, tu m'en**tends**?"

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As Amandine asks Kelly if she hears her, she leans forward again toward the screen, smiling slightly, eyes still fixed on the same location. After a three-second pause, and repeating the mistaken name "Kathy", both Kelly and Eduardo react, apparently to the fact of her mistaken identity. Amandine, however, does not indicate that she is aware of this. She repeats the instructions to Kelly (again using the informal singular address form "tu"), while pointing at her own head, apparently indicating 'thinking':

Kelly: [Kath—]
Eduardo: [Mm?] (1)
Amandine: Oui, tu penses à un **lieu** [Figure 6.5] que tu aimes sur le campus.
                (*Yes, think of a **place** on campus that you like.*) (2)
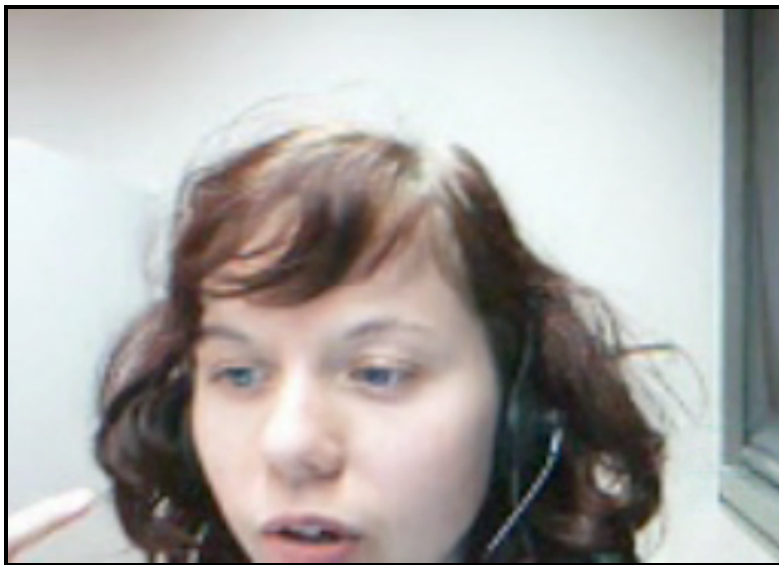
Figure 6.5—Video window capture of Amandine (at 0:34). Amandine repeats the game's instructions to Kelly: "Oui, tu penses à un **lieu**"

Here, Amandine's gesture is cut off since it falls out of the range of view of her videocamera, and all that remains is a finger, pointing back at her head. Her gaze has remained unbroken over this series of conversational turns, and Kelly laughs nervously at the end of the silence. Amandine continues:

Amandine: Tu m'entends? (*Do you hear me?*)
Kelly: Non, je—je suis désolée. Je ne comprends pas. (*No, I—I'm sorry. I don't understand.*)

Amandine continues by elaborating on the game's instructions in a more animated fashion: she gestures with both hands at her head as she tells Kelly to "imagine" and then, when her video connection suddenly drops, she continues by chat (after a long pause) to repeat the instructions to Kelly and to ask the students to write their first names using the text chat function (and then follows these up with a smiley-face emoticon). How she realizes that she might have had Kelly's name wrong is not made clear; neither does the

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fact that she had been mistakenly saying "Kathy" enter into the later conversation. The game continues and, after five more minutes of starts, stops, and elaborations on the instructions from both Amandine and then Eduardo, both students proceed to 'correctly' play the place guessing game—even if neither is able in the end to successfully guess, or even recognize, the place of the other (see Chapter 5).

This portion of Kelly's, Eduardo's, and Amandine's interaction spans just 40 seconds near the beginning of their first several minutes online, on the first day of their seven lessons together. Taking place in the second week of the Berkeley school semester, in the class' first hectically coordinated meeting in the computer lab, and at a time when classroom teachers, online tutors, and even student partners did not necessarily know each other's names, the confusions of identity and the students' misunderstandings are perhaps not surprising. To be sure, Amandine, Kelly, and Eduardo did not make further mistakes with each other's names once they had been typed into the chat window and, as Kelly noted in the final interview, she had come to understand (either before or through her videochats with Amandine) that "even though her eyes are pointed down, she's meaning to look at us". As Alice, a Berkeley student from the 2009 class, had said, it was in most regards "just like having a normal conversation with somebody over Skype".

Yet, the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural nature of *F1L* telecollaborative lessons like Amandine's, Eduardo's, and Kelly's reveal much of what might not otherwise be considered normal or even possible in embodied co-presence—areas of ambiguity, uncertainty, disruption, and potential (or actual) misunderstanding that can be traced back, at least in part, to the non-transparency of the medium joining Kelly, Amandine, and Eduardo in conversation. These include:

- The ongoing confusion between *hearing* and *understanding* (evident in Kelly's response to Amandine's question "Tu m'entends?" (*Do you hear me?*) with "Je—je suis désolée. Je ne comprends pas" (*I—I'm sorry. I don't understand*) as a reason (for example) for Amandine to repeat directions to Kelly
- The constant invisibility of Amandine's body and frequent disappearance of her mouth from view, especially at times when she was giving directions or checking for comprehension
- The probable inability of Eduardo and Kelly working in a pair to discern whether their tutor was looking at (either) one or both of them
- Static and echoes in the audio feed between Amandine and the students (see previous chapter)
- Disjointedness, jerkiness, and latency between the video and audio feeds such that the two were often slightly 'out of sync'
- Vocal doubling and delay between Kelly and Eduardo due to the slightly delayed mediation of their voices via Skype and through the earphones, simultaneous with the muffled and real-time sound of each other's voices from outside the earphones
- The lack of environmental or contextual information in the field of view behind and around Amandine

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- Kelly's being addressed by the wrong name, in combination with the above factors

As illustrated in Chapter 5 from the perspective of the (dis)embodiment of the language learner in video telecollaborative settings, at stake in the situation of Kelly, Eduardo, and Amandine is a separation, or "segmentation" (C. Jones, 2006) of the senses of hearing, sight, and touch (at least) from one another, and from the learner's seated body—a situation with potentially profound ramifications both for Kelly's turn-by-turn understanding of Amandine's instructions for this game and, on a larger level, the sense of reality engendered by such a game in the first place (see Chapter 5). Part of the difficulty faced by Kelly in this interaction, and by her classmates throughout the *F1L* project, I suggest, was the imperative to re-aggregate, or reassemble, the visual and audio representations both of herself and her tutor that had been 'taken apart' by the medium.

The Interface, Subjectivity Distributed, and Learning to "Look Twice"

In the first moments of this activity, when she and Eduardo were supposed to be following Amandine's directions and imagining local places familiar through their own experience—a goal-oriented communicative task in a foreign language—Kelly audibly hesitated as she strove to recognize herself as the object of her tutor's gaze and words, while other visible paralinguistic signals (the movement of Amandine's mouth, her pointing toward her own head) intermittently disappeared from view. Yet, if Kelly's predicament was, in part at least, the difficulty of occupying a unitary subject position with a body whose sensory and cognitive faculties were to a degree distributed in different modalities across a hybrid human-machine-network space, then she was far from alone. As C. Jones (2006) argues in her extended essay on processes of sensory segmentation characteristic of post-Enlightenment (European and U.S.) modernity, the 20th century division and refinement of the human subject's *sensorium*[84] through instruments such as manufactured and regulated scents, high-fidelity sound systems, and video cameras was as much an outcome of deliberate techno-aesthetic interventions as it was a natural historical progression. In this view, material artifacts such as the headphones used by Eduardo, Amandine, and Kelly do not just facilitate communication, but participate in a "bureaucratization of the senses", a fact with profound ramifications for the subjective possibilities of their users. Jones writes,

> It is not that hearing exists prior to the subject and modernism 'infects' it. It is rather that the senses are structured by social fields—even before birth. Hearing, like seeing, has always been part of producing the self; modernism achieved this in ways profoundly different from earlier historical moments—separating, segmenting, and bureaucratizing the subject in conjunction with similar initiatives

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[84] Jones defines the sensorium as "the subject's way of coordinating all of the body's perceptual and proprioceptive signals as well as the changing sensory envelope of the self" (C. Jones, 2006, p. 8). In this sense, the notion of the *sensorium* may help to elaborate and politicize Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1964) *corporeal schema*, discussed in Chapter 5, Section II.

in markets, governments, pedagogy, and biomedical research (C. Jones, 2006, p. 30).

The *interface*, then, appears as a significant influence upon not just the *content* of what is said and done between people (such as *F1L* participants) using elaborate tools to communicate at a distance, but also their very subjectivities. And, as Jones argues repeatedly throughout her essay, technologies of *vision* present a particular dilemma in the actualization of self through their propensity to make objects into self-affirming illusions while subjugating the other senses. Drawing exemplary power from the myth of Narcissus, she writes,

> Clearly, the Narcissus myth turns upon the lover neglecting to touch, taste, hear, or smell the beloved into whose eyes he gazes. Were he to attend to any of these other senses, the mythic illusion would be shattered; modern spectacle could not emerge. The narcissistic subject, then, is precisely that subject who needs to subordinate all other senses to sight--to produce the 'narcissistic' I/eye, to become modern, to give birth to the self-reflective ego in the spectacular social realm (C. Jones, 2006, p. 16).

In the remainder of this chapter, I explore the consequences of what I contend is a 'spectacular' fact of the video-mediated telecollaborative exchange: the imperative placed upon students like Kelly to find themselves in their interlocutors' gaze, to see their intercultural Others on the screen, looking back at them—or, rather, at their own on-screen representations. I investigate the case of Ann, a Berkeley student in a lesson with her tutor Jean; she indicates both verbally and visually over two separate interviews, and in her drawing assignment, that her online experience had everything to do with learning how to be looked at, and how to look on the screen.

Before turning to the data, however, I attempt to contextualize and develop the concept of "interface" through which I will view Ann's conversations with Jean. And throughout, I direct attention to the role of the interface in helping or hindering students like Ann to "look twice"—an opportunity, through language and sight, to build reflexive awareness of one's own otherness in transcultural dialogue.

II. Interface Transformations: A Conceptual Review

Overview: Translating Between Fields of Power

To those versed in the literature on human-computer interaction (HCI), the word "interface" likely conjures up visions of computer displays, keyboards, mice, head-mounted displays and other mechanical contrivances used by people to input signals and ascertain the results and progress of a computer's operation. Yet at the outset of our discussion we might consider that in other discursive domains "interface" can also refer to such sites as the purely mechanical junctures between machine and machine (such as

the cables and terminals behind computers), to boundary surfaces between physical elements in different material states (e.g. liquids and gases) and—closer to the interests of the human(-to-computer)-to-human interface of desktop videoconferencing—to the intersection of different social orders through the contact of people and texts. In the field of developmental sociology, for example, Norman Long presents a social constructionist/actor-centered theory that turns on the notion of the "social interface", defined as "a critical point of intersection between lifeworlds, social fields or levels of social organisation where *social discontinuities*, based upon discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power, are most likely to be located" (N. Long, 2001, p. 243). In applied linguistics, this formulation bears similarities to Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zone", which she glosses as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34).

One reason to theorize the interface, then, is to expose the operations, intersections, transformations, and resolution of differing codes, materials and ideologies at their (often invisible) points of contact. And, in the interest of finding opportunities for foreign language learners to develop a reflexive awareness of their own foreignness in the face of intercultural others (see Chapter 2), the videoconferencing interface is an invaluable site, for it is there that the *face* as physical reality and metaphor meet.

With respect to computer *user* interfaces,[85] of course, at stake is the translation of symbolic forms employed in human-to-human communication (written, spoken, drawn, gestural, and other signs) to and from the computer's binary code, a realm of aesthetic as well as transactional import. In his well-known treatment of the evolution and nature of the computer interface, Johnson asserts its significance thus:

> Where the Victorian novel shaped our understanding of the new towns wrapped around the steel mill and the cotton gin, and fifties television served as an imaginative guide to the new suburban enclaves created by the automobile, the interface makes the teeming, invisible world of zeros and ones sensible to us. There are few creative acts in modern life more significant than this one, and few with such broad social consequences (Johnson, 1997, p. 17).

Readers of this study are likely most familiar with (and likely using at this moment) graphic user interfaces (GUIs) such as the Apple and Microsoft desktop "windows", within which files and operations appear as three dimensional, manipulable objects, 'reachable' with the keyboard and mouse or, most recently, touch-screen and other haptic devices.[86] Command-line interfaces (CLIs), with keyboarded linguistic and

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[85] In computing, the term "interface" can be used both to refer to the interface between two systems, or between users and the computer's software (Unwin & Hofmann, 1999). In this study, I have employed the latter usage, although ecological, science studies, and posthuman views (for example) of the self may allow for understanding the user/language learner herself as a "system", or as a sub-system in a larger system.

[86] For a short and readable history of the GUI from Vannevar Bush's envisioned "Memex" machine in the 1930s, to Douglas Englebart's oN-Line System demonstration in 1968, through the development Macintosh's OSX, see Reimer (2005); also Johnson (1997), Rheingold (1991).

computer language input and output displayed as lines of text on screens, have become less popular since the rise of the GUI but in themselves represent a foundational leap separating "computers" from other technologies of calculation (e.g., mechanical calculators), communication (e.g., telephones), and representation (e.g. televisions).

Inseparable from the computer's ability to perform calculations through the manipulations of sequences of zeros and ones (electric pulses in an "off" or "on" state) is the imperative that those calculations be translated into a symbolic form useful for human beings. The key breakthrough of the computer, Johnson writes, thus lies "with this idea of the computer as a symbolic system, a machine that traffics in representations or signs rather than in the mechanical cause-and-effect of the cotton gin or the automobile" (Johnson, 1997, p. 15). And, as he notes, the way and extent to which the computer divides its (pervasive) "symbolic" from its (limited) "mechanical" work is unique among other technologies: a computer is "a symbolic system from the ground up. Those pulses of electricity are symbols that stand in for zeros and ones, which in turn represent simple mathematical instruction sets, which in turn represent words or images, spreadsheets or e-mail messages" (p. 15). Thus, even the CLI user typing linguistic 'commands' into the keyboard and reading the computer's 'replies' in close to real time on the screen is engaging in a symbolic exchange that has already passed through multiple layers of machine translation.

Videoconferencing and the GUI's Simulational Logic of Visual Representation

In particular, however, the mainstream turn from the CLI to the GUI marks a critical moment for those who study desktop videoconferencing and other forms of multimodal interaction in language education. Sherry Turkle's (1995) claim that the switch to visual metaphors as the baseline for manipulating and representing information in the mid to late 1980s resulted in the introduction of a simulational layer between people and machines seems to bear truth today.[87] Whereas previously, computer users were assumed to be in 'direct' contact with the lines of code directing the computer's actions, current operating systems that utilize GUIs to spatialize data in two dimensions (windows, desktops, folders) encourage users to 'navigate' and 'tinker', without ever realizing how their commands are being translated into and out of code. Turkle writes,

> The simulated desktop that the Macintosh presented came to be far more than a user-friendly gimmick for marketing computers to the inexperienced. It also introduced a way of thinking that put a premium on surface manipulation and working in ignorance of the underlying mechanism (Turkle, 1995, p. 35).

The desktop interface metaphor and spatialization of human-information relations via the computer is consequential for numerous scholars of new media and society (e.g., Hayles, 1999; Johnson, 1997; Murray, 1997; Poster, 2001); Turkle's aphorism that "we have learned to take things at interface value" (Turkle, 1995, p. 23) is consequential in

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[87] Turkle herself continues to employ the Baudrillardian language of simulation to describe the nature of on-screen realities experienced by users of digital technologies (Turkle 2009, 2011).

that it is directly linked to a claim about the nature of online knowledge of self, other and world, and of the user's subjectivity. Specifically, the media-rich, metaphorically-driven, and code-devoid interfaces of today's computers are material instantiations of a postmodern logic in which signs are simulational rather than representational (Baudrillard, 1983; Cubitt, 2001; Eco, 1986; see findings and discussion of the hyperreality of place in Chapter 4), and in which the boundaries between human and machine are not only cast into doubt, but created anew in the dense overlays of machines and applications that computer users find and put themselves. Echoing the vision of both numbing and enabling potentialities for self-recreation through "transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities" in Haraway's "Manifesto for cyborgs" (Haraway, 1987), Turkle asks,

> Are we living life *on* the screen or life *in* the screen? Our new technologically enmeshed relationships oblige us to ask to what extent we ourselves have become cyborgs, transgressive mixtures of biology, technology, and code. The traditional distance between people and machines has become harder to maintain (Turkle, 1995, p. 21).

These questions, while bearing the mark of early inquiry in cyberculture studies, give urgency to the question of the nature of the interface in desktop videoconferencing, applications for which (Skype, iChat, etc.) aim for a sort of transparency or immediacy (Bolter & Grusin, 2000) in the (re)presentation of the interlocutor's own face and voice. However, understanding the "computer interface" (almost always written in the singular) as a multi-part, multi-layered ensemble of technologies can help to tease apart objects for analysis in the situation between videoconferencing partners: the roles of the material body of the computer, the screen (as both a three-dimensional object and two-dimensional surface), the mouse and other peripheral devices must be considered, while the operating system offers its own interface, and each software application may remediate yet others.

This complexity is indicated in the work of structural analyses such as that of Licoppe & Relieu (2007), who posit that interlocutors in a videoconferencing interaction must deal with not one or two but four separate environments—the real environment of each of the two interlocutors seated at their computers, and the corresponding images on each other's screens. And, as Hutchby (2001) and other researchers with an ethnomethodological or conversation analytic approach recognize (e.g., Heath & Luff, 1991; Marcoccia, 2010; Mondada, 2007), online communicators face a significant problem in establishing a common frame of reference for the only partially perceptible physical worlds they inhabit. As Hutchby writes,

> The fact that videophones enable interactants to see each other means that interactants may assume the effectiveness of communicative devices that function well in other forms of visually-accessible co-presence. Yet the technology does not afford the specific congruence between the perceptual fields of participants that ordinary face-to-face interaction relies upon. (Hutchby, 2001, p. 130)

However, the assertion of Hutchby and others that computer-mediated interlocutors could see, speak of, and in effect act within the same world if only they experienced "congruence between perceptual fields" appears to make at least three assumptions that, in the case of foreign language learners and teachers interacting via desktop videoconferencing, must be interrogated:

1. Partners in telecollaborative (language learning) projects are orienting primarily toward a "field" and not toward each other;
2. The potential perceptual field-in-common is not bounded/split;
3. Individuals from different cultural and geographic settings, and speaking different languages could share a common perceptual field.

The last of these assumptions is perhaps the most contentious and oft-debated; indeed, Chapters 4 and 5, dealing with questions of uniqueness of location and the positionality (and wholeness) of the telecollaborative speaker, can be read as implying that it is the difference of perspectives and putting-into-relation of even something so 'basic' as two perceptual fields that creates the ground for dialogic engagement with the foreignness of the other (see Chapter 2). If Merleau-Ponty's concept of the *corporeal field* (Chapter 5, Section II) is read with an eye to the cultural locatedness of the body-in-the-world, in a world that is at least in part produced through language, then the notion of a transparent alignment between interlocutors' perceptual fields becomes increasingly problematic. In fact, Hanks (2000, p. 10) argues that in order for language to enact its deictic functions (anchoring communication in place, time, and person), questions of embodiment, the corporeal field of speakers, their manners of co-presence, the participation frameworks they enact, the metalanguage they employ, and practices of indexical grounding *all* play a role.

The Face Deterritorialized: On the Challenge of Reading the Other, On Screen, In Frame, and Through Window

In contrast to the third assumption above, the first two perhaps appear so obvious to language educators and students utilizing desktop videoconferencing (as with the vast majority of computer-users today) as to require no mention at all: people do not interact with one another in the flesh, but with each other's likenesses talking, smiling, scowling, shrugging, waving, and *looking back* on rectangular, two-dimensional surfaces--an interactive and *personalized* realization of Virilio's *Lost Dimension*, in which "three dimensions of constructed space are translated into the two dimensions of a screen, or better of an interface" (Virilio, 1991, p. 73, cited in Friedberg, 2006, p. 186).

In her historical study of vision, virtuality, and "the everyday frames through which we see things" (Friedberg, 2006, p. 13), Anne Friedberg develops the notion of the interface as "a geometric term for the surface that forms the common boundary between two three-dimensional figures (p. 220). Beginning with the Italian philosopher and artist Leon Battista Alberti's instructions to painters in the mid-15th century as to how to see the canvas as a window enacting a "fixed relation of a viewer to a framed view" (p. 20),

and ending with observations about the fragmented and almost post-perspectival nature of the multiple and layered 'windows' in current-day GUIs, Friedberg writes,

> The screens of cinema, television, and computers open 'virtual windows' that ventilate the static materialities and temporalities of their viewers. A 'windowed' multiplicity of perspectives implies new laws of 'presence'—not only here and there, but also then and now—a multiple view—sometimes enhanced, sometimes diminished—out the window (Friedberg, 2006, p. 4-5).

Friedberg's point is not simply that the computer screen, as a window, simply fixes the user in disembodied, spectatorial relation to a removed 'scene' on the other side; nor is it simply that, as a frame, the screen bounds action and movement within its own limits and in so doing *virtualizes* the movement of the viewer; nor still is it that, like a film screen borrowing the "sensual isolation" from the plate glass window, it "[removes] our experience of space, time, and the real to the plane of representation" (Friedberg, 2006, p. 138). Rather, to the extent that we read her study from within the bounds of our interest as language educators using computers and other en-screened devices, Friedberg's point is that the computer screen bears functional and formal traces of all of these, demonstrating that the limits and modes of perspective are fatally tied to the nature of the subjectivities of its users/viewers. As she notes, "Here it might be useful to extend Wittgenstein's incisive epigram, 'The limits of my language are the limits of my world,' to its visual corollary: the limits and multiplicities of our frames of vision determine the boundaries of our world" (p. 7).

Of course, what the *F1L* students were looking at within the frame that mattered was the image of their tutors, moving and speaking and looking back at *their* own images in real time. In this sense, the visibly spatial aspects of virtual co-presence in "virtual windows" (explored in part through the study of distance and location in Chapter 4) and the "bindings of time" from which cinematic and televisual screens often free their spectators (see Friedberg, 2006, p. 6) must inform an interrogation of the framed development of student-tutor relations online. And specifically, in light of the example of Kelly and Amandine in Section I, and of the student-tutor pair presented in the sections to follow, we must consider not only the question of knowing when one is being looked at online (e.g., Gamer & Hecht, 2007), but the counterintuitive proposition that the interface is itself agential, a "face between the faces", when it is precisely the eyes and face of the other that appears on the screen. The example of the Berkeley student Ann and her tutor Jean suggest that seeing one's tutor *and* oneself online ought to provoke consideration of *faciality* itself—the mediated grid within which the otherness of the intercultural other and of the foreign language-learning self are both projected and masked (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

III. A Story of Eyes: Ann Looking at Jean Looking at Ann

Ann and Jean

In the 2008 iteration of the *Le Français en (Première) Ligne* project, and sitting in the same rooms as Kelly and Amandine, respectively, the Berkeley students Ann and Lynn worked as a pair with their tutor Jean. February 29th marked the fourth of seven interactions over the project's two-month duration. It was a day on which Lynn was absent and, in what became a one-on-one lesson with Jean, the day of the experience that Ann used as the basis of her drawing characterizing her online interactions, and to which she referred frequently in two separate interviews.

Ann, a sophomore at Berkeley at the time, was originally from Southern California, and had previously studied abroad for four months in Paris. As such, she had the second most experience in her class in a Francophone country, and was acknowledged by many of her peers to be among the most fluent speakers of French in the class. Ann was fairly typical of the other students in saying that the online environment created for her a safe space where she felt comfortable speaking in the company of her partner Lynn and with her tutor Jean in Lyon, with whom she (like Amandine, Eduardo, and the others) had been paired randomly on the day of the first interaction in January.

Jean was a graduate student in his final semester of the two-year Masters program in teaching French as a foreign language (FLE) program in Lyon. He was 26 years old, a native speaker of French, and already held Masters degrees in language sciences and language and deafness. He had no previous experience teaching French, and had not tutored online before, although he used the internet regularly for email and web searches. Jean happened to be the author of the lesson on national identity that was used by all the tutors during the session that is the focus of this chapter. On the surface, this meant that he was working in a separate room while he was videotaped from a side direction, with less noise and no other tutors visible in the background; the fact that his performance was to be watched and critiqued by his peers immediately after the online lesson also may have changed the nature of his interaction with Ann.[88]

The Focal Activity

The analysis presented below derives from a selection of cross-referencing data collected at different points over the semester and in different modalities. All of these data point to a critical event that Ann identified in her drawing, and narrated in two separate interviews. As indicated above, this event took place during the fourth of seven online lessons, during a session entitled "Les Identites (Nationales)" ((*National*) *Identities*) (see an overview of the lesson below, in Figure 6.6; the original lesson, in French, appears as Appendix B). The session began with a check-in on what students had

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[88] For more on the institutional contexts within which students like Ann and student/tutors like Jean were working, see Chapter 3, Sections III and IV.

done since the last session, followed by the first 10-minute activity, which involved defining national identity in France or in the U.S. in terms of what students had heard or read. This led into the second activity, which involved discussing national holidays, their symbolic importance, and what people do to celebrate them. In turn, this led into the activity upon which I focus in this chapter, "C'est quoi un français?" (*What is a French* (*person*)*?*), in which students were asked to characterize the French people. First, they were to work together to choose photographs of celebrities they felt best represented France. Then, they were asked whether they thought that their own tutor(s) corresponded to their image of the French, and they were asked to describe the "average" Frenchman in terms of physical appearance, clothing, character, occupation, and place of residence. This is the section of the lesson that is transcribed in part, and analyzed below. Following this activity, students were asked to go on the blog, where they would watch and respond to an advertisement intended to evoke "American" culture, in an effort to define what it is to be American.

UNITE 4 : LES IDENTITES (NATIONALES) *(UNIT 4: (NATIONAL) IDENTITIES)*		
Time	**Activity**	**Description**
6:10 PM Lyon/ 9:10 AM Berkeley	Renouer le contact avec les participants (*Re-establish contact with participants*)	Informal conversation between tutors and students about what the students have done over their week of vacations (Spring Break)
6:10 – 6:20 Lyon / 9:10 – 9:20 Berk	Activity 1—Exchange of opinions. "What is national identity?" (*Qu'est ce que l'identité nationale ?*)	Based on what they have read, the students choose and discuss 5 characteristics of either French or American national identity
6:20 – 6:30 Lyon / 9:20 – 9:30 Berk	Activity 2—Giving preferences/making comparisons: "What makes a holiday?" (*Que faire un jour férié ?*)	The tutor leads the students in a discussion of what they feel to be the most representative American holiday; the students describe a typical day's events on that holiday
6:30 – 6:35 Lyon / 9:30 – 9:35 Berk	**Activity 3—Exchange of opinions. "What is a French person?" (*C'est quoi un français?*)**	**Students choose one from among several from among several photographs of people and explain how their chosen person represents France. Tutors ask students if they themselves (the tutors) conform to the students' image of an 'average' French person.**
6:35 – 6:40 Lyon / 9:35 – 9:40 Berk	Activity 3(a)— Exchange of opinions. "What does it mean to be an American of the	Students and tutors watch and respond to a 45-second advertisement. They exchange opinions as to whether it is representative (U.S.) American society.

	United States?" (*C'est quoi être américain des Etats Unis?*)	Students discuss public figures who are more or less representative of U.S. culture, including Barack Obama
If there is sufficient time	Activity 4—Information gap. "Find my nationality" (*Découvrez ma nationalité)*	Learners have printed papers with residents of different countries. They play a guessing game in which their partners try to determine which country they come from
6:40 – 6:45 Lyon / 9:40 – 9:45 Berk	Feedback/summary (*Bilan*)	Tutors ask learners several questions to transition to the following week's topic (travels) and give linguistic feedback from the current session

Figure 6.6—Overview of the National Identities lesson (see Appendix B)

Ann Narrates Her Drawing: Learning to Look, and to be Looked at

The starting point for analysis is Ann's visual depiction of a process of learning to see and be seen by a French man through the computer screen—discussion of which occupied more than six minutes in the final interview with her partner Lynn approximately one month after the critical event she identified. Ann's drawing (Figure 6.7, below) was the only of 15 student drawings from 2008 that attempted to represent the French tutor in Lyon as an abstracted quality rather than drawing a likeness of the tutor's head and shoulders; it was also one of only two drawings in which the passage of time over the interaction's 7-week span played an important role.

Ann produced a collage of seven pairs of male eyes, clipped from magazines, pasted onto the "screen" area of a drawing of her iMac computer. Six of the seven pairs of eyes are looking directly into the camera (and thus appear to look at the viewer of the collage):

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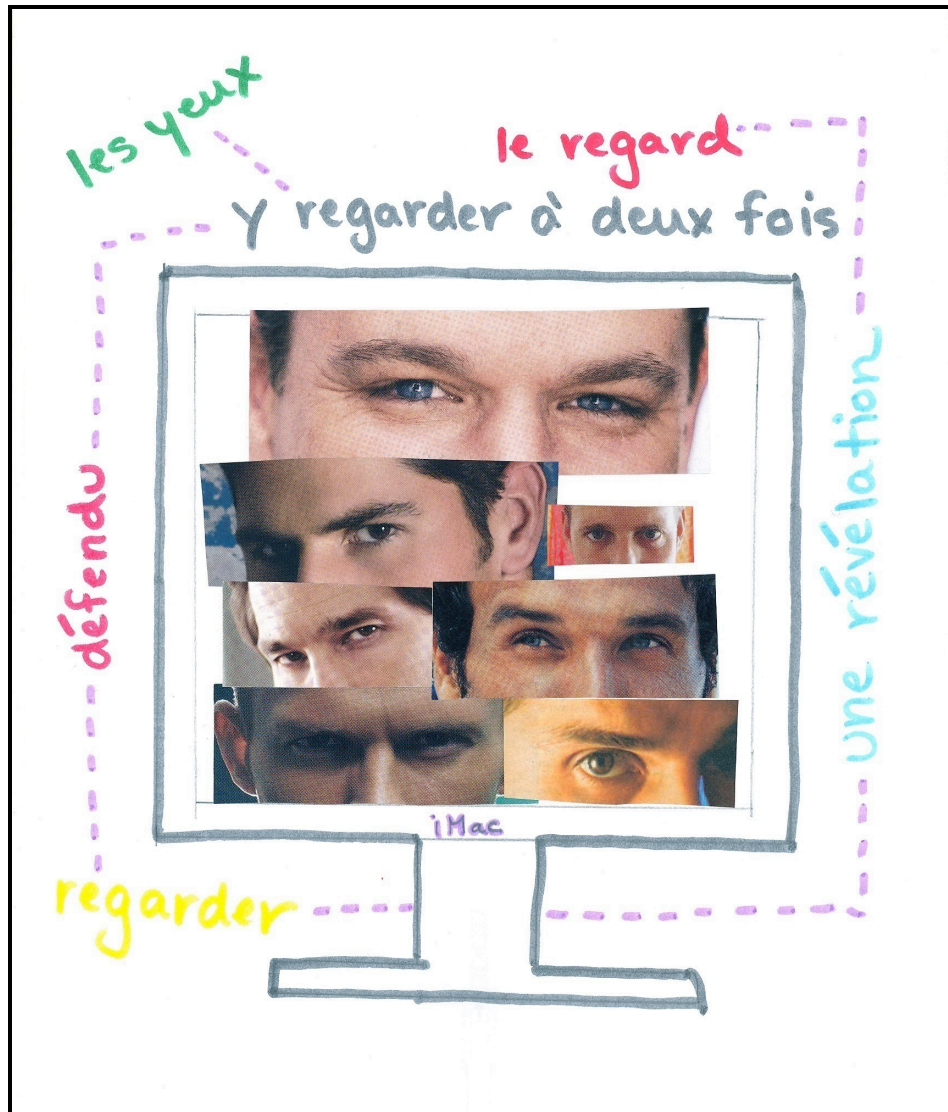
Figure 6.7—Ann's drawing

In Ann's drawing, no chins, mouths, or even nostrils are visible. The salience of
the eyes appears to be reinforced by the colored words that line the outside of the
drawing: a dashed line connects *le regard* (the look), *une revelation* (a revelation),
regarder (to look), *défendu* (forbidden), *y regarder à deux fois* (to give a second look at
something because it looks suspicious) and *les yeux* (the eyes). This scene takes place on
a computer labeled "iMac" that consists solely of a screen,[89] and the salience of the
screen as the location of the collage of cutout eyes is further accomplished through a faint

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[89] The Apple iMac computer, in use in the language laboratory at Berkeley at the time of these interactions,
has been noted for a construction which features the 'disappearance' of the computer behind the screen, as
technologies of representation (the screen) and of computation (the computer) are integrated in a single
rectangular body (Schaefer & Gigi Durham, 2007).

rectangular line separating the edge of the computer's body from the screen's border, drawn in faint gray.

Ann's deployment of semiotic resources in her drawing, and the subjective response they triggered in its viewers—namely, the striking quality of the multiple staring eyes—prompted the research team to ask Ann in the final interview whose eyes she intended to represent, and why there were so many. Who was looking at whom, and what was the significance of looking in her interactions with Jean? And, in particular, what was "forbidden", and what was the "revelation" she refers to in her drawing?

Ann's narration demonstrated that she was indeed concerned with representing experiences of looking and being looked at, by and at French men in particular. But it soon became clear that the research team had read clockwise a sequence of words[90] that should have been read counter-clockwise. Ann began narrating her drawing from the top:

> Ann: So it goes from the eyes ((*les yeux*, at top left, in green lettering)) to looking twice ((*y regarder à deux fois*)), which is prohibited ((*défendu*)) and then, to *regarder*, which is like, "to look", so that was like, what I really got out of it.

The meaning that Ann gives here to *y regarder à deux fois* is critical. In contradistinction to the everyday metaphorical sense of the expression which indicates a thinking-through before acting (considering the probably negative consequences of an overly hasty decision, for example), Ann takes the meaning of the verb *regarder* (to look) quite literally. She recounted earlier in the interview how she had been instructed in a study abroad orientation session in Paris that women should not engage men with direct eye contact, since it would be taken as a physical come-on or sign of availability; or, as she said, "It's something that's socially not like something you're supposed to do unless you're trying to hook up with someone." In this context, according to her own representations of French culture at the time, 'looking twice' at men on the streets of a French city, in the subway, or in other public places was "forbidden" by social convention, and carried with it potentially threatening personal consequences.

But not looking twice at her tutor Jean was not an option in the face-to-face medium of videoconferencing. Ann indicated as much when she continued narrating her drawing:

> Ann: And (.5) [Jean] was always looking back at us, so it was really like, the interaction, especially with a French male, was like so foreign to me, even though I had been there for four months. (1) And (1) so, "the look" ((*regarder*)), and then, a revelation ((*une révélation*)) (1), and then 'the look' ((*le regard*)). Like, it comes back to the top, cause that's where you are again with the eyes, but this time it's a different (.5) thing, 'cause now you have that interaction. Now you have that communication that I really

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[90] This misreading of direction is repeated deliberately in the glosses of the words two paragraphs above.

couldn't get (.5) even when I was there. So it was (2) I thought it was very cool.

This passage from Ann ranges quickly between four separate narrative times that together reveal a metonymic relationship between exchanges of *looking* and her level of comfort with *interacting* with French men in general: first, a characterization of her and her partner Lynn's awareness of eye contact with Jean as a salient element *during* their interactions with their tutor ("he was always looking back at us"); second, reflections back to the time of her stay in France ("even though I had been there for four months"); third, her transformed stance toward communicating with French men by the end of the seven Berkeley-Lyon online exchanges ("this time it's a different thing, 'cause now you have that interaction'"); and, fourth, the time of the interview, in which all eyes in the room were focused on and interpreting the drawing itself, an artifact placed on the table between the four interlocutors ("...it comes back to the top").

To a significant degree, Ann attributes her enjoyment of her interactions with Jean to the newfound ability to look at, and be looked at, by a French male online, where the fact of looking is decoupled from its potential consequences in the physical world. She describes the relationship of the pictures of the eyes in the middle of her drawing to her "revelation" about being able to look as, "kinda like the means. Like it was just really cool to be able to talk to someone and communicate with someone and have someone, like, look you in the eye...it was just impossible for me in France to even think about that so it was really cool."

In Ann's (spoken) estimation, then, the eyes in the drawing did not represent the stares of innumerable French men subjecting her to their gaze; as she explained in her interview,

> Ann: No, that's Jean. It represents just, that representation of 'the look', and how eyes communicate things. And so every time you communicate with someone, you get a little more (1) close to that, and it was just that.

And Ann's experience of eye contact with Jean was not just "very cool to experience", as she stated later in her interview; it was also "a very personal thing", part of an "emotional journey":

> Ann: And I guess you could say it also represents, like, different emotions. Like how like, when we would laugh (1) there was that communication with eyes (.5) and when he would like not understand us he would be like (1) ((gestures with her eyes wide open)) ...

At the time of the interview and summation of Ann's online experience with Jean and her partner Lynn, we see the computer interface—and Ann's visual/verbal representation of experience over time—implicated in perhaps counterintuitive ways. Jean's variety of expressions, and his ever-present gaze, are realized visually in the

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multiple pairs of cutout eyes arranged across the space of the screen. Through the screen, Ann was able to find comfort in speaking with the cultural, linguistic, and gendered 'other' in a way that was, in her experience at least, inaccessible when she was living in France (cf. Walther, 1996, "hyperpersonal interaction"). And though she sat together with her partner Lynn for six out of seven online sessions, and though all three participants in this online exchange were physically located in computer labs and classrooms with dozens of classmates, Ann's experience of Jean's gaze was, she indicated, of a private sort, to the extent that talking about it in the interview prompted her to reflect at the end, "It's like a study in psychology."

In order to explore the condensation of emotion and memory that appear for Ann to have been realized through, and found expression in, the experience of Jean's tele-mediated eyes, I turn briefly to Ann and Lynn's statements about the nature of eye contact via their camera-and-screen Skype interface. Following this, I present discourse data from the videoconferencing interaction between Ann and Jean that helps to show how, I later argue, the interface played an active role in 'revealing' Ann to Jean, and vice versa.

IV. On Looking Directly—Through the Interface

Of course, the mediation of the gaze by cameras and screens is the very premise of videoconferencing. In particular, the goal of the machine interface to achieve "immediacy" as a medium (Bolter & Grusin, 2000)—that is, to disappear in its capacity as a mediating apparatus—is compromised by the fact that the video camera and the on-screen window showing the interlocutor's face are spatially separated. This is a fact that has been empirically tested in a variety of videoconferencing settings: when there is a line-of-sight/line-of-camera variance of greater than approximately three degrees, users often perceive that their interlocutors are not looking at their eyes (see, for example, Bruce, 1996; Grayson & Monk, 2003; O'Malley et al., 1996). And this appeared to be the subjective impression of the majority of the Berkeley student participants in *Le français en (première) ligne*, who realized that in order for their tutors to look directly at the students' on-screen faces in Lyon, the tutors' eyes would appear downcast on the students' screens in Berkeley.[91]

Indeed, in the interview with Ann and her partner Lynn, Lynn takes the lead in explaining this effect (and the students' compensation strategy) to the interviewer (Dave):

Dave:	What was eye contact like? Were you making a lot of eye contact during the...
Lynn:	I think we kept pretty good eye contact
	(1)
Dave:	Yeah

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[91] This point was made clearly by Kelly and Eduardo in their interview, and is discussed with respect to the online embodiment of students and tutors in Chapter 4.

Lynn:	I think it wasn't a problem. 'Cause you're kinda like looking at the screen and that (.5) makes you look at him indirectly, 'cause like (.5), like (1) but you have to look at the screen, and then that's—he's perceiving that you're looking at him, so (.5) which you are, kind of=
Ann:	=That's kinda deep. You're like=
Dave:	=That is deep
Ann:	((facetious, animated speaking style)) I'm looking at the screen, and then you're looking at him, and I could also see myself, it's like, it's...

Lynn and Ann both point to the contradictory nature of eye contact via desktop videoconferencing: looking at Jean was only possible by "kinda like looking at the screen", which allowed Ann and Lynn to "look indirectly" or "kind of look" at Jean as he appeared on-screen. The unnaturalness of this situation (or, at least, verbalizing such a situation in the face-to-face interview setting) is indicated both in the pauses and rephrasings Lynn employs in describing how eye contact is made in this setting—the students and tutors look at each other's downcast eyes on their respective computer screens and perceive that their on-screen likenesses are receiving the gaze of the other—and in Ann's recasting of the entire circuit of gazes among the three conversants as "deep".

Having just narrated her drawing in the previous minutes of the interview, Ann then uses this occasion to return to the topic of how "foreign" talking to "a French male" was for her; the critical incident that she relates next is the topic of Section VI below. But as she does so, Ann continues to describe her experience of eye contact through the interface with Jean, an experience that approximates the notion of the disappearance or *immediacy* of the medium more closely and in greater detail than any of the other 15 student participants interviewed for this study.

Seeking to clarify the apparent contradiction, common to videoconferencing and just acknowledged by Ann and Lynn, of perceiving oneself to be looked at when one's interlocutor's eyes on-screen appear to be cast downwards, the interviewer asked the follow-up question, "And when he was looking at you, did it look like he was looking right at you?", to which Ann and Lynn replied:

Ann:	Mm-hmm. Yeah.
Dave:	Oh.
Lynn:	Yeah.
Dave:	Yeah.
Ann:	You could see when he would look, like, from Lynn to me or, depending on who was talking.
Lynn:	[Mm-hmm
Ann:	[You could see like
Dave:	Uh huh (1) And his eyes were looking at, like, right at your eyes when he was doing that?
Ann:	Mm-hmm

Lynn: Mm-hmm

To be clear, Ann is aware of the fact that her eyes and Jean's eyes were both looking down at the on-screen representations of each other's faces, and not at the video cameras that might be expected to convey to one's interlocutor a sense of being directly looked at. Yet, for Ann, this 'dislocated' eye contact was not experienced as "looking indirectly" or "kind of looking", as Lynn had termed it earlier. Ann responded affirmatively that Jean's "eyes were looking directly at" her eyes—a response that, coupled with the cutout magazine eyes pasted on her drawing and her statement in explaining it that "Jean was always looking back at us"—appeared to indicate that Ann experienced eye contact with Jean as *direct*.

Ann's explanation of the phenomenon of making eye contact with a conversation partner on Skype—her experience of the technological interface—was interlaced in her narrative with her experience of learning "to look twice"[92] at "a French male"; this was the "revelation" she drew about and described as one of the most salient aspects of her learning of French online. Indeed, in the course of the interview, she described a moment of tension in her interaction with Jean when the "forbidden" (*défendu*) practice of looking at a French man became *both* the topic of conversation *and* the unavoidable fact of Ann and Jean's online exchange, an embodied event that could only take place through the interface.

V. The Revelation: Ann's Critical Looking Moment

In Section III above, I alluded to the fact that, as she was asked about the mechanics of eye contact via the Skype interface, Ann returned to what amounted to a refrain in the interview: her experience avoiding eye contact with men while she was living in France. And, for Ann, this topic was associated with a particular moment in the videoconferencing interaction with Jean. As mentioned previously, the Berkeley students and their Lyon tutors were engaged in a lesson on national identity. The students were to discuss stereotypes of French men and women before watching an advertisement that was to provoke thought on stereotyped identities of U.S. Americans. The discussion that ensued between Jean and Ann led to an experience that Ann appears to have associated with her "revelation" about gender and looking, and which I wish to investigate with respect to the culturally transformative role of the computer interface.

In the final interview, Ann had recalled this day when the interviewer asked her if she remembered any occasions in which she and Jean explicitly addressed questions of eye contact via Skype:

Dave: Did it ever come up as a topic in the, uh, in your discussion, like, eye contact, "Where are you looking right now?" or, or (1) or (1)

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[92] This is Ann's rendition of the French expression *y regarder à deux fois*; I suggest that her literal interpretation of this metaphorical adage "to be cautiously aware" is an illustration of her own lack (as of yet, that is) of reflexive awareness of her own positionality as intercultural other to Jean.

Ann:	The day Lynn was absent (1) ((to Lynn)) I'm sorry ((inaudible))
Lynn:	No, no ((both laughing))
Dave:	((joking)) We were, she was lonely
Lynn:	Yeah ((laughing))
Ann:	The day Lynn was absent we got to talk a little more about what I wanted to do with, like, in the future and stuff, and (1) And we did talk about my experiences in Paris, and that was the day we covered 'What does the average French woman look like?', 'What does the average French guy look like?' (1) And it came up, he was like, "So what does the average French guy look like?" And I'm like, "I honestly have no idea."
Dave:	Yeah
Ann:	And he's like, "How do you have no idea? Like, ((laughing)) you were in Paris, you know what the French woman looks like..." And I was like, "Well, I didn't really look at French guys," because for me it was such, like, it was like, well, "I'm not gonna look, 'cause I don't want to provoke anyone."
Dave:	Right
Ann:	And, like (1) personally, like, maybe I would check out, like what kind of sweater a guy's wearing (.5) but like, I'm not gonna try and look at them 'cause I'm not, I don't want to provoke anything, you know?

The "provocation" that Ann mentions here is, of course, the reason that she understood looking back ("looking twice", in the meaning that Ann has given it) at a man to be "forbidden" (*défendu*, as she labeled her drawing in French): it might be seen as a come-on, or an indication of availability to a man.

In fact, these statements from the interview bear both striking similarities and important differences with the actual flow of conversation between Ann and Jean in their interaction almost two months before, during their lesson in French. On this day, Jean was seated alone in a small classroom, glancing back and forth between his printed out lesson materials spread out on the tabletop, and Ann's image in the Skype interface displayed on his laptop computer. Since he is working alone in a separate room so that he can be filmed for analysis and discussion by the other tutors, nobody else is visible in the background; Ann, meanwhile, is seen (by Jean) to be in the computer lab, with other students, computers, and a tripod-mounted video camera behind her (Figure 6.8). As he talks and listens to Ann, Jean alternately leans forward on his elbows to look into the angled screen, and sits back in his chair, a forward-and-back range of motion that, because of the proximity of the camera to his head, creates a dramatic difference in the size of his head as it appears on Ann's screen. Meanwhile, Ann sits in front of her iMac computer with a much more upright posture, focused primarily on the screen.

By way of introducing the new topic of stereotypes, Jean asks,

Jean: Et uh est-ce que tu peux me décrire, uh, comment dans ta tête... comment tu imagines un Français? (*And uh can you describe uh how in your head... how you imagine a French(man)?*)
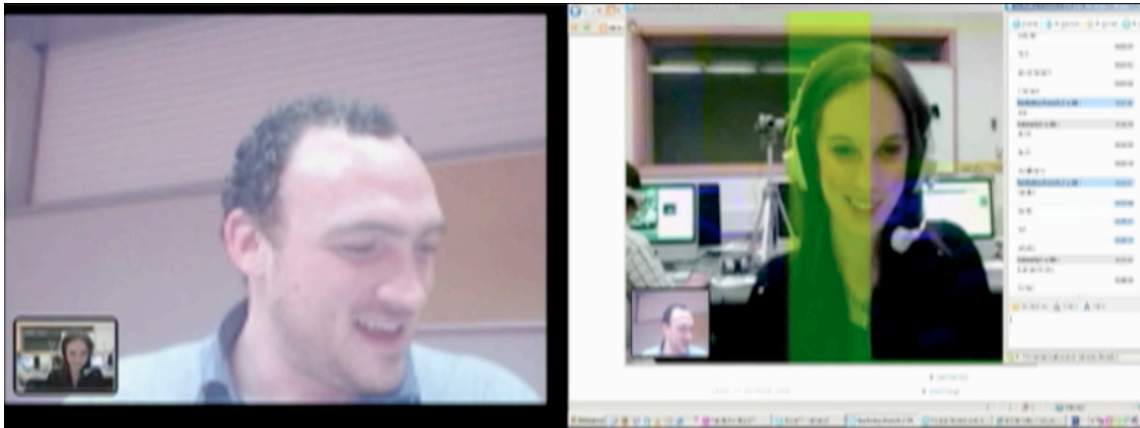

Figure 6.8—Jean: "Est-ce que tu peux me décrire..."

To this, Ann responds,

Ann: Les Français? C'est les les peuples français ou...? (*The French? The the French people or...?*)

Jean: Oui. Si tu pouvais si tu pouvais me décrire un Français. (*Yes. If you could if you could describe a Frenchman for me*)
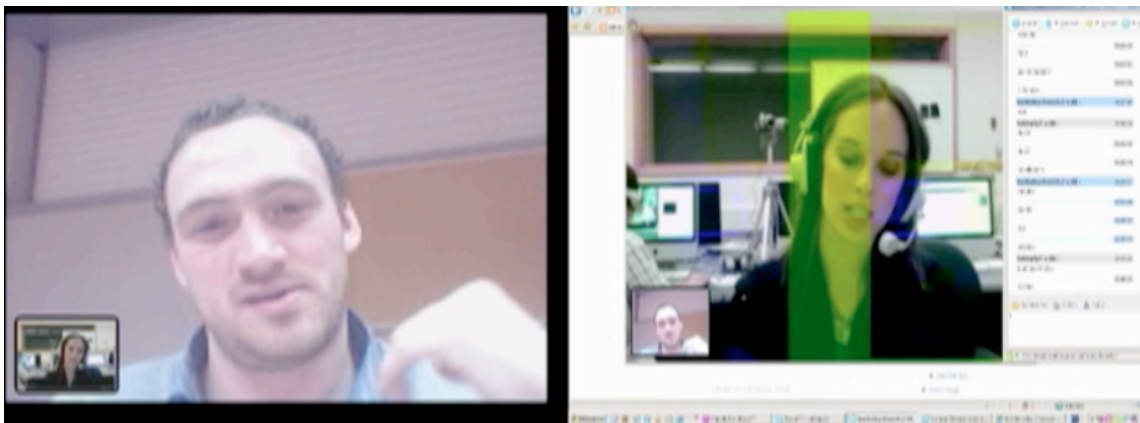
Figure 6.9—Ann: "Les Français? C'est..."

While asking and restating his question, Jean looks right, quickly up, and then to the left of the screen (Figure 6.8), only appearing to focus on Ann's image once he has finished asking. Ann, meanwhile, keeps her gaze on Jean for the duration of the question; her eyes only fall as she reformulates Jean's "un Français" (*a French man/person*) with "les Français" (*the French*) (Figure 6.9), and then rise again to (apparently) meet his as she continues to ask, "c'est les peuples français ou...?" (*Is it the French people or...?*).

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Both student and tutor appear to focus on the visage of the other when listening and when articulating what might be termed the more formulaic parts of their questions; they have both looked away from the screen at the beginning stage of posing a question.

Ann interprets Jean's question so as to divide her response between observations on women and observations on men. She begins by describing the appearance of French women, drawing contrasts with American women in terms of body size and differences in hair color appropriate for various ages:

Ann: Uh les femmes les femmes sont toutes maigres (.5) pas ((laughter)) pas pas pas pas gros comme à les Etats-Unis et c'est notre problème (1) Eh et (1) ils sont pas pas grands mais pas pas petits et (1) les femmes a beaucoup de couleurs de cheveux mais les femmes vieux toutes a les cheveux blonds (.5) et c'est un peu intéressant ((Ann laughs)) Et les gens uh (.5) ils sont <u>vériés</u> pas de la même (.5) ils sont <u>vériés</u>. Leur apparence, c'est <u>vériée</u>. (*Uh the women the women are all skinny...not not not not not fat like in the U.S. and that's our problem. Eh and they are not tall but not short and the women have lots of hair colors but old women all have blond hair and it's a little interesting. And the people... uh, they are varied, not the same, they are varied. Their appearance is varied.*)

With regard to the appearance of French women, Ann seems confident in asserting opinions: "the women are all skinny...they are not tall but short...old women all have blond hair...". Then, when she bridges to the situation for all people ("les gens", presumably a category that includes both women and men), she moves to a much more general mode of characterizing variability: "Their appearance is varied."

At Ann's mispronunciation of "variés" and "variée",[93] Jean performs the first of two attempts in this activity to correct Ann's French through modeling the correct form. He responds, "Ah oui. Variée. Variée." (*Ah okay. Varied. Varied*). But Ann, as will happen again shortly, focuses on the content and not the form of her words: she has begun to explain that there may indeed be many types of men in Paris, but—with eyes cast downward, and while Jean gazes fixedly at her on his screen (Figure 6.10)—she says she is not sure what men look like because she does not look at them.

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[93] Indicated by underlining in the transcription above. Although not verbally recognized by Jean, Ann also seems to have mispronounced "apparence".
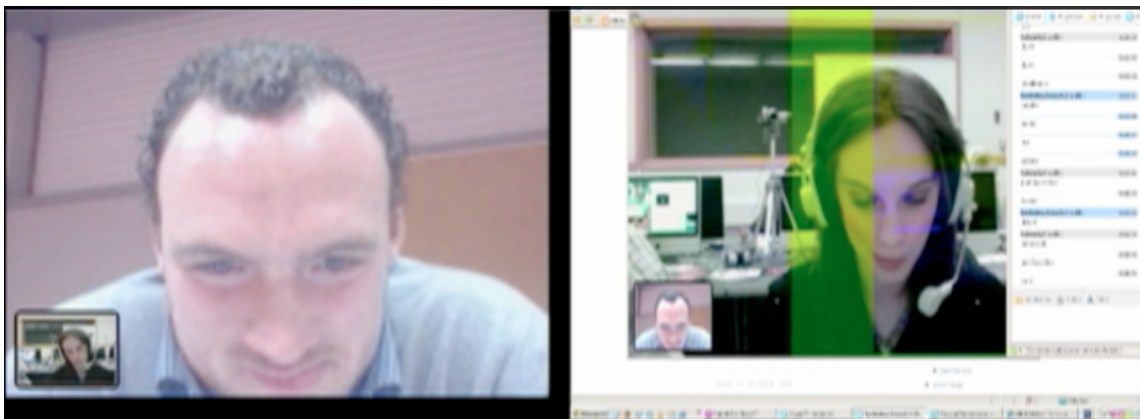
Figure 6.10—Ann: "...peut-être je ne regarde les hommes"

Ann: Et il n'y a pas un type de de d'homme à Paris, je pense. Mais peut-être je ne regarde les hommes. (*And there is not one type of of of man in Paris, I think. But maybe I don't look at men.*)

Here Jean, continuing to lean forward and look at Ann onscreen, asks Ann to confirm what she has just said:

Jean: Tu ne regardes pas les hommes? (*You don't look at the men?*)

Given his previous correction of Ann's pronunciation, Jean's motivation in asking Ann this question is not clear: considering that in this statement she has dropped the obligatory word "pas" (*don't, not*) that follows negative verbs, in asking her to elaborate on this point, he might have simply been modeling the correct form. But Ann, again, appears not to 'hear' the grammatical correction in Jean's question. She looks up to the right, straight up, up to the right, and then down as she struggles to formulate her response, all while Jean is seen to be smiling back (Figure 6.11):
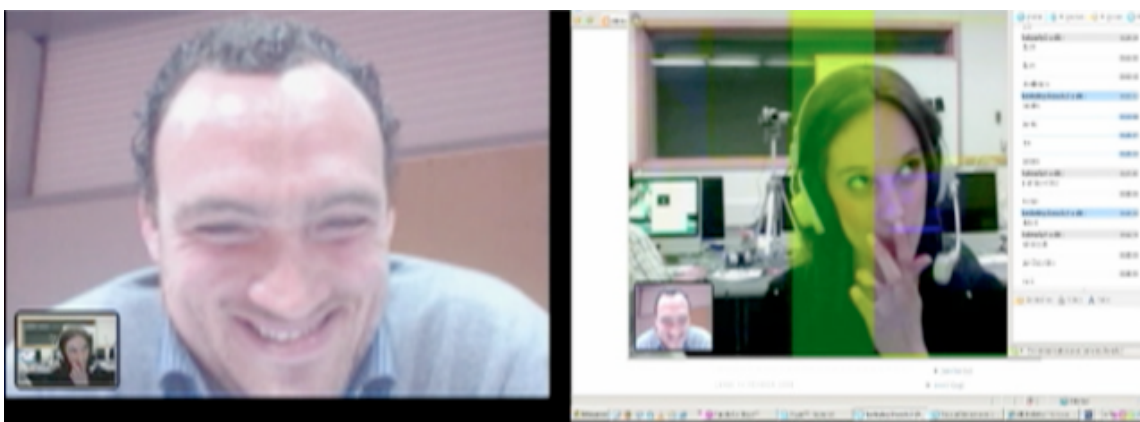
Figure 6.11—Ann: "Je suis... Il me... Il me fâchait que..."

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Ann: Oui. Parce que je suis...Je...il me...il me fâchait que je ne peux pas uh regarder les autres les yeux, à les yeux (*Yeah. Because I am...I...It...it made me mad that I can't uh look at others the eyes, in the eyes*)

To this point, we have seen Jean looking at Ann, while she looks away, perhaps indicative of the pervasiveness of the gaze—his gaze—that Ann depicted in her drawing and confirmed in the interview: "that's Jean. It represents just, that representation of 'the look', and how eyes communicate things." However, by the point that Ann repeats "les yeux, à les yeux" (*the eyes, in the eyes*), she appears to have raised her eyes to meet Jean's in the space of the screen (Figure 6.12), in effect performing in the present moment with her eyes exactly what she is contending with her words that she was not able to do in France. As she says, "It...it made me mad that I can't uh look at others in the eyes, in the eyes".
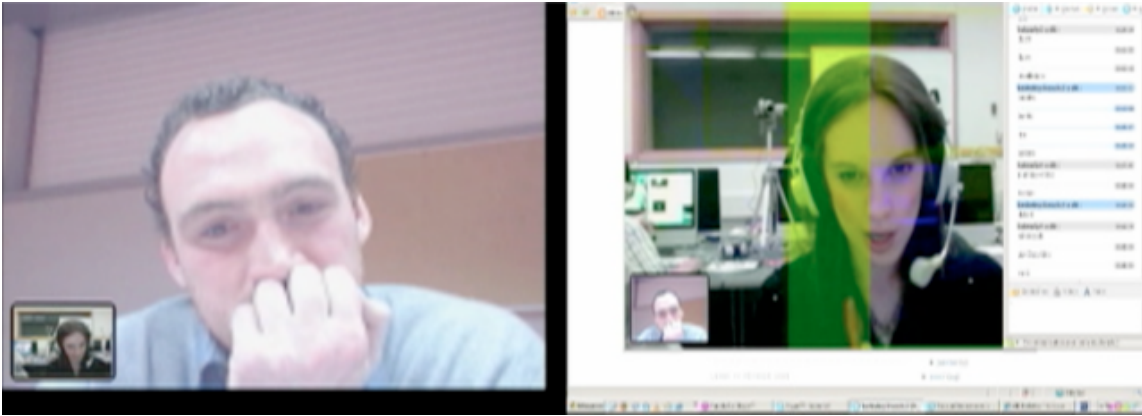
Figure 6.12: Ann: "il me...il me fâchait que je ne peux pas uh regarder les autres, les yeux, à les yeux"

Interestingly, in this moment of eye contact, Ann also does not neglect to include the "pas" after the modal verb "peux" (can). And, as she continues to explain to Jean the fact that looking at a French man would be seen as a "provocation", her eyes move away from the screen but also frequently return to meet Jean's (on-screen) gaze in approximately a 1:1 ratio over the course of the following utterance:

Ann: ...parce que c'est un...il provoque les autres quand on regarde. Et je suis très (*laughs*)...je déteste ça mais pour les femmes je peux regarder un peu plus parce que c'est pas très... oui mais les hommes je ne les regarde, je ne les regarde. (*...because it's a... it provokes others when you look at them. And I am very* (laughs)... *I hate that but for women I can look a little more because it's not so... yes, but men I don't look at them, I don't look at them.*)

Echoing the contrasting 'overlay' of constative and performative meanings a few minutes before when Ann said she couldn't look at others (men in Paris) in the eyes, all

while looking Jean in the eyes, Ann concludes her thought with the repeated assertion that "...but men, I don't look at them. I don't look at them" (Figure 6.13)—all while looking at Jean:
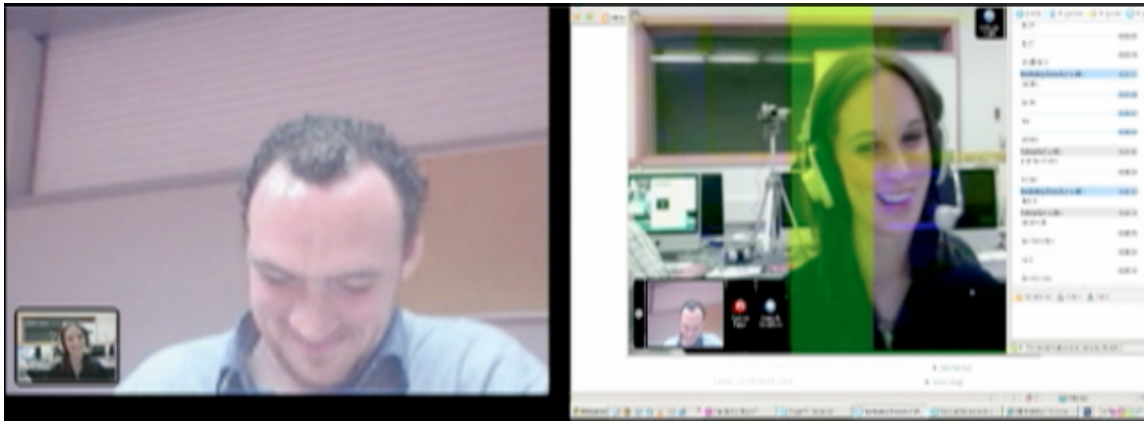

Figure 6.13—Ann: "...mais les hommes je ne les regarde, je ne les regarde"

When Ann is laughing and repeating that she doesn't look at French men, Jean alternatively smiles back at her and sits back in his chair, looking down and to the side at his desktop away from the laptop screen. Ann has made the same grammatical mistake that she made earlier—omitting the "pas" after the negative form of the verb "regarder" (to look)—and he does not correct it, apparently preferring to let the moment pass and move on to the next activity in the lesson. He had not, as Ann had 'remembered' during the interview, asked her how it was that she had no idea what French men looked like, or otherwise taken issue with the narrative that she presented in response to his initial discussion prompt ("And uh can you describe uh how in your head...how you imagine a French(man)?"). He has let her speak, and prepares to move the discussion forward to stereotypes of Americans.

Yet, despite the lack of grammatical correction or explicit follow-up from Jean, Ann would appear to have learned—or, at least, *experienced*—something significant in these moments of looking and speaking: she has, through Skype, looked at and confided in a French man about her own *in*ability to look at a French man. This fact, I argue below, is consequential not just in terms of the "revelation" that Ann evaluates so positively in her post-session interview and drawing, but also in terms of the transformed nature of Jean's very Frenchness.

VI. Are 'Lookable French Men' Still French?

Interviews with all the Berkeley student participants in the *FIL* project asked the question, "How would you characterize your relationship with (tutor's name)?", and aimed to elicit the range of meanings the students associated with labels such as "professor", "teacher", "tutor", and "friend" as they applied to their online tutors and

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classroom instructor (see Appendix A, Interview Protocol). Almost universally, the students characterized their relationships in ways that incorporated both formal/institutional and personal traits: tutors were often described as "kind of teachers, and kind of friends," in contrast to the classroom instructor, with whom the label "friend" was not used. Lynn's characterization of her relationship with Jean, for example, demonstrated some of the complexities involved in applying a single label to the online figures who would both correct their language mistakes and talk about weekend plans together:

> Lynn: I don't know if like [the teacher trainers in Lyon] established a program that was kinda like, standard for each tutor to kinda like, follow, but he was good at like, teaching us. And (.5) at the same time, (1) like, there was like (1) there's like, he was our like, our tutor, kind of like a teacher, like figure.
>
> Dave: Mm, mm, mm
>
> Lynn: But you know, like I feel like, if, I feel like we could like also like, you know, have really good friendly conversations, so...

For her part, Ann mentioned that she had initially understood that her speaking partner in Lyon would be a French *student* and not a teacher-in-training ("I thought it was just gonna be like, kinda like a pen pal situation"). She had also expected her tutor to be female, and indicated that she was somewhat alarmed by the fact that he was not:

> Ann: But—and I also expected it to be a girl, 'cause I thought they would match us by gender, so
>
> Dave: Uh-huh
>
> Ann: ((laughs)) It was really cool how like (.5) it ended up being Lynn and I
>
> Lynn: Mm-hmm
>
> Ann: With someone who was teaching, who was gonna teach French, and it was—happened to be a guy
>
> Dave: Yeah, yeah
>
> Ann: So it was really, at the beginning, I was like, "Whoah"

However, Ann's resistance to being paired with a male decreased as the weeks passed, she said. As she and Lynn had the opportunity to "talk about personal stuff" and "joke around", their relationship came to resemble more closely a "friendship":

> Ann: But after a while it did start to just feel like, more like a friendship, especially when you brought in like personal stuff, like "So what'd you—" He would always ask us, "So what'd you do last week?"
>
> Lynn: Yeah.
>
> Ann: And I'm like, "That's really cool."
>
> Dave: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Ann: I really can dig that, like, if you ask me what I did last week. I <u>do</u>
            feel friendly, that's right. You know?
Dave: Yeah, yeah.

Indeed, "feeling friendly" may be regarded in some telecollaborative settings as a co-occurrence or helpful by-product of learning to "possess other eyes, to look at the universe through the eyes of others" (the goal of the *Cultura* project; Furstenberg et al. 2001, p. 58). Ann's experience with Jean did seem to conform to this vision, a discourse of 'overcoming' national differences and differences in ways of thinking, as Jean's greetings and inquiring into the students' weekend activities allowed 'personalities' rather than cultural boundaries to come to the fore:

Ann: I think laughter puts you on the same level, and it—when you can
            laugh about the same thing, especially over a cultural boundary,
            when you can laugh about the same thing, it kind of shows you
            like, "Well, there's a connection there that's not even based on
            where we're from. It's just based on similar personality traits
            sometimes, so...

But, interestingly, Ann's feelings of 'comfort' and 'connection' with her tutor--both as a 'friendly' figure, and in consideration of male-female gender dynamics--stood in contrast to her sense of Jean as both *French*, and as a *male*, to the extent that his membership in these categories was (at least discursively) called into question. Immediately after she evaluated Lynn's characterization of the divided nature of eye contact via Skype as "deep" ("You're like, I'm looking at the screen, and then you're looking at him, and I could see myself..."), Ann intimates that her ability to *look* 'directly' at Jean stood at odds with her sense of what "the French male is like":

Ann: I think a lotta times, like, just because I'm kind of ingrained
            ingrained with the whole idea of, like, (1) how the French male is
            (.5), like, kinda removed, not talking that much, and not looking
            that much
Dave: Mm, mm
Ann: Like it—sometimes I did kinda forget that I was talking to a
            French male. 'Cause it was just so, like it's so foreign to me, to do
            that (.5) that (.5) I did kind of have to remember, like, this person
            is in another country; it's not just another French student that I'm
            talking to, who's in like Chicago or something
Dave: Right
Ann: You know? Like, it was (.5) sometimes I did have to remind
            myself of that because I would forget, 'cause I'm so used to the
            idea of, just don't talk, don't look ((inaudible))

By the end of the seven online interactions—and by the end of the 50-minute interview—Ann and Lynn were both painting a picture of Jean that highlighted more his

ability to participate in a common discourse on U.S. geography, popular culture, and customs of life than his challenging, encouraging or teaching them to understand the French language and culture. As Ann and Lynn compared their experience with Jean with what they had heard about their classmates' tutors (and Ann remarked, "We got the best tutor ever"), they both remarked on how apt he was with names and places of life in the U.S.:

Ann:	He was really funny. And he was really culturally apt on the United States, like he knew a lot about the United States, like more than I know about France. And I was really shocked by that, that like he knew there was (1) you know (1) a triumphal arch in New York
	(1)
Dave:	Yeah
Ann:	Shocking. Like=
Lynn:	=Yeah
Ann:	Or that he like you know knew different cities and like what was going on in them, like that was just really cool that there was that there was that connection that he knew so much about where we live. And the United States is pretty big compared to France.

One reading of the texts spoken, enacted, written and drawn by Ann during and after her interactions with her tutor Jean, then, is of a growing familiarization with a French *other* whose gendered, cultural, and even national *otherness* seems to have been overwritten by his supposed membership in a common *American* cultural milieu. And, in light of Ann's statement about her relationship with Jean that "it was just really cool to be able to talk to someone and communicate with someone and have someone look you in the eye. It was just impossible for me in France to even think about that so it was really cool," I read the videoconferencing interface as having played a crucial role. Ann's newfound ability to look (and "look twice", as Ann said) at Jean in the (mediated) eye is both a material fact that has become salient for Ann herself in characterizing her online experience in the French 3 class at Berkeley, and as a metaphor for bridging (or eliminating) cultural difference that had her avoiding interaction with French men when she had been in France. Together, I contend, these facts cannot but raise a question relevant to telecollaborative projects like *FIL*: are lookable French men still French?

In the Discussion section to follow, I explore the ways in which the videoconferencing interface, as a visual technology that in effect separates and creates new associations between users' faces, bodies, and *words* (see discussion of C. Jones, 2006 in Section I) might mask opportunities for recognizing and pedagogizing cultural difference. Certainly, for Ann, the technology of looking that is at the center of video-mediated telecollaboration appears to have played a decisive role in making of Jean a tutor and friend who is *known by sight* to be "familiar", "comfortable", and "friendly"— but not necessarily French. Simultaneously, however, I hope to show that, even in Ann's interaction with Jean, as the surface upon which the Ideal (vision of self and other

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speaking in a foreign language) takes place, the interface can open new opportunities for learners' reflexive self-awareness of these essential differences.

VII. Discussion and Conclusions

Re-statement of the Problem: What did Ann Really Learn with Jean?

In previous chapters, I have inquired into the nature of distance and place (Chapter 4) and embodiment (Chapter 5) as part of an interest in the *reality conditions* of internet-mediated intercultural foreign language learning partnerships like the *F1L* project: the basic configurations of space, time, and person that allow learners and tutors to be present to each other online while *also* remaining part of their respective classrooms in Berkeley and Lyon.[94] Each of those chapters serves as a response to questions about the ability of such classrooms to afford their learners outsideness of perspective and wholeness of person with respect to their intercultural others[95]—two crucial dialogic relations necessary for language and culture *to be foreign*, according to the framework developed in Chapter 2. This chapter has engaged the telecollaborative interface itself as the material and symbolic site of the production of reality conditions of place and person; as such, I argue with respect to the cases of Ann, Kelly, and other Berkeley students of French, the interface also offers learners the ability to see *its* own workings as a "face between the faces" and, thus, to see *themselves* as foreign. As I have suggested up to this point, however, the ability to relativize one's own position, although regarded in a dialogic approach as a necessary co-condition of understanding the foreignness of others (Holquist, 2002; see Chapter 2), is exceedingly difficult. In this section, referring back to Ann's online experience with Jean, I endeavor to ask why.

Of course, on the surface at least, Ann's story is a demonstration of how the interface of videoconferencing-mediated telecollaboration, consisting of a networked, multimedia environment used to represent and communicate with a speaker of another language in another country, has allowed her not just to practice French grammar and conversation, but to overcome a "forbidden" obstacle in her encounter with French men—being able "to just talk to someone [male]" and "have them look you in the eye". This was an interactional style that Ann said was "impossible for me in France to even think about"; as such, her experience seems to have delivered on the promise of videoconferencing to enable communication that is both *real* and "hyperpersonal", or "more socially desirable than we tend to experience in parallel FtF interaction" (Walther, 1996, p. 17).

But in light of the goals of *foreign language education* taken up in this study— with the stated aim for learners "to reflect on the world and themselves through the lens of another language and culture" (MLA, 2007, p. 4) among them—Ann's characterization of her 8-week interaction with Jean as part of her French class at

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[94] As Nunes (2006, Chapter 4) argues, to be neither wholly in the classroom nor online, but in a statement of movement back and forth, is a basic condition of many contemporary students using computers in class.
[95] Refer to the research questions guiding this study, Chapter 3, Section I.

Berkeley ought to raise the questions: had her tele-mediated interactions with her tutor in Lyon indeed helped her to learn French and see the world from within the French language, while reflecting on her own American world from a different lens? Or had Jean and his linguistic and cultural world been assimilated to her own English-speaking, American one? And what was the role of the interface?

Making Hyperreal the Gaze of the Other in the Interface

      As I have suggested, a fundamental tension that underlies Ann's relationship with Jean in the exchange charted in this chapter is the significance that is to be accorded to looking, and the (female) language learner's ability to look back, and "look twice" (in the sense that we have seen Ann give to these words) at her tutor. Immediately, such a dynamic demands recognition from literature on gender, race, and the power of the (embodied, feminized, racialized) subject to resist the (male, disembodied) gaze through various means including, importantly, looking back (Berger, 1973; hooks, 1992; Foucault, 1977; Nagel, 1986; Nakamura, 2002). In particular, the salience of Ann's experiences with Jean's "regard" (*look*) online in the *F1L* project attest to the importance both of understanding the primacy of the body in cyberspace (counter to the cyberpunk and virtual reality rejection of the body in favor of the "virtual", as discussed in Chapter 5), and of understanding the gendered politics of looking online.[96]

      In this sense, the medium of desktop videoconferencing could not but have led to a conflict of sorts within Ann, because of the prohibition she said she had internalized with respect to looking at men in France, and because the very essence of the *videoconference* is to place interlocutors into conditions of constant, proximal, and mutual monitoring. One possible outcome of such a conundrum is that Ann would have resisted her partnership with Jean, or tried to 'look away', and indeed this is what she did: she mentioned that she was "surprised" that she was paired with a male tutor and expressed relief at being able to work together with Lynn. And here, Ann's perception, rare among Berkeley participants in this project, that her tutor's telemediated gaze was *direct* is significant. Even though she acknowledged that Jean must have been looking downward at her image on his screen in Lyon, she responded in the positive when asked twice by the interviewer whether Jean's eyes "were looking right at your eyes" when they were talking online (see Section IV).

      Of course, Ann's "revelation" was not that she could avoid the (French) male gaze in her videoconferencing interactions with a French male, but that she *could* look, and *look twice*, without subjecting herself to the personal and embodied consequences of such an action (being hit on, being viewed as available). If the multiple magazine cutouts of men's eyes pasted in her drawing represent the ubiquity of Jean's (male) gaze, the narrative circle around it that starts and ends with "le regard" (*the look*) represents her pleasure taken in a newfound freedom from the "forbidden" aspects of looking. As she had said when narrating her drawing,

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[96] On this last point, Adam (2002) writes, "Gazing in a virtual world has to be rethought as both the agent and the object of the gaze are not present in the normal visual sense, yet there are distinct ways of observing and watching on the Internet" (p. 137).

Ann:	Like, it comes back to the top, cause that's where you are again with the eyes, but this time it's a different thing, 'cause now you have that interaction. Now you have that communication that I really couldn't get even when I was there. So it was (2) I thought it was very cool.

In this sense, another possible outcome of the cultural prohibition that Ann continued to articulate in her final interview ("don't look at French men in public"), and the material fact of her looking online, was suggested in the title and development of the previous section ("Are lookable French men still French?"): namely, that in order to look at Jean, and to be looked at by him, he must *cease to be a "French male"*. This conclusion, however fantastic-sounding, appeared to be corroborated by Ann's statements to the effect that "sometimes I did kinda forget that I was talking to a French male...I did kind of have to remember, like, this person is in another country; it's not just another French student that I'm talking to, who's in like Chicago or something." And, while Ann's growing comfort with looking as the interactions proceeded suggest that there might have been a succession from the first to the second of these two "possible outcomes", the Baudrillardian notion of the simulation (elaborated by Turkle, 1995, as discussed in Section II) would allow for both to be present simultaneously: she could participate in the 'forbidden' activity of gazing at a man who *looked* French, while relying on interactive norms and cultural identities that were culturally familiar, comfortable, and "friendly."

From the language teacher's perspective, such an outcome may be less than ideal: in the analysis presented thus far, Ann (during this brief portion of her longer exchange with Jean and Lynn) does not appear to demonstrate the kind of reflexive awareness of essential differences between self and other in dialogue that underlie notions of transcultural and translingual competence. Although Jean's eyes looking at the students in Berkeley were no doubt *real* for both Ann and Lynn, the clipped eyes of Ann's drawing suggest as much of a hyperreal "play of signifiers" (male-ness, looking-ness, desir-ing, other-ness) as they do Jean's own subjectivity; his was a look without a body, a fact that was no doubt liberating for Ann just as it would have missed the historical and personal meanings that might have imbued his looking—his having had little teaching experience in the past, his endeavoring to draw attention to the structures and meanings of the language in real time conversation (recall his unsuccessful efforts to correct Ann's use of the negative verb form "ne...pas"), and his being subject himself to the gaze and future evaluation of his teachers and fellow classmates as two cameras recorded his performance for the seminar discussion to follow. Ann and Jean do not discuss the truthfulness of popular French and American stereotypes about each other; nor do they address Ann's particular representations of French men and her contention that looking "provokes" them. Certainly, these seem like significant lost opportunities. Yet I ask, with an eye to possibility of the interface affording the language learner a reflexive awareness of self-as-other in dialogue—*could* they have talked about these things?

Faciality: Learning to See the Interface in the Face

There is, to my eye, a particularly remarkable sequence of words and looks in the midst of Ann's attempt to describe to Jean the appearance of French men (Section V), one that demonstrates the *excesses* of meaning that obtain when people, as embodied beings, speak (Butler, 1997, p. 10). We recall again that in Paris, Ann had considered looking back, or "looking twice" at men not just 'risky'; she had said "it was just impossible for me in France to even think about that". And, perhaps embodying this, after describing to Jean the appearance of Parisian women (and as he leaned in toward the screen, smiling and looking at her image as she spoke), she looked down and then up away from the computer screen, telling him, "Et il n'y a pas un type de de d'homme à Paris, je pense. Mais peut-être je ne regarde les hommes" (*And there is not one type of of of man in Paris, I think. But maybe I don't look at men*) (Figures 6.12 and 6.13).

However, moments later, she *did* look at Jean, precisely as she explained to him why she had not looked at men when she was in France. In a moment that I have associated with her self-described "revelation" concerning "le regard" (*the look*)—her coming into an ability to look at a French male[97]—Ann explains that "il me...il me faché que je ne peux pas uh regarder les autres les yeux, à les yeux" (*It...it made me mad that I can't uh look at others the eyes, in the eyes*). Jean 'meets' her eyes on the screen as she says this (Figure 6.12), and then, in a brief reversal of looking-at/looked-at positions, Jean looks down while Ann continues to gaze at him, laughing as she continues to explain that looking at men in France "provokes" them. So, she says, looking at him, she doesn't look at them (Figure 6.13).

In these instants of communication, I suggest, we may witness one of the most profound (and confounding) effects of the interface in intercultural language learning online, precisely because of its simultaneous claims on embodied reality and offers of hyperreal liberation. In the case of desktop videoconferencing—perhaps more than any other form of telecollaboration—embodiment and representation are dynamically and necessarily linked through the screen, re-creating what it means to look, and rendering inseparable "the real" and "the virtual". In his book *Interface fantasy*, Nusselder (2009) explains this ongoing tension between different orders of being (on and off screen) through the function of fantasy, as it joins the subject's internal Imaginary with the ever-present but never-attainable Lacanian Real. As he writes,

> Because the computer interface connects or associates the human and the information system so closely, the computer is not merely a tool that generates a disembodied world of symbols. Because of our psycho-libidinal investment in these worlds of symbols, signs, and images, humans inevitably embody this world and "actualize" it in our own circumstances: we "express our own image in it" (Nusselder, 2009, p. 76).

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[97] Recall that she had explained her labeling of the top of her drawing with "le regard" thus: "Like, it comes back to the top, cause that's where you are again with the eyes, but this time it's a different (.5) thing, 'cause now you have that interaction. Now you have that communication that I really couldn't get (.5) even when I was there. So it was (2) I thought it was very cool."

The degree to which this quote seems *not* to apply to Ann's and Jean's situation is instructive here: of course they are 'invested' in the signs and images on the screen, but those signs do not appear to be disembodied symbols in any conventional sense; rather, they are the synchronized video images of their own faces, smiling as they smile, and looking as they look.[98] In this sense, the particular danger posed by the videoconferencing interface is *not* that it makes looking possible and safe between a woman and a man, while *still being forbidden*. Seduction and fantasy are, in Nusselder's formulation at least, *functions* of cyberspace and cannot be any other way. Rather, echoing concerns voiced by Turkle (1995), Murray (1997), and others, Nusselder contends that the internet user's forgetting of the fact of mediation, and thus causing the space between real and imagined to be lost, is of gravest concern. Again, he writes,

> In general, when the materialized screen for perceiving the real closes off an awareness of ourselves as vulnerable, limited beings, we fall into the trap of thinking about technologies in terms of hyperrealization: the virtual that fully supplements the deficiencies of the real (Nusselder, 2009, p. 97).

In this light, Ann's ongoing sense that Jean was looking 'right at her' (and, perhaps, his sense of the same with respect to her) as they spoke may have played a role in discouraging or preventing them from discussing the personal and cultural politics of looking in France, the U.S., and *in French*. To the extent that Ann believed she was looking 'directly' at Jean and not his (partial, exaggerated, distorted) on-screen representation, and to the extent that she believed he was looking directly at her, there would have been no separation between "virtual and real", no room to discuss "the look" in France and the U.S. because the very faces of Ann and Jean would have been directly at stake.

It is in this sense that language learners' dialogic engagement with the foreignness of both other and self, especially through the medium of desktop videoconferencing, might benefit from an awareness of *faciality* as such. At first look, this might entail discussions like Jean and Ann's about the 'typical French person' and 'typical American person'—with the important caveat that they are able to compare, contrast, and evaluate cultural stereotypes, media representations, and their own experiences. In the more directly corporeal terms of how speakers might embody their languages in different social situations and for different purposes, teachers and students might discuss (and enact) different kinds of gesture, expression, and, indeed, look. Such exercises might provide valuable ways to introduce elements of acting, play, and meta-reflection into online interactions—moves that might create distance between words, actions, and their embodied speakers/subjects, valuable for learners' reflexive growth (Kramsch, 1993; Warner, 2004).

At a more general level, language educators and students might do well to consider the face not just as a self-evident marker of personal identity and tool for expression—and, indeed, as not only (or only partially) human—but as a *metaphor* for

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[98] Here we should remember that on Skype and other desktop videoconferencing applications, interlocutors see not only the moving image of their distally located interlocutor, but their own images as well, in typically smaller inset windows on the screen.

understanding the way that cultural meanings are made, verbal meanings embodied, identities fixed, and knowledge established amidst an on and offline social order. In the sense given it by philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1987), "the face" is the grid that makes possible, and gives legible form to, social processes of sign-making. At once intimately familiar, but now removed from its surrounding contexts of place (Chapter 4) and body (Chapter 5) within the confines of a two-dimensional window on the computer screen, the faces of online language learners and tutors may bear a disproportionate burden. If the ability to look at the real faces of intercultural others is what the video medium, in particular, has to offer participants in telecollaborative projects such as *Le français en (première) ligne*, then it is one of the crucial tasks of language teachers and tutors to help their students *y regarder à deux fois*—to see beyond the most familiar of sights, and learn to recognize its textualities as *other*.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

I. The "Loss of the Foreign": The Foreign Language Classroom in Crisis?

In Chapter 1 (Introduction) I opened this dissertation with a discussion of the disappearance of the very word "foreign" from the discourse of scholars and practitioners of *foreign language education* in the United States. In the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages' own Vision Statement, in the names and operating texts of state-level professional associations, and in publications by Second Language Acquisition experts mapping the future of language education in a nation conflicted about its own multicultural, multilingual roots, the word "foreign" might still remain in titles, but would appear to be in decline as a notion that indicates how languages are taught in the day-to-day. Indeed, the degree to which terms such as "foreign language" and "foreign culture" are themselves evidence of evocative of a binary us-or-them mentality characteristic, perhaps, of U.S.-USSR Cold War policies (see, for example, Kramsch, 2005; Lantolf & Sunderman, 2001; Pavlenko, 2003; for a foreign policy perspective see, for instance, Campbell, 1998) may be surmised by noting one domain where these terms appear to still be in active use—in government or quasi-government agency discourse arguing for language education in order to bolster national security.[99] *Foreignness* as a defining characteristic of the language and culture that are to be taught to foster, for example, ACTFL's "five C's" (Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities) appears to be at a loss.

However, the findings of this study are the result neither of an analysis of language policy writ large, nor of a systematic corpus analysis of 'official discourse' to reveal the changing semantics of a word. At the outset of Chapter 3 (Methodology), I posed my primary research question: "What do students' online learning experiences show us about the ontological ground of 'foreignness' in internet-mediated foreign language education today?" And in the chapters that followed, I have argued that the data presented in this dissertation, an extended case study of a single telecollaborative partnership, reveal insights into the transformation and even the *loss* of the conditions that produce the foreignness of the language classroom (its "ontological ground")— conditions that are of consequence to teachers and students in the moment-to-moment flow of events in the language classroom. Later in this chapter, following a broad overview of the study's findings, I expand upon the conception of foreignness that,

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[99] At a Central Intelligence Agency Foreign Language Summit held at the University of Maryland University College in December 2010, for instance, CIA Director and U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan addressed over 300 language educators; Among Panetta's remarks were the assertions that "for the United States to get to where it needs to be will require a national commitment to strengthening America's foreign language proficiency", and "If we are truly interested in having America succeed in the future, with regards to foreign language training, then I believe that the United States should require language study beginning at a younger age." See Central Intelligence Agency (2010).

through the pages of this dissertation, has allowed me to take this perspective—one that borrows most significantly from the thought of philosophers Mikhail Bakhtin (e.g., 1981, 1986) and Martin Buber (e.g., 1958, 2002) in seeing foreignness not as an a priori and unmalleable social or political category, but as a dialogic and contingent accomplishment of two or more interlocutors and texts.

First, however, I wish to argue that what is at stake in "the loss of the foreign" is nothing less than the *institutional legitimacy* of the foreign language classroom as such—that is, as a place that teaches a language *as* foreign. To this point, and apt for a perspective on language as not just reflective but *constitutive* of social conventions, institutions, and change, a telling example may be read from Pierre Bourdieu's presentation of a litany of institutional "errors" from quite a different context than the language classroom ("Authorized language", in Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 107-116). In the pages of this essay, Bourdieu juxtaposes his critique of Austinian speech act theory with the seemingly inconsequential *liturgical errors* in person, place, time, tempo, behavior, language, dress, and sacraments of the Catholic church, originally recorded in R.P. Lelong's *Le dossier noir de la communion solennelle* (1972). Churchgoers, Lelong had noted, were reacting to aspects of their religious practice that might easily be viewed as peripheral to the 'core' questions of faith in God and their acceptance; they said (for example), "*My mother was horrified by the chaplain at ACI, who wanted to celebrate mass over the dining room table*"; "*In the past, one used to say: 'Let us not fall into temptation', but now one says: 'Submit us not' or 'Lead us not into temptation'. It's monstrous. I've never been able to make myself say it'*" (quoted in Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 109, 110).

For his part, Bourdieu sees such observations as telling signs of the collapse of the Church's own authority, as revealed in the priest's very ability to speak with the invested power of the divine. For, as Bourdieu argues in his critique of Austin (1962), the power of words to mean and do what they say they do resides not in the words themselves, but in a miniature cosmos of relations and ritualized practices that occasion the use of language. He writes,

> The symbolic efficacy of words ... rests entirely on the belief which is the foundation of the social fiction called ministry, and which goes much deeper than the beliefs and the mysteries which the ministry preaches and guarantees. That is why the crisis of religious language and its performative efficacy is not limited, as is often believed, to the collapse of a world of representations: it is part of the disintegration of an entire universe of social relations of which it was constitutive (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 116).

If there is any essential quality in the foreign language classroom's universe of social relations that sustains the symbolic efficacy of *its* words, then it might be a *distance* between speakers both physically co-present *and* imagined, across space that is both physical and metaphorical. While the traditional (non-language) classroom may well function by separating its subject matter from its 'natural' habitat in the outside world, the university foreign language classroom can be seen as doubly distant from its object of study (the foreign language). This is because the subject matter itself is understood to be

the provenance of speakers, writers and language users prototypically belonging to a distally-located geographic territory(ies).[100] Even the name for that which is studied in the foreign language classroom suggests this: the "target language" (TL), as understood in the field of Second Language Acquisition can be *approximated* in the classroom, but can only be *reached* in contexts of natural use. When Duff and Polio (1990) ask, for instance, "How much foreign language is there in the foreign language classroom?" it goes (almost) without saying that the classroom itself is the primary venue for learners' contact with the language: "In FL learning contexts, because little opportunity exists for exposure to the L2 outside the classroom, the *quantity* of L2 input is especially important", they write (Duff & Polio, 1990, p. 154). This is equally visible in the writing of other major figures in SLA research who distinguish between, for example, "foreign language classrooms, ESL classrooms, immersion classrooms, bilingual classrooms, mainstream classrooms containing limited-proficiency students" (Ellis, 1990, p. 66).

In the introduction of internet-mediated telecollaborative language learning to the face-to-face foreign language classroom, we see the transformation of learning practices that, this chapter suggests, may bear resemblance through the structural homology between different fields (Bourdieu's terms) to the crisis of the Church that Bourdieu uses to illustrate his argument. That is, transformations in the meaning of "the foreign" at a meta-discursive level in social and educational institutions in the United States may be witnessed in tandem with the "disintegration" (or change) of the "universe of social relations" prevailing in the life of the (foreign language) classroom. At one level, then, the goal of this dissertation has been not to argue that this has been occurring, but merely to present this possibility—that is, the possibility that the foreign language classroom may be in crisis—by interrogating the multimodal discourse of a U.S.-French telecollaborative partnership.

II. Review of Research Questions and Findings

Development of Research Questions

Building directly off the dialogic view of foreignness developed in Chapter 2, and as stated in the previous section, I undertook the collection and analysis of data in an effort to understand what students' online learning experiences have to say about changes in the 'reality conditions' of the foreign language classroom as it moves online. I substantiated this overarching research question by attempting to show that the popular practice of telecollaboration in the FL classroom (Belz & Thorne, 2006; Develotte et al., 2008; Guth & Helm, 2010b; Hauck, 2007; O'Dowd, 2007) is itself beset by some foundational dilemmas: although telecollaboration is premised upon the guarantee of linguistic and cultural difference by geographic separation (hence, "tele-"), and aims to cultivate students' intercultural competence by developing "interpersonal relationships of significance" (Thorne, 2010, p. 141) between "people of different cultural/national

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[100] See Ehlich (2009) and corresponding discussions in Chapter 1, Section III and Chapter 2, Section I.

backgrounds" (Guth & Helm, 2010a, p. 14), telecollaboration is realized, I have argued, in the dissolution of the possibility that places and people can be *absolutely* different. As I argued at the outset of Chapter 4, borrowing from Borgmann (2001) and others, the internet is argued not just to have brought the distant near and the near far away, but to have transformed the very metric of distance, replacing it with one of topological relations and interconnectivity. At the same time, before even venturing online, as I argued in Chapter 2 (Section III: The telecollaborative other), *the foreigner* may have already met the same fate as "the native speaker" in Second Language Acquisition and applied linguistics research more broadly: indexing a division between a metaphorical "there" (of knowledge, of ability, etc.) that *is*, and a "here" that *isn't*, and enacting a sort of (self-and-other) "definition through exclusion", *foreignness* may not be an attribute thought to befit a partner in telecollaborative exchange.

In order to empirically investigate these conceptual problems of place and person in internet-mediated foreign language education, I attempted to formulate a generative and *dialogic* conception of foreignness; building first from the semiotic notion of thirdness as it informs ecological approaches to language learning (Peirce, 1955; see also Deacon, 1997; Kramsch, 2002b, van Lier, 2004), I brought the philosophies of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Martin Buber (1958) together in order to re-vision a foreignness that emphasizes the power of language to bring interlocutors into mutual relations that transcend fixed social identities precisely through its ability *to make strange*. Specifically, I posited that the views of Buber and Bakhtin, read in juxtaposition with one another, yield a view of dialogue that necessarily:

- is realized in language and symbolic exchange more broadly;
- relies upon distance between ideological and speaking positions;
- casts one's interlocutor as an Other who is *both* unknowable in his/her totality, and takes up discrete positions in socio-ideological space;
- is simultaneously a means of self-formation;
- is therefore foundational in human existence.[101]

Although many criteria for dialogue appropriate for the investigation of a telecollaborative partnership like *F1L* could have been posited, cutting across all of them perhaps is the notion of *outsideness,* as it bespeaks both the separation required for relative perspective-taking to take place, and the distance required in order to perceive and address, however fleetingly, an interlocutor as an *other* (Holquist, 2002; Emerson, 2000). In order to address these fundamental questions of place and person in telecollaboration, then, I elaborated the following two research questions:

1. What becomes of distance and place in the telecollaborative medium? Are they lost, or can they be maintained? And if the latter, how are they transformed?

2. What is the nature of the language learner's body online, and of the bodies of intercultural others? Does one need a body to be foreign?

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[101] See the discussion following this list in Chapter 2, Section V.

These two questions form the starting points for the empirical investigations undertaken in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, respectively. And, crucial for the notion of thirdness, for the processes of dialog conceived as above, and in the capacities of language learners for translingual and transcultural competence is the question of *reflexivity*, which undergirds the third and last research question (investigated primarily in Chapter 6):

3. What opportunities and barriers does the telecollaborative medium present for language learners' reflexive awareness (and subjective positioning) of themselves as foreign?

Summary of Main Chapter Findings

Chapter 4, an exploration of students' representations of location and place as they interacted with their online tutors, offers one account for the transformed nature of the "tele-" in telecollaboration. A typology recognizing *physical spaces*, *virtual spaces*, *relational space*, *screen space*, and *other places*, borrowing from R. Jones (2005), was initially employed in order to give a conceptual language to the difficult question of *where students and tutors were with respect to each other* as they carried out their online lessons. Drawing primarily from final interviews with student participants as well as their visual representations of their online learning experiences, the chapter found that, indeed, movement between and mixtures among *all* of the above spaces and even a sixth *language space* characterized students' experiences: some described "leaving the lab" to join with their tutors in a virtualized relational space filled with the topics and themes of their lessons, while others were less able to do so. In both cases, however, the cost of *virtually* meeting one's tutor may have been to compromise the salience of the materiality and geographic locatedness of the 'host' cities of Lyon and Berkeley, and even of the two computer laboratories used in this exchange. I concluded with the observation that the virtual immediacy of the distally located French tutor on the screen of the Berkeley students raises the specter of a double transformation of the real spaces of the telecollaborative exchange: while the language lab as a *physical space* exhibits characteristics of the media-saturated but meaning-less "non place" (Augé, 1995, 1996), the *other places* of Berkeley and Lyon risk becoming more hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1994; Eco, 1986) than real, authenticating the online lesson as 'having taken place over geographic distance' but tending to offer little contextualization of the substance of the students' and tutors' exchanges.

Situation is a primary concern of Chapter 5 as well, but from the perspective of the wholeness and embodiment of the telecollaborative interlocutor her or himself, rather than the vantage point of distance and place. While mainstream views in studies of videoconferencing-mediated intercultural language education see the introduction of live video images offering "a much more authentic and personal side" (O'Dowd, 2006, p. 93) to such exchanges, the relationship of learners', tutors', and teachers' own (usually seated) bodies to the images on the screen has little been questioned. This issue is

contentious precisely because videoconferencing (as compared to the still more common text-based mediums of online communication) appears to have succeeded in "reconstructing the body for online interaction" (Canny & Paulos, 2001), presenting to one's interlocutor "the full difference of the Other" (Ess, 2009, p. 28) in voice, gesture, dress, and action. However, a detailed analysis of a 12-minute transcript from the opening activity between Berkeley students Kelly and Amandine and their tutor Amandine in the 2008 *F1L* sessions, contextualized with follow-up interviews and visual analysis of the students' drawings, revealed several ways in which the wholeness of the other may be compromised or pre-empted by the telecollaborative medium: immobilized in the language laboratory at their desks in front of screens, and with the primary directive of orienting their bodies so as to appear on-screen, students and tutors may have been less able to accomplish transitions between the pedagogical frames that would give meaning to the various parts of the lesson. Further, and of consequence in the case study undertaken in Chapter 6, the inability of participants to monitor each other (see Goffman, 1964 on "mutual monitoring")—due in part to doubt about exactly where on the screen (within a given window), and where in the screen (among different windows) one's interlocutor was looking—was seen to contribute to Kelly and Eduardo's confusion over whether they were being spoken to or evaluated by Amandine at any given time. Finally, while conclusive proof cannot be drawn about the consequences of students' sensory experiences, I point to evidence that phenomena of visual and especially "aural doubling"—the latency of sound and voice common to users of online audio and videoconferencing that has participants' own voices intermittently echoing through their headphones as they attempt to speak—might have devastating effects on the ability of one's words, and oneself, to *move* in dialogue. Rather, via this continuing feedback loop of the sounds of an imperfect-sounding L2, I argue that telecollaborative language learners may first face the difficulty of escaping representations of *themselves*.

Chapter 6 begins with an elaboration of the exchange between Kelly and Amandine, and presents at length a case study of the intercultural dimensions and consequences of *looking* online, as seen in a short sequence of exchanges between the Berkeley student Ann and her tutor Jean. At issue here is the role of the telecollaborative *interface*—an assemblage of mechanical and digital technologies mediating human-to-human interaction and, as such, *participating* in that very interaction. This is a view of the interface that acknowledges its basic *thingness* as a material artifact between people (as understood, for example, in fields such as Human-Computer Interaction) but channels attention on the representational and interactive aspects of the telecollaborative medium (e.g., Johnson, 1997; Turkle, 1995): in particular, the graphic user interface of today's computer screen bears functional traces of the window, the picture frame, and the cinematic screen, creating the illusion for language students and tutors of interacting within its confines, even while they see each other on its surfaces (Bolter & Grusin, 2000; Friedberg, 2006). Asking how the interface might impede or facilitate the language learner's reflexive awareness of her own foreignness—the *outsideness* and *wholeness* of the Other that are, I argued in Chapters 4 and 5, crucial for dialogic relations—I narrate a critical exchange between Ann and Jean that Ann had identified as "a revelation", the most significant moment in her two months of online lessons. Having believed that looking back, or "looking twice" at a man was forbidden ("*défendu*") to her as a young

woman studying in Paris, Ann was only able to discover the ability "to look at a French man", as she said, through the mediation of the camera and screen online. This newfound ability to look gave her great satisfaction, and, as represented in her collage-style drawing of men's eyes looking directly at the viewer, she attested that she experienced her tutor's online gaze as "direct". However, as I argue in the chapter's discussion, the price for Ann's newfound ability to have a French man "look you in the eye" may have been nothing less than Jean's very ability to be French: after she told him online, while looking at him, that she was unable in France to look at French men, she expressed her pleasure at being able to relate with him as she did with men in her hometown of Los Angeles, and said she frequently had to remind herself that he was in France and not "in like Chicago or something." In the end I suggest, following Nusselder (2009), that, through fantasy, the language learner's face-to-face interaction with her intercultural other via the screen presents both the potential for greater reflexive self-awareness *and* the danger of the masking of the cultural difference of the other through its reduction to a mere simulation of difference. Crucially, in telecollaboration through the medium of desktop videoconferencing, the fact that learners' and teachers' faces are themselves the site for the reading, expression, and negotiation of cultural difference prompts the question: "How does one learn to see not just the face in the interface, but the interface in the face?" (see Deleuze & Guattari, 1987 on "faciality", and my discussion of pedagogical implications in Section IV, this chapter).

On one level, the case studies of these three chapters appear to tell the story of language students and teachers-in-training overcoming technological barriers in their effort to learn from and enact communicative French lessons online. Certainly, the master's students in the Lyon seminar in *Français langue étrangère* (French as a Foreign Language) *did* successfully design and carry out multi-staged, task-based French lessons while managing a suite of often ill-behaving multimedia and online tools. And, at the same time, the Berkeley students of French 3 did have intensive conversational practice with native-level French speakers, explored cultural topics of relevance to their textbook activities, and (many students reported) built confidence and comfort in speaking French--while nearly universally reporting in interviews that "technological problems" were the low-point of their online lessons. In this sense, the findings in this study may be read in parallel to, and even as an elaboration of, existing studies on the *F1L* project such as Develotte, Guichon, and Kern's (2008) investigation of the online *competences* developed by tutors and students (extended in Guichon's (2009) consideration of the socio-affective, pedagogical, and multimedia competences demanded of online tutors), and even Mangenot's (2008) treatment of the variety of participatory structures in telecollaboration, and their effects on verbal interaction (see Chapter 1, Section II).

Given this dissertation's interest in how technologized situations, contexts, and frames affect the "reality conditions" of foreignness in the L2 classroom, however, students' (and tutors') "competences" were not imagined separately from the Skype videochat windows, large iMac computer monitors, and revolving office chairs that mediated the students' laboratory-based, online learning; nor were the above chapters' findings about the particular features and functions of these material and digital tools (or the corresponding tools on the Lyon side) and their occasional failures. The ecological approach outlined in Chapter 3, Section II (Kramsch, 2002b; Larsen-Freeman &

Cameron, 2008; Leather & van Dam, 2003) casts attention on *relationships* between language learners and their material and cultural contexts such that particular kinds of subject positions are afforded in learning activities (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; van Lier, 2002). It is my hope that the investigations of the experiences of students like Elizabeth, Eduardo, Kelly, Dennis, and Ann, in their very situatedness, serve to open up a new problem space with applicability across settings, languages, and technologies employed—and thus serve the function common to ecological approaches in foregrounding what Kramsch (2002a, p. 22) terms the "paradoxes, contradictions, and conflicts inherent in any situation involving semiotic activity".[102]

  A key problem space of this study has been the particular modalities of human, machine, and network relations (Haraway, 1987; Graham, 2002; Hansen, 2006; Hayles, 1999, 2005; Kozel, 2007; Latour, 2005) that obtain in many telecollaborative partnerships, inasmuch as they transform and re-constitute what I have termed the "ontological ground" of the foreign language classroom (see Chapter 3, Section I). The synchronous video, audio, and textual communications technologies utilized in the *F1L* project certainly brought the far near, and the near far, but they may have done so at the price of the Berkeley learners' ability to assume positions of discursive outsideness with respect to their tutors in Lyon, and vice-versa. The live, two-way video and audio feeds offered multi-channel representations of the moving, gesturing, and emoting figures of distally-located partners, yet it was precisely the disaggregation, channeling, and removal of sound and image from the extensive bodies of students and teachers (cf. Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 1964) that made it difficult for them to engage with one another as whole persons. And, as illustrated in the case of Ann, the immediacy of place and person afforded by the telecollaborative interface raised questions about the language learner's ability to achieve reflexive awareness of self in the eyes of the other, and "*y regarder à deux fois*"—to think again about how offline, embodied and physically co-present cultural and linguistic experiences might both converge and stand at odds with the interactional affordances of the online medium.

  Throughout these three chapters, I have suggested that the implicit claims of telecollaboration to offer authentic language learning opportunities through 'direct' *conversations* across divides of place and person may suffer from a difficulty in enabling *dialogue* on these very counts. In the following section, I point to three "extended findings" from the Berkeley-Lyon *F1L* exchange that depart from the previous chapters' particular focus on distance, embodiment, and reflexivity to suggest some more general dilemmas that might be faced in the telecollaborative classroom.

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[102] As suggested in Chapter 3, validity in qualitative, case study-based research such as this dissertation may be understood to be based on a "critical realist" approach, one based primarily on *accounts*: "Validity is not an inherent property of a particular method, but pertains to the data, accounts, or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 284).

III. Extending the Findings: *Mixed* Hyperreality and its (Possible) Consequences in the Telecollaborative Classroom

Orientation

Just as Goffman, through successive reframings at the end of the introduction to his opus work *Frame analysis* (Goffman, 1974), exposed the generic conventionality of his own introduction and the contingency of his assertions therein, I hope that the findings of this dissertation have called into question the very foreignness of the "foreign language" taught online, in part by demonstrating the contingency of common assumptions about geographic distance and cultural difference in telecollaborative partnerships. To my mind, the learning experiences of the Berkeley students, as articulated in their own words and visual representations, cannot but raise the question of *simulation* with respect to the nature of the telecollaborative exchange and its people--the possibility that the online language learner and foreign language teacher/tutors themselves have become signs that no longer maintain the ability to stand for something *else* (i.e., linguistic and cultural differences revealed in dialogue) but, rather, have come to stand for *themselves*[103] (i.e., the idea of linguistic or cultural difference). Such a narcissistic warning is given by Kramsch in her recent treatment of "the virtual self", for whom the "simulacrum risks being substituted for reality" (Kramsch, 2009b, p. 177); I have argued that such a fate may be immanent in the experiences of students such as Yasmina, who drew herself and her tutor as anthropomorphized Eiffel Towers while asserting the fundamental sameness of people in France and the U.S. (Chapter 4); Kelly and Eduardo, for whom the intimate places of their own Berkeley campus had to become meaningless placeholders in order for them to achieve success amidst the confusions and limitations of a telemediated game (Chapter 5); and Ann, for whom the videoconferencing medium allowed her to circumvent a cultural boundary without ever crossing (or interrogating) it (Chapter 6).

Arguing that Ann and Jean's relationship in the *F1L* project may partake substantially in the hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986) is not to refute that linguistic and pragmatic and even intercultural learning was also taking place. Ann, for example, reported that she felt more confident in her ability to use verbs properly and to speak fluently by the end of the seven weeks of lessons with Jean and her partner Lynn. And, certainly, early cyberspace theorists who discussed cyberspace as a space of *simulation*, completely dissociated from embodied, lived spaces away from the screen cannot be read as literally applicable to the experiences of students like Ann, Kelly, and Eduardo.[104] As vividly illustrated by Ann's sitting shoulder-to-shoulder with Lynn and Eduardo's sitting next to Kelly, gesturing, looking, and hearing each other's muffled 'real' voices through their earphones as they video-chatted with Jean and Amandine, a strict dichotomy

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[103] Baudrillard asks, for instance, "what if the sign did not relate either to the object or to meaning, but to the promotion of the sign as sign?" (Baudrillard, 2002, p. 188)

[104] Mark Nunes, for instance, in an essay entitled "Jean Baudrillard in cyberspace: Internet, virtuality, and postmodernity", wrote, "a cybernetic 'space' does not augment the world; it abandons the world for one which can be fully realized and fully encompassed—a world of transparency and immediacy" (Nunes, 1995, p. 316).

between the 'reality' of the offline and 'virtuality' of the online is not tenable (on this point see, for instance, Boellstorff, 2008; Kozel, 2007; Miller & Slater, 2000; Nunes, 2006).

However, if students did not leave the chairs of the language laboratory on their American university campus, neither were they able to leave behind the virtualizing effects of camera and screen. The French language students of this study, like the users of digital communications technologies more generally, existed in complex spaces that are characterized by blended modalities and movements between virtual and actual, offline and online (Lévy, 1998). Below, I offer examples of findings that I have termed "extensions" of those summarized in the previous section of this chapter—findings that, I argue, bear traces of Baudrillard's hyperreal contention that

> when the real is no longer what it used to be...there is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true, of the lived experience; a resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 6-7).

Of course, such language may appear exaggerated when discussing a foreign language classroom in which students did in fact study a language online one day a week and offline for the rest, did pair-work activities and had whole-class discussions, wrote essays and took exams. Yet in the following pages, and before discussing the pedagogical implications of my findings in this dissertation (Section IV), I hope to show that important parts of what makes a class a class seem to have been lost: in the movement online, for example, classmates lost their classmate-ness, while the teacher's own teacher-ness was called into question.

Disappearing Classmates

Chapter 4 presented statements and drawings by Berkeley students showing that once they sat down with their partner in front of their computer terminals, logged in to Skype and put on their headsets, they "entered their own worlds". One consequence of this was that other students in the room disappeared from awareness and, in the event of technical disruptions, served as a reminder that the laboratory was *not* where one should be. One student, for example, observed that "When our sound wasn't working, and you were listening to other people speaking it was really weird, 'cause they're in that world and you're not"; another remarked, "it's kind of funny, because when you got there, and had your *casque* (headset) on, right, it kind of seemed like it was just you, your partner, and [the tutor], and everybody else didn't matter"; and yet another said, "I was actually shocked. I thought I would be a lot more distracted in the beginning by the other students and I literally, like, maybe it's the headphones...You don't really... I definitely, I heard nothing, not a thing except [my partner], until we were done."

In the end, the structure of the online interactions appears to have actively discouraged students from orienting toward or interacting with other students inside the

lab, to the extent that one classmate might not be differentiated from the rest—an apparent corroboration of Jones' finding of competing *attention structures* in computer lab settings, where "the actions that we perform with others create the spaces that we inhabit with them, and the ways we orient towards space makes [sic] some actions more possible and some less possible" (R. Jones, 2010, p. 164-5). Audrey, for example, narrated her picture depicting herself, her partner Abby, and two shorthaired people sitting next to her (Figure 7.1). She described them in the interview as "random people", and did not know if they were male or female:
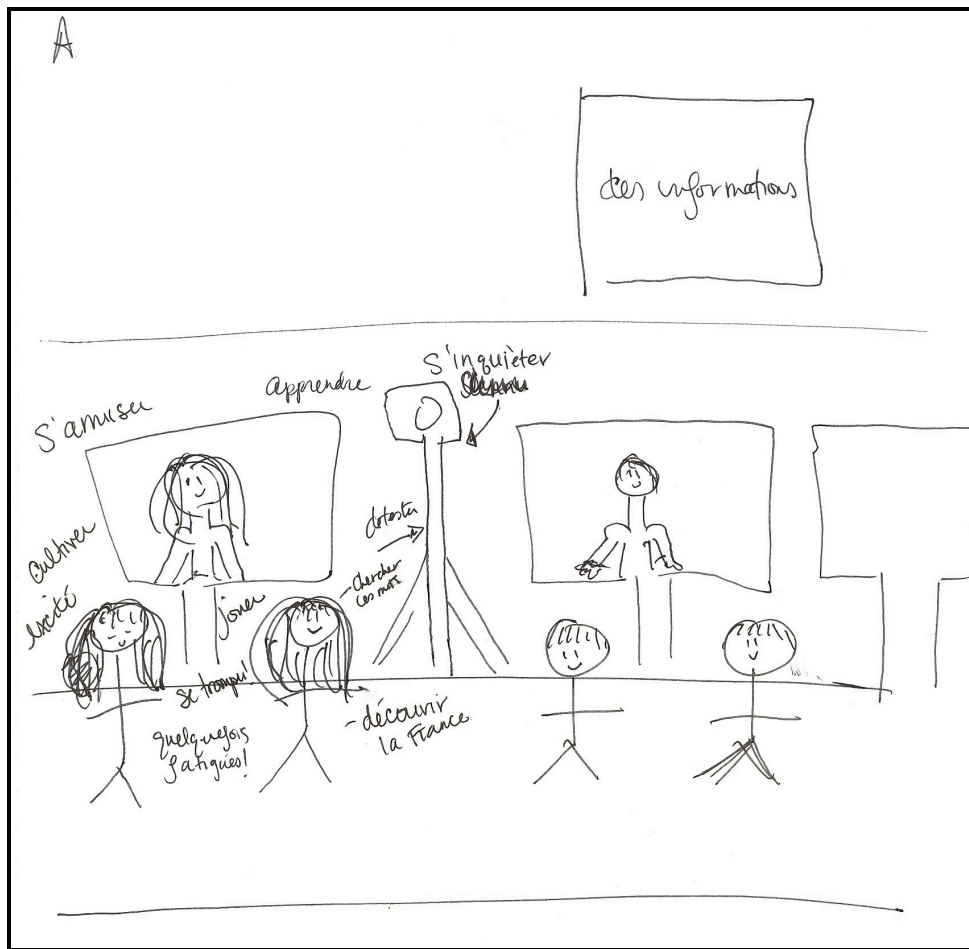
Figure 7.1—Audrey's drawing

Dave:	And so::: this is (.5) OK, these are the next (.5)
Audrey:	These are random people, yeah
Dave:	Who was next to you, do you remember?
Abby:	I think they were girls, [I'm not sure 'cause I didn't I didn't pay attention
Audrey:	[Oh were they? Oops I don't know

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Dave:	Oh yeah
Audrey:	Someti—was it Edgar? I don't know (1) I have no idea.
Dave:	Mm::
Audrey:	We were in our own world.

My classroom observations throughout the semester were not sufficient to draw conclusions about changes in the nature of students' interactions with, dispositions toward, and relations with other classmates on days other than Tuesdays; the classroom teacher Isabelle, however, contended that such a change had taken place (discussed in Section IV). And, as the following two sub-sections of extended findings demonstrate, the introduction of telecollaboration into the Berkeley French class may have transformed some students' understanding of the roles and identities of the classroom teacher.

Foregrounding of 'Evaluator' Among Teacher Roles

In the traditional face-to-face language classroom, teachers may play several roles simultaneously: they *administer* class while *facilitating* learning, *direct* activities, serve as *resources* and even *mentor* students even while they *evaluate* them; Kumaravadivelu, reviewing the various metaphors that have attached to the language teacher, notes that "the teacher has been variously referred to as an artist and an architect; a scientist and a psychologist; a manager and a mentor; a controller and a counselor; a sage on the stage; a guide on the side; and more" (Kumaravadivelu, 2003 p. 7).

However, in the context of the *F1L* project, in which students were informed that the teachers-in-training in Lyon would be leading lessons that were to be thematically related to the Berkeley French curriculum, but that they would *not* be involved in grading, *evaluation* appeared to emerge discursively as a key distinction between the "teacher" and the "tutors". That is, as various students expressed in their interviews, the defining characteristic of teachers (often called "professors" by Berkeley undergraduates regardless of their official status in the university) was not that they were knowledgeable leaders or experienced mentors, for example (although the students may have acknowledged them to be so), but that they gave the grades.

This distinction was expressed particularly forcefully in the interview with Abby and Audrey:

Dave:	Right (.5) And how did you—how did it feel, talking to (.5) ye—to the tutor Katarina (.5) uh as opposed to talking to, to Isabelle? Is it pretty much like the same dynamics going on there? Or what was your relationship like?
Audrey:	I think it's (.5) different
Abby:	It's different. Like, Isabelle's grading us.
Dave:	[Yeah.
Abby:	[Like, she is. Like, that's her job. She's our professor. She's grading us. Whereas the tutor (1) it felt like more of a—for me at least, it felt like more of a (1) "We're trying to help you learn.

We're really just trying to help you understand and, and build your skills." And while that's what Isabelle's doing too (1) she's also grading us.

One possible logical extension of the distinction between tutor and teacher may be seen in this short segment: not just a recognition that the capacity of the teacher and tutor are different in that the former assigns grades while the latter does not, but that the intentions of the people in these two distinct institutional roles might be read in place of their distinct institutional capacities (and limitations). On one hand, in this view, tutors are (just) "trying to help you learn", "trying to help you understand" (or, as Paul said, "With a tutor, like, since nothing's for a grade, you really have no—like if you have to do it anyway, you might as well learn"). The intention of the classroom teacher, on the other hand, may have, on occasion, been read as commensurate with her institutional mandate to evaluate students' in-class performance. As Elizabeth remarked during her interview,

> Elizabeth: Yeah, I mean, there's just a difference between if you're performing to be marked upon it, or if you're doing it purely to improve. So it just, yeah, it just creates—[learning from a tutor] was more as if you were learning from a more advanced student, and obviously they're native speakers, they're just as good as Isabelle. It's a different relationship, because they're genuinely trying to teach you.

In fact, the classroom teacher noted that she was not able to play much of a role in the online interactions during the interactions themselves, even if she had wanted to: she was not online or present in any way in the one-to-one or two-to-two Skype lessons between tutors in Lyon and students in Berkeley, and management of computer lab procedures and technical problems (logging in, adjusting the sound, responding to dropped connections, etc.) became in practice largely the responsibility of the research team and lab technician. In this context, the teacher *did* frequently use the period of the online interactions as an opportunity to grade—a fact that was noted by students who sat close to her in the laboratory:

> Dave: Right. So did you know if Isabelle was in the room or wasn't
> Rani: Um (1) not um oh um a little bit 'cause she actually sat next to our—
> Helen: Yeah. And she'd grade papers
> Rani: So I was kinda aware
> Dave: Yeah
> Rani: Yeah

As in the first sub-section above, we can only speculate how students' varying descriptions of the roles of "tutors" and "teachers" in the context of their blended on/offline learning experience reflected the actual stances taken, utterances made, and outcomes seen in physical classroom instruction with Isabelle—a shift in the *tenor* (role

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relationships) of the classroom situation with potentially profound influences on the ecology of language learning (van Lier, 2004; see Halliday, 1978). In their interviews, the Berkeley students did insist that the ways in which they interacted with their instructor, and their awareness of the power differential between them based upon her role as *evaluator,* persisted in the face-to-face classroom, in the hallways before or after class, in office hours, and even (in one student's imagined encounter) off-campus in a local supermarket. And, as I hope to demonstrate in the next and final sub-section of extended findings, at issue in the addition of tele-mediated 'native speaking' French teachers into the milieu of the Berkeley classroom may have been nothing less than the institutional legitimacy and thus, in the Baudrillardian sense, the *reality* of the classroom teacher.

The (Re)emergence of the "Native Speaker" in the Telecollaborative Classroom

In Chapter 2, Section III, I drew a parallel between the figure of *the foreigner* in internet-mediated intercultural language learning projects, and that of *the native speaker*, a controversial yet enduring presence in Second Language Acquisition studies and second language education settings more broadly (e.g., Cook, 1999; Paikeday, 1985; Rampton, 1990). There I attempted to show that, to the extent that both connote value-laden distinctions between notions of "here" and "there", I and you, and national belonging and exclusion, their fate may be bound together—to be de-legitimized in official discourses of translanguaging, interculturality, and hybridity of identities that characterize the global and translocal present (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010), and to find new life as second-order mythological signs (Barthes, 1972, 1979) propagated through the online, memetic, and transmedia logic of the hyperreal (on transmedia, see Jenkins, 2006).

In the blended classrooms of Berkeley's *F1L* participants, references to the *nativeness* of one's tutors and teacher arose in many cases in the context of explicit and implicit comparisons of learning experiences online and offline, and in summative evaluations of the merits of the online tutoring. Eduardo (Kelly's partner), for example, when asked to describe a high point of his interactions with Amandine, responded, "I— probably for me, the (.5) exposure (1) speaking with someone who's actually French." And this phrasing was repeated independently by other students as well; in the quote below, Tanya, a student from the 2009 class, had just been asked whether or not the online learning had been motivational or not:

> Tanya: It was motivational. Because I was speaking with an actual French person, like not one on one with the partner. But the pressure to learn, you can actually go to Lyon and speak it if you know motivate yourself so it was a good experience in that sense.

In implicit contrast to the "actual French" interlocutors in Lyon, the classroom teacher was frequently positioned discursively as "non-native". Here, the notion of nativeness was alluded to both in terms of a sense of lacking something that native speakers *had* (a subtractive model of sorts), and in recognition of the many competences

she had that placed her on (or even beyond) the same footing *with native speakers* (an approximate-but-separate model). Louise, for example, conveys the idea that her teacher the previous semester spoke 'too perfectly', in a way that *native speakers* wouldn't, when she says, "She ar—like enunciated ever:::ything, and it was like, this is like, perfect French, but like, with someone who's a native speaker and maybe the nuances of the language that we don't learn, it's like, that's really helpful." Angela, meanwhile, observed that "[laughing at you when you make a mistake] is something you get from a native that you wouldn't necessarily get from Isabelle, I thought. Like she—I don't want Isabelle to laugh at me but it's, it's, I mean, if you're going to go to France eventually you're—you want to learn really well, eventually that's something you're gonna have to face."

Here, Angela discusses a pragmatic behavior—laughing (or not) at the 'funny' mistakes that learners of French make—as evidence of the *nativeness* of her teacher. Interestingly, however, the students here do not discuss the possibility that the lack of such a response by one's classroom teacher might be due to factors other than 'nativeness', such as differences in interactive norms in whole-class settings versus the more private one-on-one or two-on-two dynamic of the online tutorial. And, while the corpus of spoken discourse data that informs this study does not allow for conclusions on this matter, it does raise the question of whether the tutors' mere *location in France* was, at least in part, what informed Berkeley students' perceptions of their nativeness.[105]

One test case for such an association would have been the case of tutors from non-francophone countries who had come to study in the master's program at Lyon 2 as international students, and who were yet accorded 'native' status by the Berkeley students. From 2008-2009, there were at least six such individuals; Berkeley students of French were in certain cases aware, and in certain cases not, of this fact. Abby and Audrey, for instance, from the 2008 class, belonged to the former category: Abby mentioned in an interview that "[Katarina] was great. She actually was, I guess born and raised in Greece, and was studying in Lyon for the year." With this awareness of Katarina's visiting status, Abby remarked, "I guess she's only there for the year. Which is interesting, 'cause her French is perfect."

Indeed, not only were Katarina's language skills and mannerisms such that Abby and Audrey "never would have known" that she was from Greece, but in the course of the interview, their tutor's origins appeared to disappear altogether. As the two Berkeley students were talking about how difficult it was for them to wake up and actively participate in a two-on-one conversation in French at 9:00 in the morning, Katarina seems to have become "a French person who's very sweet."

Abby:	You have to speak
Audrey:	and it's 9am
Dave:	Right
Audrey:	And so I don't really get that much sleep, so (1) it's a little (.5) challenging

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[105] See discussion and footnote in Chapter 3, Section IV ("Participants") regarding the non-French origins of many of the tutors in the *FIL* project.

Abby: Yeah, so having a 9am (.5) cla—like, like, interaction with the
                 fore—with a French person who's very sweet but it's still not your
                 normal language and you're still struggling for words, I mean (.5)
                 You don't have your coffee and you haven't gotten that much (2)
                 ((laughs quietly)) sleep. It's just (1)

What appears to be a self-correction by Abby ("...with the fore—with a French
person...") might cause us to wonder whether she indeed meant to intimate that Katarina
was French, or if she was pointing to the assumed identity of the tutors in general.
However, later in the same interview, as Abby and Audrey relate their discovery of the
fact that the tutors were in fact "normal students like us", Abby again makes Katarina
French:

Abby: But then I think everybody once they sat down and realized that it
                 was like a, you know, these are normal students like us and they
                 were really nice and (.5) For me it definitely helped with the
                 intimidating factor, like, 'cause part of it especially coming from—
                 being someone who spoke French when she was little? (.5) Like,
                 I'm especially overly, uhm, sensitive about my, like, accent and
                 how I speak because it was so perfect when I was little. So now
                 I'm just like, "Fuck!" (2; laughter) So (1) so I'm already, already
                 tense about it. So it was nice to have a French person be like, "Oh,
                 OK" yeah, they're nice! Like, I'm just like making myself stressed
                 out in my head, which I think any French student (.5) experiences,
                 or any student with language in general.

Here, then, we see a remarkable set of convergences and divergences in the
participants' attributed identities: Abby, who had spent her very early years in France
speaking French, and then largely forgot it in her childhood as she grew up in the United
States, worries about her accent in her current capacity as "French student" at UC
Berkeley; meanwhile, her tutor Katarina, whose non-French origins have already been
discussed and acknowledged by all participants in the interview, *becomes* "a French
person" as she assuages Abby's fears ("tension") about "saying something wrong". And
after these movements between, and forgettings of identities and origins on Tuesdays in
the *Le français en (première) ligne* project—made real in the moment-to-moment, face-
to-face interactions of the videoconferencing exchange between student and tutor—we
must return to the place of the teacher and students in the physical classroom on
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and to the identities, relationships, and learning
possibilities available to them. Next, I discuss some of the pedagogical implications of
the findings from Chapters 4, 5, and 6, in light of my contention that, at least to a degree,
students' own classmates had disappeared one day a week, while their instructor's
pedagogical roles and the nature of her status as a speaker of French had been raised as
topics worthy of comparison with the tutors in Lyon.

IV. Pedagogical Implications

As I noted in Chapter 3 ("Methods", Section IV), one of my own motivations in participating in research on the *Le français en (première) ligne* project came from the Berkeley instructor Isabelle's remarks in 2008 to the effect that, with the addition of an online learning component, much of the "magic" of the classroom had disappeared. In that interview discussion, she had attributed what she viewed as students' loss of in-class opportunities for identity performance, risk-taking, and the consequent building of affective bonds to the need to accommodate the *F1L* telecollaborative lessons on Tuesdays; in light of the extended findings of the previous section, however, I raise the question of whether the addition of a telecollaborative component to a 'traditional' foreign language class might, to some extent at least, effect more broad-reaching, qualitative changes at the level of the whole class—a possibility that, I argue, merits the consideration of a variety of pedagogical responses.

Certainly, the loss that Isabelle said she observed in students' ability in class to assume new roles and identities through role plays and other 'optional' activities that surround the 'hard' work of grammar and reading exercises (and her own sense that at times, she said, she felt that she was there "just to cover material"), did not end halfway through the Berkeley semester. Although she mentioned feeling "relief" at having more time to work with texts in the second half of the course after the online tutorials had stopped, the issue of "classroom magic", or lack thereof, lasted for the duration.[106]

Judging from the literature on telecollaboration and the use of social technology in the language classroom more broadly (e.g., Goodfellow & Lamy, 2009; Hanna & de Nooy, 2009; Thorne, 2006; Warschauer & Kern, 2000), Isabelle was not alone. In particular, if an unspoken ideal for internet-supported intercultural language education is to "[move] learners from simulated classroom-based contexts toward actual interaction with expert speakers of the language they are studying" (Thorne, 2006, p. 3)—and if online environments can foster *more* intense or personal interactions than can offline, face-to-face interaction (Walther, 1996)—then classroom language teachers implementing telecollaborative projects might find themselves under considerable pressure to reimagine the pedagogical relationships and identities of the language classroom—including their own. As in the *F1L* project, teachers in the telecollaborative classroom are not just largely or wholly absent from the online interactions; their absence, and the absence of the traditional classroom, is one of the fundamental presuppositions of the "authentic" online learning experience.

As such, findings such as Stepp-Greany's (2002) that language teachers need to be flexible *facilitators* and even *co-learners* rather than directors of students' online learning only addresses part of the problem in telecollaborative settings. Belz and Müller-Hartmann (2003), for instance, demonstrate that the teacher's responsibilities extend into the interpretation and management of the ways in which students' (electronic) discourse

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[106] As I noted in Chapter 3, Section IV, my interviews with Isabelle were not recorded; words or short phrases that appear in quotes in these paragraphs are verbatim, transcribed in field notes taken during the interviews.

reveals and re-creates the socioinstitutional differences between participating schools.[107] Meanwhile, Ware and Kramsch (2005) point out that the communicative view of the teacher-as-facilitator is often inadequate "for the kinds of challenges posed by global communication" (p. 191); rather, they suggest, in telecollaborative settings where cultural miscommunications are common, teachers need to embody an *intercultural stance* (see Kramsch, 1999), maintaining a critical and nuanced awareness of language and a "willingness to engage with the students in an exploration of difference rather than in an assumption of similarity" (Ware & Kramsch, 2005, p. 203). Other researchers as well argue for the importance of the teacher's re-introduction into the classroom of online learning experiences as an opportunity for students' meta-reflection, cultivation of language awareness, and development of intercultural and multimodal communicative competence more broadly (e.g., Furstenberg et al., 2001; Guth & Helm, 2010a; Hauck, 2007; Kern, 2006; Thorne, 2010).[108] If, as I have suggested in the previous section, the virtual presence of 'native speaking' tutors who *teach without grading* causes classroom teachers' role as evaluator of student performance to be foregrounded, they might find themselves with little recourse to the other pedagogical roles that help them to lead students in critically re-contextualizing their online experiences.

In my study, set as it is in a U.S. foreign language learning context (see Chapter 2, Section II), I have aligned my conception of the competences and dispositions that language teachers might wish to cultivate in their learners with the notions of *translingual and transcultural competence* (MLA, 2007; see also the contributions following Byrnes, 2008).[109] In light of the above considerations of the conflicted role of the language teacher in the Berkeley *FIL* classroom (and in telecollaboration more broadly), and with a view to the data in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 showing the Berkeley students' difficulties in attaining what I have termed the *distance, wholeness of person, and reflexivity* needed for intercultural dialogue, here I offer three situated interpretations of recommendations made in the MLA Report, building upon the language of the report itself. Here I stress that due to the nature of my own involvement in the *FIL* project—as a researcher focused on the Berkeley (student) side, and with the majority of my observational data coming from the computer laboratory and not the classroom—the

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[107] See Dooly (2008) on how "*project management between teachers* is an essential part of effective online collaboration between language learners" (p. 66); Basharina et al. (2008) recommend that teachers discuss competing visions and rationales for the project; O'Dowd & Ritter (2006), meanwhile, offer an inventory of "potential areas of dysfunction in telecollaborative projects" for teachers' consideration.

[108] Here I do not assume that "the classroom" in which this re-introduction of online discourse takes place is either (or both) online or offline, although I do keep the assumption that the language class continues in some capacity to meet in the physical classroom.

[109] As discussed in Chapter 1, the 2007 MLA report clearly speaks from the perspective and to the interests of U.S. universities, as seen in the assertion that language students should "learn to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies and to grasp themselves as Americans--that is, as members of a society that is foreign to others" (p. 4). See Chapter 2, Section III for discussion of the model of intercultural communicative competence put forth by Byram (1997) and others; as indicated there, this model forms the basis of much thought on telecollaboration in Europe, and is reflected in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001; see discussion in O'Dowd, 2007).

pedagogical lessons I draw are at a general level, and may (hopefully) be interpreted in a variety of ways by practitioners.

1. A foreign language education oriented around translingual and transcultural competence should teach "differences in meaning, mentality, and worldview as expressed in American English and in the target language" (MLA, 2007, p. 4)

Michael Geisler's retrospective look at the MLA Report (Pratt et al., 2008) raises an area of implicit tension in the report's pages, and in the charge of the foreign language class to frame cultural texts and practices as *national* (i.e., in *American English* and *the target language*). While Geisler, a professor of German, argues for a more robust curriculum that allows language students to interpret large-scale cultural narratives in the countries of the languages they study, he urges his readers to "say goodbye to the grand narratives" (Pratt et al., 2008, p. 235); a goal of language teaching at the higher levels should be to support students' participation in the construction of a "dynamic archive of seminal cultural texts" that, importantly, *also* benefits from "professional quality control" (p. 235), with the teacher helping students to a contextual awareness of the texts' significance and a reflexive awareness of their own positionality.

In the collaborative production of the (online, digitally-mediated) oral and written dialogues and texts that are the hallmark of telecollaborative interactions at the beginning and intermediate levels, such 'quality control' may be even more necessary, even though (and also because) student-tutor interactions are for the most part inaccessible to the offline teacher. In Ann's lesson with Jean (analyzed in Chapter 6), for instance, Ann assigns great importance to the significance of *looking* at men "in France" and "in America", raising the question of how gender relations and sexuality (for instance) are textualized verbally, visually, and in embodied practice. Where Jean's and Ann's national identities and reflections on the significance of these phenomena could not be discussed by the pair online (due to constraints of time, curriculum, and no doubt the fact that they were also actively enacting gendered and national identities while talking about them), the instructor's re-introduction and reframing of issues raised online within the whole-class, offline environment—were she so able, given the private nature of desktop videoconferencing—could potentially have created space for the articulation of, and reflection upon, "differences in meaning, mentality and worldview" that are both national in their import and personal in the experience of one (or two)-to-one telecollaboration.

Additionally, the fact that valuable language lessons are attached to such seemingly abstract notions as 'mentality' and 'worldview' is evident even in the expression Ann used again and again to explain what was "*défendu*" (forbidden) to her when she lived in France. She had written on her drawing, and subsequently explained that what she could not do with French men was to "*y regarder à deux fois*" (lit., "to look at it again")—an observation that, ironically, appeared to be true in a way that she did not expect: in her interview, Ann explained this phrase as an approximation of the (American English) expressions "to look back at" or "to do a double-take" of an (attractive) member of the opposite sex, but did not indicate awareness of its more metaphorical, and self-reflexive meaning in French: "to think twice about" what one sees. Here was a potentially

teachable moment about the significance of *the gaze* in French and American cultures with, unfortunately, no teacher available.

2. Instead of trying to replicate the competence of the native speaker, translingual and transcultural competence should focus on "the ability to operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, p. 3-4)

In outlining a notion of *symbolic competence* that calls on learners to position themselves in the flow of language, to maintain awareness of the memories evoked by symbolic forms, to recognize the performative power of language to create alternate realities, and to "reframe human thought and action" (Kramsch, 2008, p. 402), Kramsch (2008, 2009a) expands upon the MLA Ad-Hoc Committee on Foreign Language's directive to "operate between languages". Clearly, this notion encompasses more than the learner's ability to manipulate language as a formal system; in fact, Kramsch suggests, at stake in the language learner's operation between languages is nothing less than her or his *subjectivity*, the "conscious or unconscious sense of self as mediated through symbolic forms" (Kramsch, 2009b, p. 18). And online, Kramsch argues, subjectivity as a sort of aggregation of symbolic operations undergoes particular kinds of transformations:

> The computer has given the self procedural authority and spatial agency, it has dramatically increased the potential for distributed authorship and inter-subjectivity, it offers borderless spaces for play and creativity—but at a price. The virtual self, together with others, must reinvent the contextual boundaries without which there can be no agency, authorship, or creativity—indeed, there can be no subject (Kramsch, 2009b, p. 185).

In the preceding chapters I have attempted to show, through analysis of *F1L* participants' fundamental categories of experience such as *being in place* (Chapter 4) and *embodiment online* (Chapter 5), that the burdens and opportunities of consequence to the telecollaborator's subjectivity may manifest themselves in subtle ways that are not apparent in spoken or written discourse. One value of the drawing assignment introduced by the Berkeley French instructor Isabelle, and the subsequent visual analysis of the students' drawings, was to reveal sites and modes of "contextual boundary-setting" and dissolution in their videochat interactions with their tutors (on the meaning-making affordances of multimodal representations, see Kress, 2010). Although visual 'borders' were apparent in drawings such as those by Peter (Figure 4.2) and Ernesto (Appendix E), Elizabeth's drawing in particular revealed a certain duplicity of the online border, with the computer screen serving as a window into the *ideal* realm of abstracted native speaker competence in the foreign language, made immediately visible in the animated, smiling figures of her tutors Boris and Elsa (see Friedberg, 2006; Nusselder, 2009). Elizabeth's perception of her own impoverished access to the tools of symbolic competence in comparison to her tutors—to the ability to position herself in language, to call upon its historical resonances, to perform alternate realities, and to reframe meanings in language—was vividly represented in the form of competing networks of vastly different

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depth and scale (simple on the students' side, and complex on the tutors'), divided by a line representing the surface of the computer screen. In this light, Elizabeth's drawing, and her spoken narrations of its content and significance, can (and, I would contend, should) be considered in themselves a dynamic, multimodal, reflective, and symbolically competent achievement.

Importantly, however, although for Elizabeth this visualization stood for feelings of frustration at the lack of access to the rich linguistic and cultural associations on the other side of the screen (attainable, according to traditional models of SLA, through dedicated acquisition of the language of the other, the metaphorical 'breaking down' of the screen), the border of consequence for the symbolic competence of a student like Elizabeth may have been not the screen that divided her partner and herself from the tutors on the other side, but that which made all four people in her drawing into *points* or *nodes* in a network: a kind of *virtualization* of the actual (Lévy, 1999). In this view, one reason that Elizabeth said that interacting with her tutors online was "exhausting", an experience for which "you kind of brace yourself every morning", may have been that she and other students were themselves *deterritorialized* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), "exponentiated" in a virtual realm such that the notion of 'assuming a subject position' would have met with a foundational dilemma—how, we might ask, can one assume a position when one has no place and no body? (see Kramsch, 2009b, Chapter 7) Such a view would not refute views in the interactionist tradition of SLA research about the cognitive burden of processing input and producing intelligible output in an L2; it does, however, place focal attention on who and what the language student may be (and what "operating" between languages may mean) when she is *between* languages online, a topic ripe for exploration in future research (see Section V).

3. Transcultural understanding is, in part, the ability to understand a cultural narrative such that, along with maintaining a linguistic, metalinguistic, and metaphorical knowledge of the language, a student should "Understand how a particular background reality is reestablished on a daily basis through cultural subsystems" (the mass media, literary and artistic works, stereotypes, sites of memory, etc.) (MLA, 2007, p. 4-5).

After the time of Berger and Luckmann's (1966) observation that "Man's specific humanity and his sociality are inextricably intertwined. Homo sapiens is always and in the same measure, homo socius" (p. 51), the notion of the social creation of categories of thought and experience has been a powerful tool for more postmodern theorists of language, literacy, and education (e.g., Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Gee, 1990; Lemke, 1995; Luke, 1996), as with gender, childhood, the self, and myriad other social and natural phenomena (see Hacking, 1999). Indeed, this tradition of social constructionism is one that underwrites Kramsch's notion (outlined above) that symbolic competence encompasses the power of language learners to perform and re-frame meanings with the L2, even as they struggle to master its conventions of form and use.

In this dissertation, as well, *framing* has been a key theoretical and methodological premise: the ability of language learners online to know "what it is that is going on" (Goffman, 1974) at any time—for example, whether they are engaging in a

heartfelt conversation about places of personal significance, or performing a conversational task that asks them to discuss places of significance, or whether they are being tested on their ability to do so—was called into question by the incongruences and dissonances between voice and movement, sound and image that presented themselves to Eduardo and Kelly in Berkeley (and to their tutor Amandine in Lyon) in Chapter 5. Crucially, I suggested, the learner's inability to disambiguate these pedagogical frames online may affect her ability to apprehend the very reality of the "cultural subsystems" of the target language and culture as such. While students in such an environment may be able to recognize and even discuss foreign literary and artistic works, stereotypes, and sites of memory (for example), the extent to which they are able to position themselves and their (French) interlocutors with respect to these texts, and to use them to reflect on the possibilities of difference and similarity in culture and language—*to incorporate them into ongoing dialogic relations of foreignness with their online teachers, tutors, or student partners*—is a matter for further investigation.

In this light, and to the interests of the previous two points on translingual and transcultural competence, I view the principles of dialogue developed first in Chapter 2, and elaborated in the following three chapters, as potentially enabling of the very *background realities* that allow a foreign culture to be real. And, in that I have looked for answers in such 'places' as Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach to questions of embodiment (Chapter 5), Catherine Jones' observations about the sensorial segregation of the modern subject (Chapter 5), and Nusselder's re-interpretation of Lacanian psychoanalytic theory on desire and the interface with the Real (Chapter 6), I believe that language instructors and planners of telecollaborative partnerships might well consider what might otherwise be considered *contextual* or background questions such as the following:

- What modes and media are used to introduce, discuss, interact with, and re-create texts online that intersect with large-scale cultural narratives? What opportunities exist for the re-presentation or remediation of texts across modes and media?
- What opportunities and means exist for students to talk about and reflect upon the medium(s) that connect(s) them to their interlocutors, both online in pairs and as a whole class? How do they understand the constraints and affordances of video, audio, and text chat (and any and all asynchronous media such as email, blogs, and discussion forums) with respect to their telecollaborative activities--and their media practices outside of the university?
- How do students and their interlocutors (other students, tutors, etc.) perceive *themselves*--their use of language, their appearance, their voice as they speak another language--through the mediums of the telecollaborative interface? How do these vary or support their understandings of themselves and their peers in the classroom? In the home university environment? At home? In (remembered) past or (imagined) future study abroad experiences? What opportunities and forums exist for reflection on these topics?

- What opportunities exist for the students'/interlocutors' institutional and social settings, schedules, and routines (for example, principles of campus community and membership, on-campus social issues, basic facts about student life, etc.) to be made visible to each other, and to inform their online relationship?
- With respect to the above questions, what opportunities can be made in the language classroom for the whole class to discuss and reflect upon critical incidents, issues, and impressions from online interactions?

V. Limitations and Looking Forward: On the Need for the Foreign

I began this dissertation by asking about *the foreign* in foreign language education, and attempted to find it in principles of *dialogue*. My approach to both concepts—foreignness and dialogue—must be seen as partial, befitting in part the concerns of *this* case study, and situated in the thought and discourse of institutions of higher learning in the United States. Hopefully, however, it will not be seen as arbitrary. I conclude this study with some observations about the potentials and limitations of reading foreignness through dialogue, as this notion has been developed throughout the preceding pages. Implicit here and in the study as a whole is my sense that applied linguists investigating language learning and technology *need* to ask questions about their sites of research as basic as the one that serves as my title: "Where is the foreign?"

As Burbules and Bruce note, "dialogue" as an educational principle boasts both rich and varied philosophical traditions over thousands of years and, partly for that very reason, a permeability of borders that threatens to allow *any* discourse to be considered "dialogue". To this point, they write, "the philosophical origins of this concept, its prescriptive intent, its idealized characterizations, have all tended to promote an anti-empirical approach toward elaborating what dialogues look like and how they work–or fail to work–educationally" (Burbules & Bruce, 2001, p. 1103). In particular, while some educational approaches such as critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997) purport to lead learners to critical reflection and empowerment through dialogue, the juxtaposition of this idea with a supposed unidirectional, "banking" model of education (they argue) creates a false dichotomy, effectively "[obscuring] multiple forms that both 'lecture' and 'dialogue' might take, and places a range of important issues along a single either/or dividing line" (Burbules & Bruce, 2001, p. 1105). A more nuanced approach, Burbules and Bruce assert, might recognize that the particular form dialogue takes depends on relations between "(a) the contexts of such interaction, (b) other activities and relations among participants, (c) the subject matter under discussion, and (d) the varied differences among those participants themselves" (p. 1102).

Certainly, though, a common element in the approach advocated by Burbules and Bruce, the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, Henri Giroux, bell hooks and others, and among those who advocate a specifically dialogic approach in internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education (e.g., Schneider & von der Emde, 2006; Ware & Kramsch, 2005; Yang, 2011) is the essentially *political* nature of dialogue. While my

study of French learners at an elite U.S. university does not bespeak the overt class conflicts of (for example) Freire's Brazilian classrooms, nor the post-colonial struggles of indigenous-Spanish "contact zones" exposed by Pratt (1991), it does, I suggest, raise the possibility that objectification and fetishization of the Other (Said, 1978) is an immediate risk of intercultural and telemediated partnerships such as *F1L*—a risk that is made all the more difficult to detect, perhaps, to the degree that economically advanced, formerly colonial powers such as the U.S. and France share in a commoditized technologization of conversation (Cameron, 2000; Fairclough, 2000). In this sense, "dialogue" might usefully be juxtaposed with conversation, for, as Nystrand et al. (1997, p. 8; cited in Burbules & Bruce 2001, p. 1106) have observed, "discourse is dialogic not because speakers take turns, but because it is continually structured by tension, even conflict, between the conversants, between self and other, as one voice 'refracts the other'."

A view of dialogue as the refraction of voices in a context of tension and potential conflict is what I have asserted can be used to theorize and recover *the foreign* in the context of the desktop videoconferencing-mediated language lessons of *F1L* and similar projects. For this purpose, the dialogic thought of Mikhail Bakhtin, itself set into dialogue with the thought of Martin Buber (and vice-versa) have, I hope, yielded a productive and *dynamic* tension of difference: Buber's postulation of dialogue as a movement between objectifying *I-It* and transcendent *I-Thou* relations centers the ever-expanding (centrifugal) and contracting (centripetal) forces of language in a dyadic configuration befitting the telecollaborative partnerships studied herein. However, rather than focusing on the overt misunderstandings, disagreements, or arguments between the intermediate students of French and their French tutors in and of themselves (in fact, there were few such verbalized disagreements or arguments), I have endeavored to follow the example of the "subversive phenomenological twist" that Goffman attributes to the philosopher William James who, in an 1869 essay, "instead of asking what reality is...[asked] the following question: *Under what circumstances do we think things are real?*" (Goffman, 1974, p. 2; italics in original).

To be sure, the Berkeley language learners' narrative statements and drawings about their own online learning experiences, read together with my classroom observations and audio and video analyses, offer only a limited perspective on what I have termed the "reality conditions" (Chapter 3, Section I) that may be productive of relations of foreignness in the telecollaborative classroom: the distance and outsideness of perspective Bakhtin argued were so important in the life of language; the embodied wholeness of person that Buber's *Thou* represents; the reflexive awareness of one's own position-ability in dialogue. Within the bounds of the *Français en (première) ligne* project itself, the perspectives of the tutors and *their* teacher-trainers, as well as participant observations and data analysis from French side, informed by French-medium literature on language education and computer-mediated communication, are visibly lacking from this study.[110] As well, comparisons with the experiences of students in other and larger telecollaborative partnerships, in the manner of Hauck's (e.g., 2007) *TRIDEM* studies, for example, would help to refine and expand upon the notions developed herein. Even in Berkeley, the planned (2012) expansion of the *F1L* project to include a French

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[110] However, see Chapter 1, Section II for a review of the literature on this project, reflecting the research of Develotte, Mangenot, and Guichon.

Department class of American future teachers of French as a foreign language, in conversation with future teachers of French in France, will likely allow for increased explorations of similarities and differences in American and French methodological perspectives, themselves inroads to the evolving cultural narratives that lie at the core of the foreign language curriculum.

In these ways, while this study of the dialogic constitution of foreignness in foreign language education--and the barriers therein—will surely be aided by expansion *outwards*, it has also argued for telecollaborative studies to look further 'inwards', at the technologies that mediate online exchanges, and to the ways that student bodies and subjectivities are re-distributed online. For, as Nunes writes, even though students may be seated together in the same language laboratories, or in the same networked classrooms,

> the space of the body does not end at the keyboard, nor is corporeal situatedness merely a representation of content (identity) transmitted across a medium. Rather, one finds that the body, through dispositional practice, materializes spatial processes that map a far more complex rendering of the lived experience of cyberspace (Nunes, 2006, p. 137).

If one of the defining aspects of foreignness is the enactment of a relative sense of distance and proximity, a separation from a deictic center (see discussion of Ehlich, 2009 in Chapter 1), then understanding where and how language users *are* with respect to each other when they are online would seem a necessary first step in guaranteeing their ability *to be foreign* to one another. And if, as Nunes suggests, cyberspace is "lived" and not just traversed or transmitted-through, then we must conduct further studies of transformations of place, time, embodiment, and identity online with respect to the particular interests, activities, and movements of language users. Boellstorff's (2008) ethnographic investigation of Second Life, foregrounding practices such as "rezzing" and "Away From Keyboard" that show how online and offline experiences are not separate but processually linked, offers one model for exploring the "reality conditions" of life and learning online. Hansen's (2006) *Bodies in code* and Kozel's (2007) *Closer* are two examples of phenomenological analyses of new media, embodiment, and performance practices that offer alternate, descriptive and interpretive means for investigating the multimodal and multimedia competences that recent studies of telecollaboration have argued are intimately tied to the realm of the intercultural (Hauck, 2010; Guth & Helm, 2010a). And, considering the centrality of the human face and (upper) body as the medium of the foreign language in the videoconferencing exchange, analysis of telecollaborative data in light of applied philosophical concepts such as Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) "faciality" may be instructive, in that they help us to de-familiarize, *to make strange* the most familiar, ubiquitous, and human of sights.

Why, though, would a language student or teacher want to make strange the face of the other, when the standards for success in language education dictate that it be made familiar? As indicated in the 21st Century Skills Map for World Languages,

> [Language learners] come to understand the world better because of their knowledge of speakers of another language—of people who share many of the

same hopes and dreams for their future. While perspectives may differ among speakers of different languages, more similarities exist than we might imagine. However, it is only through knowing the language of others that we can truly understand how they view the world. And this is what makes the language student a 21st Century skilled learner (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2011, p. 3)!

However well-intentioned such statements might be, though, by insinuating that "perspectives" of the world's (other) people may be different, but that more fundamental "hopes and dreams" are shared among all people, they risk banalizing the differences of the Other or, worse, threatening to assimilate them to the Self (see my discussion of Hahn 2010, "The 'foreign' in foreign language education" in Chapter 2, Section III). Such efforts have historically been the cause of great wars and injustices, and deserve particular scrutiny in the context of ongoing projection of U.S. political, economic, and military power in the early 21st century. In contrast, the possibilities of *the foreign,* Bhabha (1994), Benjamin (1970), Kramsch (1993), Kristeva (1980), Pratt (1992), Saunders (2003), Said (1978), Simmel (1971), and others inform us, go beyond cultivating the ability to live with the "strangers" in our midst, at home or abroad. By entering into dialogue with those who may very well bring with them "the space that wrecks our abode, [and] the time in which understanding and affinity founder" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 13), language learners in telecollaborative projects and beyond may, ironically, bring themselves and their communities both the means to survival in a politically and symbolically charged world, and the pleasures of knowing the other and the self, in relation.

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BERKELEY STUDENT FINAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Opening / general

1. As you think back now on your Tuesday interactions with the tutors in Lyon, what are your impressions? What memories come to mind?
2. What kinds of adjectives would you use to describe the experience, in English and/or French? (Elicit several from each person, follow up if interesting
3. What do you think you learned from the experience?
4. Here's the picture you drew. Can you explain to me what you were trying to convey here, and what the different elements mean? (refer back to the picture throughout, giving Ss chance to expand, clarify, complicate.) If you were going to redraw it today, would it be the same picture? If not, how would it be different?

Relating the interactions to in-class French learning experiences

1. What have been the benefits of the online interactions with respect to your experience in the French 3 class as a whole?
2. Can you think of anything that's happened on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays or in the time since the interactions ended that you've understood better, differently, things you've been able to say, etc. that you learned during the interactions? What?
3. Which language skills do you think you've developed throughout the 7 sessions? For each skill, what's an example? And if you haven't developed it, why do you think not? (Move through these quickly) - Pronunciation, Fluency, Vocabulary, Grammar, Listening comprehension, Reading, Writing, Oral expression
4. Does it feel the same or different interacting with your tutors this semester and talking with your teacher this semester? How about past French or other language teachers? How?
5. Is there a difference between the French that your tutors used and the French that your teacher uses, that you hear in the classroom?
6. What have you learned about communicating with expert French speakers through this exercise?
7. Are there particular words or expressions you remember learning from your tutor? Ways or styles of talking? Give an example / imitate.
8. Is there a difference between the way your tutors made eye contact, facial expressions and gestures during the interactions, and they way people do it in English here in Berkeley? What? (This is also a technology question in disguise) Did you ever explicitly talk about these things?
9. What have you learned about France and French culture from this experience?

10. Do you feel like pretty much the same person when you're speaking French and English? How do you feel different, if so?
11. Do you feel like pretty much the same person in class with everyone and when you were talking to your tutors? If different, how?

Relationships with the tutors

1. Your tutors were.... (Elicit tutors' names)
2. Have you been able to keep in touch with them at all since the sessions ended? Do you know where s/he/they are now, what they're doing? What would you guess?
3. Did you look forward to the interactions with your tutors? Why?
4. If you were to describe tutors' names?, how would you describe her/him/them? (Assure students that this is anonymous…listen for whether they describe them first in terms of personality traits or teaching style, characteristics, etc.)
5. How do you think your tutors would have described you? (What do you think they thought about you?)
6. Is this the first time you've had a tutor for language? For other subjects? What?
7. What was your relationship like then? What was their role in your learning? (elicit teacher/friend distinction, other roles)
8. How was your relationship with your tutors in Lyon similar to or different from your other tutoring experiences? Give an example…
9. Would you have preferred to meet tutors' names? face-to-face? (Deictic question in disguise and deliberately ambiguous – would the tutors then be here in Berkeley? Would the students have to be in Lyon? Etc....)
10. Did you feel differently about talking with tutors' names? as time went on? How? Why do you think this changed?
11. Was it easier or harder to speak to your tutors than it is to speak in class? How? Why?
12. Did you prefer getting feedback or correction on pronunciation, grammar, etc. by your tutor? By your teacher? By your partner? Why?
13. Are you staying / Will you stay in contact (or have you exchanged emails or remained in contact) with you tutors in Lyon? Through what channels? What channels would you like to use?

Technical focus

1. How similar or different were your interactions with tutors' names? to face-to-face communication? Explain.
2. Was this your first time doing video chat? What application/s have you used before? Have you used voice chat? Instant messaging? What applications?
3. What do you use them for? How about other people you know?
4. Do you visit, or have you visited any French language websites? Which ones? For what? How did you find out about them?

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5. Did you have particular feelings about Skype before? Now? How about the kind of computers we were using in the computer lab in B-21?
6. Did the tutors use the video/audio, chat, blog for different things? What?
7. How important relatively have the audio, the video, and the written chat been in developing your skills of comprehension and expression?
8. What's one problem or challenge you faced with the technology? Did you overcome it? How? Tell the story.

Sense of space, time

1. Did you have a sense of where the tutors were when they were talking to you? What do you remember from what you saw? From what they told you?
2. What's your impression about Lyon? How different from Paris? Other parts of France?
3. Do you remember, during the fifth interaction (March 4) when the tutors had to talk to you from home? Was it different or the same?
4. Were you aware of the events going on in the room (language lab) around you? How about events going in the room of your partner? Can you recall any events from either?
5. Did it bother you to have the other people in the room? Was it helpful or a bother to have us starting & stopping Skype, trying to make connections, etc.?
6. Did you ever have a sense of the time difference between Berkeley and Lyon when you were online with the tutors? What gave you this impression? (Should elicit story about time change mess-up). I didn't really catch what happened on that day…do you remember? (Interaction 6)
7. Did time seem to go quickly or slowly when you were interacting online with your tutor/s? Does time online feel different than classroom time?
8. Was this your first time in B-21? What kind of a vibe do you get from the room? How does it compare to Dwinelle 206? Other rooms on campus?
9. Would you prefer to have had these interactions from your home? By yourself? At a different time of day? Why or why not? What would be the ideal setup?
10. Now before we finish let's take a look at a little piece of video from an early interaction, where you're introducing some of your favorite places on the Berkeley campus…remember that? (individually tailored questions based on a negotiation of meaning that happened in their interaction). A lot of people said this was a difficult activity and I'm hoping you can explain what's going on here…

ORIGINAL "(NATIONAL) IDENTITIES" LESSON PLAN

<u>Unite 4 : Les identities (nationales)</u>

18h10 : prendre quelques minutes pour renouer le contact avec les participants après une semaine de vacances. Leur demander ce qu'ils ont fait pendant cette semaine…

Type de tâche	Objectifs	Documents utilisés	Description de l'activité, durée prévue et consigne	Conseils pédagogiques pour enrichir l'activité
<u>Tâche 1 :</u> <u>Echange d'information/ d'opinion</u> **Qu'est ce que l'identité nationale ?**	Donner son avis Faire des choix Prendre des décisions	Témoignages à partir d'un forum (à lire avant le début de l'interaction)	18h10 - 18h20 (10min) Les participants auront lu les témoignages et relevés les critères qui leur semblent importants (travail de repérage) Consigne : Selon vous et selon les témoignages que vous avez lus, choisissez ensemble 5 critères définissant l'identité nationale (française ou américaine).	Ne pas hésiter à reformuler la consigne en prenant des exemples dans le texte : « Antoine pense que être français c'est parler la même langue. S'ils ne comprennent pas la consigne, poser des questions comme « en quoi tu te sens américain ? pourquoi ? »
<u>Transition</u> <u>Tâche 2 :</u> <u>Echange d'opinion</u>	Donner sa préférence/ comparer		18h20 - 18h30 (10 min) Consigne :	N'hésitez pas à reformuler la consigne et expliquer

			Quelle est, pour vous, la fête la plus représentative des Etats Unis ? Pourquoi ?	représentatif =populaire Si les apprenants n'arrivent à répondre à ces questions, les orienter vers « Thanksgiving » et leur demander d'expliquer cette célébration.
Que faire un jour férié ?	Raconter un récit/argumenter		Imaginez que vous passez cette journée ensemble, racontez nous le programme de la journée (le lieu, les activités, le repas…). En quoi ces activités sont elles typiquement américaines?	Si nécessaire, leur demander de nous expliquer les origines de cette fête. S'ils bloquent orienter la discussion vers la nourriture et les plats typiques.
Tâche 3 : Echange d'opinion **C'est quoi un français ?**	Savoir décrire une personne Outils linguistiques : Vocabulaire de la description physique, morale et activités (Chap. 2)	8 photographies à observer (voir page 5)	18h30-18h35 (5 min) Consigne : A partir des photographies, choisissez ensemble la personnalité qui représente le plus la France ? Pourquoi ? Est-ce que nous, les tuteurs,	Relancer les apprenants s'ils font une description trop rapide, reprendre les différents points et demander pourquoi Physique=son corps, sa taille, son poids, couleur de

			correspondons à l'image que vous avez du français ? Comment dériveriez vous le français « moyen » ? Son physique, ses vêtements, son caractère, son métier et la ville où il habite	cheveux…. S'ils le souhaitent, les participants peuvent décrire un couple ou une famille.
<u>Tâche 3 (bis) :</u> <u>Echange d'opinion</u> **C'est quoi être américain des Etats Unis ?**	Donner son avis S'exprimer sur son pays Outils linguistiques : Vocabulaire de la description physique, morale et activités (Chap. 2)	Publicité sur le blog	18h35-18h40 (5min) Consigne : Demander aux élèves d'aller sur le blog (mettre l'adresse dans le clavardage) et de regarder la publicité (45sec). Que pensez-vous de cette publicité ? Est-elle représentative de la société américaine (des Etats Unis) ? Pourquoi ? Le slogan de la publicité est « signe extérieur de richesse intérieur » Le comprenez	Enrichir le débat avec des questions : Quels sont les symboles (stéréotypes) que vous observez dans la publicité ? Sont-ils vrais ? pourquoi ? S'il reste du temps, poser des questions sur Barack Obama : Est-il représentatif de la société

			vous ? Quel est votre avis ? Choisissez ensemble quelle personne est la plus représentative des Etats Unis ? Pourquoi ?	américaine ? Ses origines Sa vie en dehors des EU Sa couleur de peau…. Des handicaps pour son élection ? A-t-il des chances de gagner ?
Tâche 4 : Echange d'information **Découvrez ma nationalité..**	Poser des questions/ trouver un lieu Outils linguistiques : Les interrogateurs: où, quand, quel	Deux feuilles avec 4 habitants de différents pays.	**Si vous avez encore du temps** Chaque apprenant a une feuille avec des habitants de différents pays. Son voisin doit lui poser des questions pour trouver ce pays Consigne : Vous avez chacun une feuille avec des habitants de différents pays du monde. Votre partenaire va vous poser des questions pour trouver ces habitants. Ne répondez que par oui ou par non.	Si possible, faire orienter les questions vers les clichés et stéréotypes des pays plutôt que leur localisation. Si les participants ne trouvent pas ces habitants, leur demander de trouver un mot pour définir ces habitants.

Bilan : Transition avec le sujet de la semaine prochaine (les voyages) Renvoi au blog et aux mini-blogs pour les retours.			**Pensez à garder du temps** 18h40-18h45 (5min) Dans quel pays aimeriez-vous vivre ? Pourquoi avoir choisi ce pays ? Est vous déjà parti à l'étranger ? Bilan linguistique de la séance	Dire aux participants qu'une vidéo sympa est disponible sur le blog (des américains jouent aux français)

APPENDIX C

STUDENT PARTICIPANT RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

January 25, 2008

Dear French 3 student:

We would like to invite you to take part in a research project concerning the acquisition of French language and culture. Specifically, we are interested in what and how you learn from the multimedia modules you will be working with in your French 3 class this semester. We are also interested in what you learn from your personal interactions with the teachers-in-training in France who are preparing those modules for you. The main goal of this study is to gain a better understanding of how language students interact with and learn from native speakers in online environments. This understanding will help us not only to improve foreign language teaching here at Berkeley (and elsewhere), but also to better prepare future generations of language teachers.

If you agree to take part in this research study, the screen captures of your interactions with the French teachers-in-training will be studied and, with your permission, you may be videotaped during your online communication so we can understand how what you say or write relates to the total situation. We will also interview you at your convenience. Interviews will involve questions about your reactions to the learning materials the teachers in France prepare for you, your reflections on interacting with those teachers online, and your experiences with the videoconferencing technology. Interviews should last about 30 minutes. With your permission, we will audiotape the interview.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to refuse to take part. If you choose to participate, you may stop taking part in the study at any time. Whether or not you participate in this research will have no bearing on your standing or your grade in French 3.

There is no risk to you from participating in this research. There is also no direct benefit to you, although we hope that your reflection on language and culture will give you some new insights into your learning of French. There is no financial cost whatsoever to you if you choose to participate in the study.

All of the information that we obtain from you during the research will be kept confidential. We will store all video and tape recordings and notes about them in a locked file cabinet in the office of Richard Kern. We will not use your name or any other identifying information about you in any reports of the research. After this project is

completed, we may save the tapes and notes for use in future research. However, the same confidentiality guarantees given here will apply to future storage and use of the materials.

If you have any questions about the research, you may call Richard Kern at (510) 642-2895 or write us at rkern@berkeley.edu or daveski@berkeley.edu. If you agree to take part in the research, please sign the form below. Please keep the other copy of this agreement for future reference.

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a participant in this research project, please contact the University of California at Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at (510) 642-7461, or e-mail: subjects@berkeley.edu.

Sincerely,

Richard Kern   David Malinowski
Associate Professor   PhD candidate
Director, Berkeley Language Center   Graduate School of
Education

I have read this consent form and agree to take part in this research.

Signature:_____ Date:_____
___

VIDEO/AUDIO RECORDS RELEASE CONSENT FORM

We have made video and audio recordings of you while you participated in the research. Please indicate below what uses of these records you are willing to consent to. The extent to which recordings are used is completely up to you. We will only use the records in ways that you agree to. In any use of these records, your name will not be identified, and information that would allow you to be readily identified (other than your image in the case of video) will not be included.

1. The video/audio recordings can be transcribed and studied by the researcher for use in the research project.

    Initials   _____

2. Written transcriptions of the video/audio records can be used for scientific publications and presentations.

    Initials   _____

3. Recorded material can be used at meetings of scholars interested in the study of language acquisition.

    Initials   _____

DRAWING ASSIGNMENT PROMPT
(text from 2011 iteration)

UN DESSIN

Dessinez "le mardi" avec vos tuteurs. Le dessin devrait être une représentation de votre expérience personnelle de ces interactions. Qu'est-ce que vous voyez? Qui est présent au labo (votre partenaire, vos tuteurs)? Comment est le labo? Comment vous sentez-vous? A quoi pensez-vous? Cela devrait être un travail personnel, subjectif, affectif. Vous pouvez vous servir des images ou des mots pour parler de vos associations, vos émotions.

Vous n'êtes pas obligés d'être artistes! Amusez-vous!

A DRAWING

Draw "Tuesdays" with your tutors. The drawing should be a depiction of your personal experience of these interactions. What do you see? Who's there in the computer lab (your partner, your tutors)? What's the lab like? How do you feel? What do you think about? This is an assignment that's personal, subjective, affective. You can include images or words in order to talk about your associations, your emotions.

You're not obliged to be artists! Have fun with it!
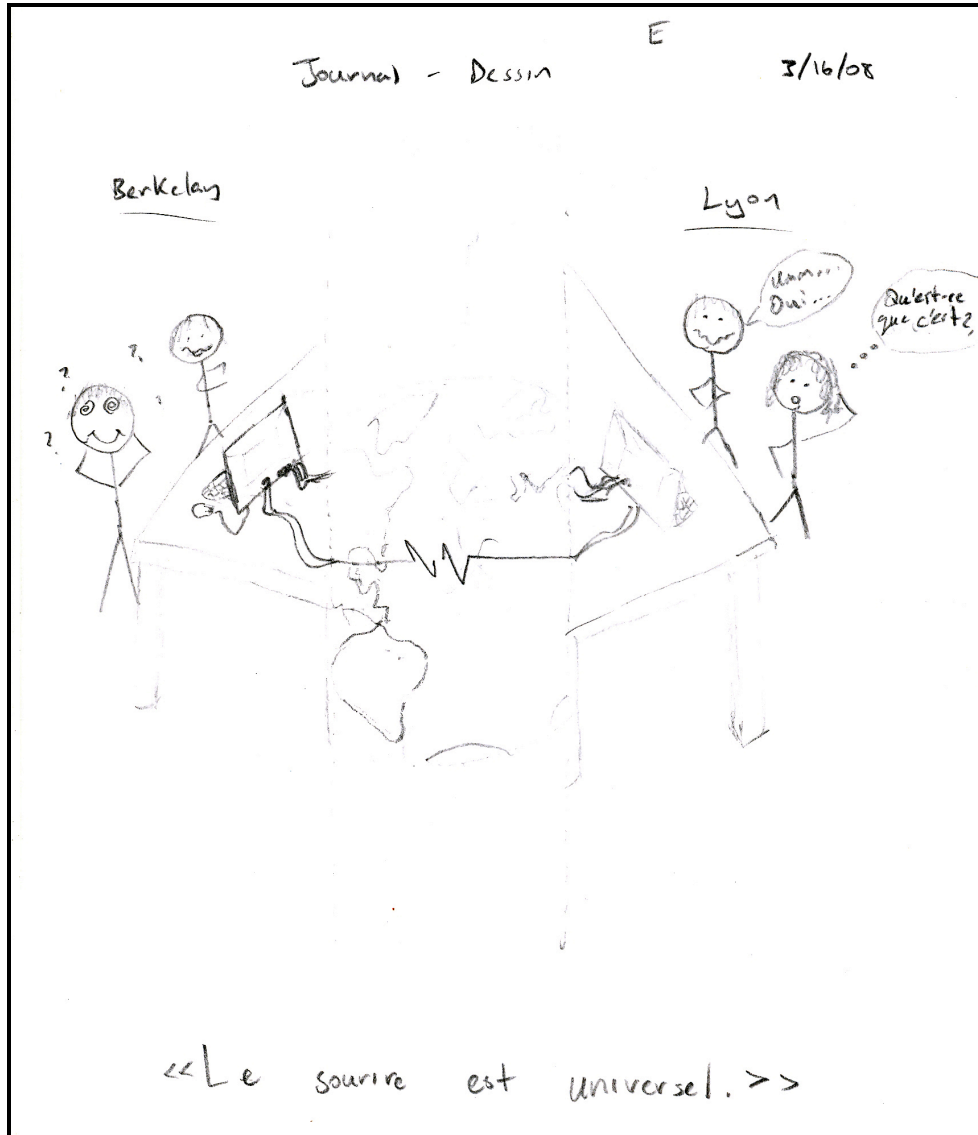
ERNESTO'S DRAWING

1   **APPENDIX F**

2

3   **TRANSCRIPT: *F1L* 2008 SESSION 1 (JANUARY 29)**

4

5 ACTIVITY: "Quel est son lieu préféré? (sur le campus de Berkeley)" *What's his/her favorite*

6 *place? (on the Berkeley campus)*; PARTICIPANTS: Amandine (tutor); Kelly, Eduardo (students)

7

8   [Previous to this exchange, Amandine has asked Eduardo and Kelly to sit closer together because

9   they're not both visible on the screen. She settles for each of them half on and half off the screen.

10   Only the Lyon-side recording showing Amandine's desktop is available for the first part of the

11   transcript, so students' voices are not audible.]

12

13 **Amandine**: [[20:27]] Alors, est-ce que vous aimez bien le campus de Berkeley? (So, do

14 you like the Berkeley campus?)

15

16   [Eduardo speaks for 7 seconds]

17

18 **Amandine**: C'est, c'est très beau, ah. (It's, it's really pretty, ah.)

19

20   [Eduardo and Kelly speak for approximately 45 seconds about the campus and the

21   weather as Amandine listens]

22

23 **Amandine**: Oui, oui. (Yes, yes.)

24

25   [The Berkeley-side recording of the Skype video window showing Amandine

26   starts here, at [[21:10]], so all participants' voices can be heard from here on.]

27

28 **Kelly**: Maintenant il pleut. C'est ne c'est pas (.5) Il fait= (It's raining now. It's not it's not

29 (.5) the weather's=)

30

31 **Amandine**: =Mm= (=Mm=)

32

33 **Kelly**: =il ne fait pas beau. (=the weather's not nice.) [laughs] (1)

34

35 **Amandine**: ((0:07)) Oh il ne fait pas beau, d'ac**cord** [IMG#1, 1A] ((0:08)) A::h (Oh, the

36 weather's not nice, I **see**. A::h) (1)

37

38
39   IMG#1
40
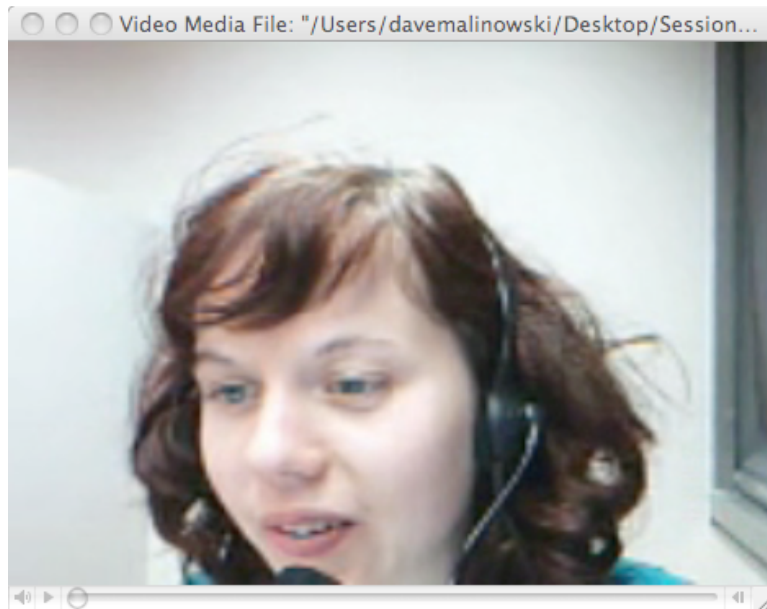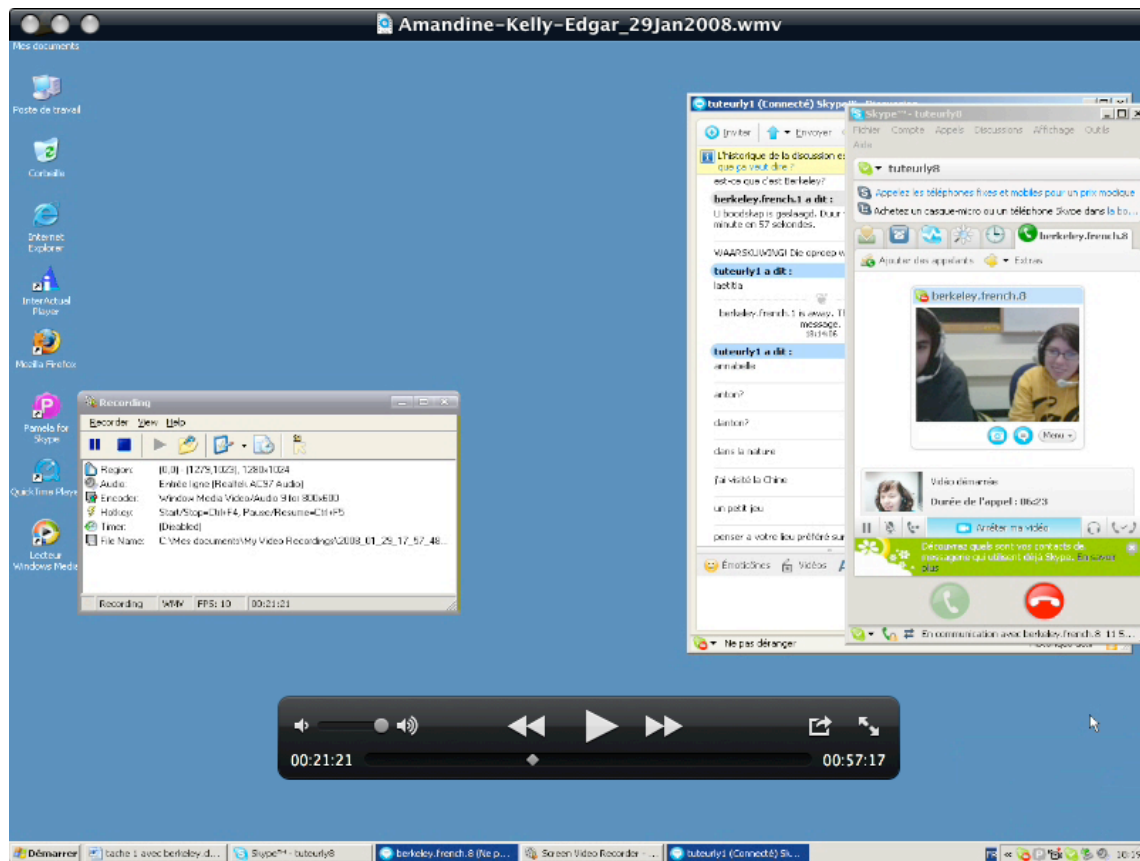
41
42   IMG#1A
43
44   Alors, je vais vous demander (.5) de **faire** [IMG#2] ((0:12)) quelque chose (Okay, I am
45   going to ask you (.5) to **do** something) (.5)
46
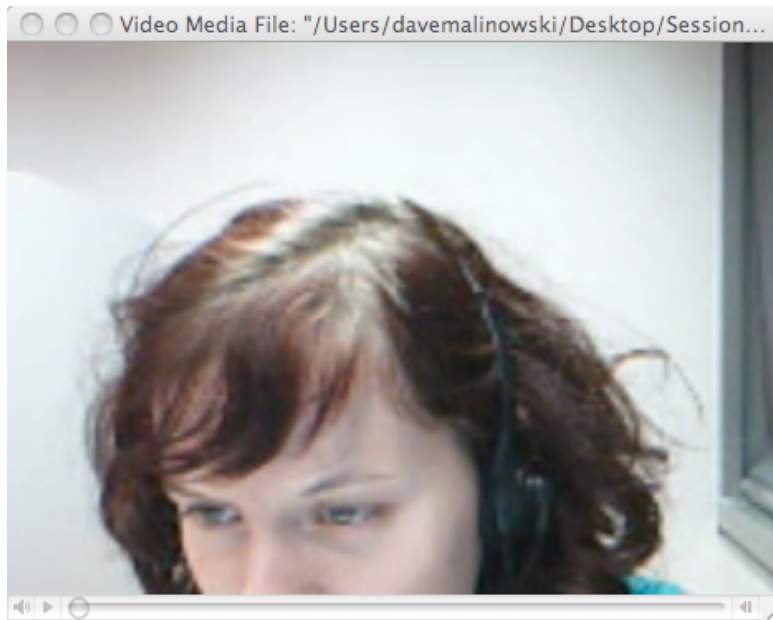
IMG#2

47
48
49
50 Alors (1) Ka**thy** [IMG#3] ((0:17)) (.5) tu vas, tu vas penser à un lieu que tu aimes bien
51 sur le campus. (Okay (1) Ka**thy** (.5) You will think of a place on campus that you like.)
52 (1.5)
53
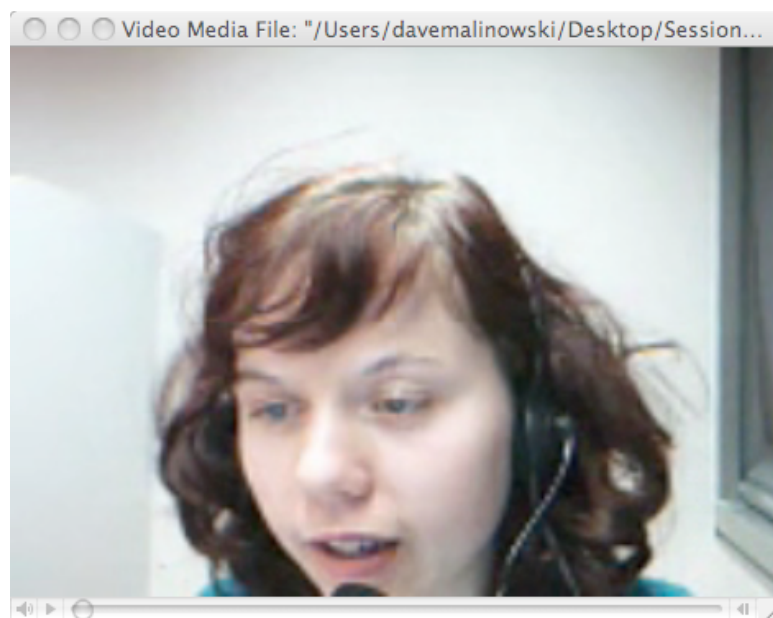
IMG#3

54
55
56
57 **Kelly**: Mm: (Mm:) (1)
58
59 **Amandine**: Kathy, tu m'en**tends**? [IMG#4] ((0:26)) (3) Kathy? (Kathy, do you **hear** me?
60 (3) Kathy?)
61

62
63   IMG#4

64
65   **Kelly**: [Kath--]

66
67   **Eduardo**: [Mm?] (1)
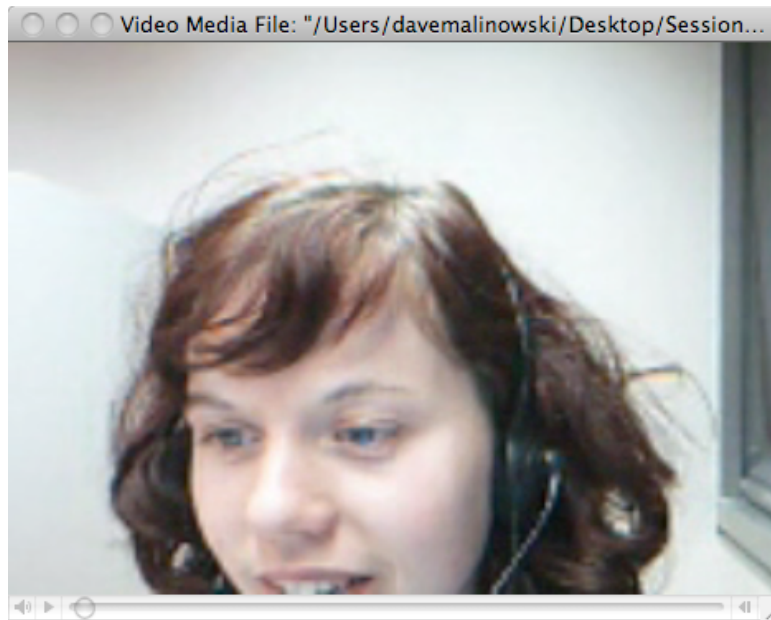
68
69   **Amandine**: Oui, tu penses à un **lieu** [IMG#5] ((0:34)) que tu aimes sur le campus. (Yes,
70   you think of a **place** on campus that you like.) (2)
71

72
73   IMG#5
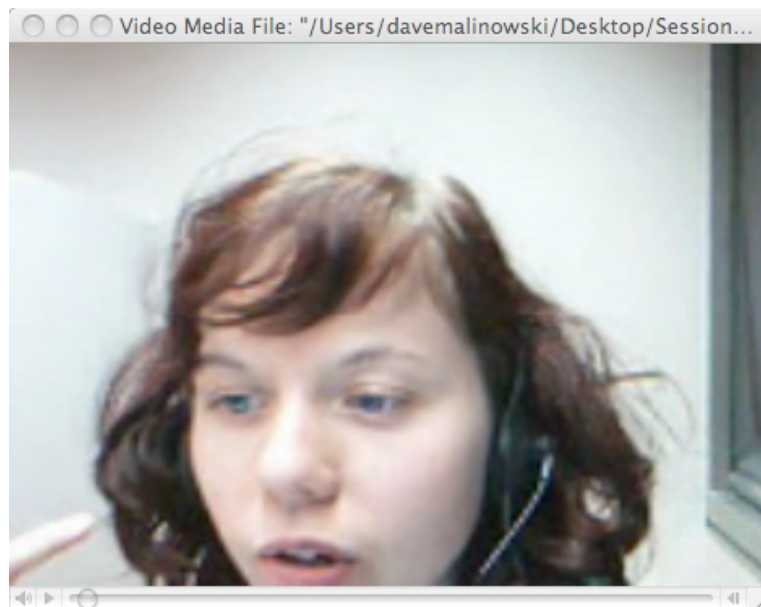
74
75   **Kelly**: ((0:40)) [short laugh]
76

77   **Amandine**: Tu m'entends? (Do you hear me?)
78
79   **Kelly**: Non, je--je suis désolée. Je ne comprends pas. (No, I--I'm sorry. I don't
80   understand.]
81
82   **Amandine**: Tu m'entends pas? Ah (.5) alors (.5) Imagine, dans ta **tête** [IMG#6, 6A]
83   ((0:51)) (.5)
84

85
86   IMG#6
87

89   IMG#6A

90
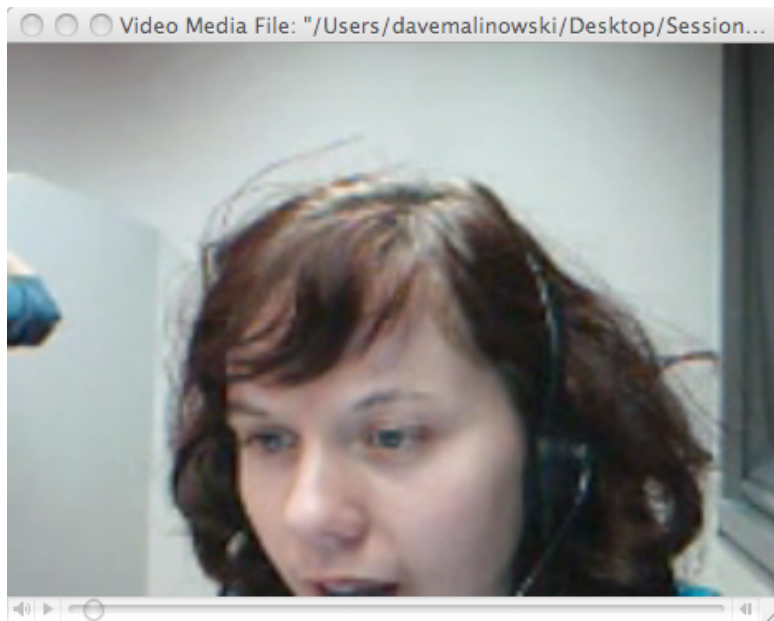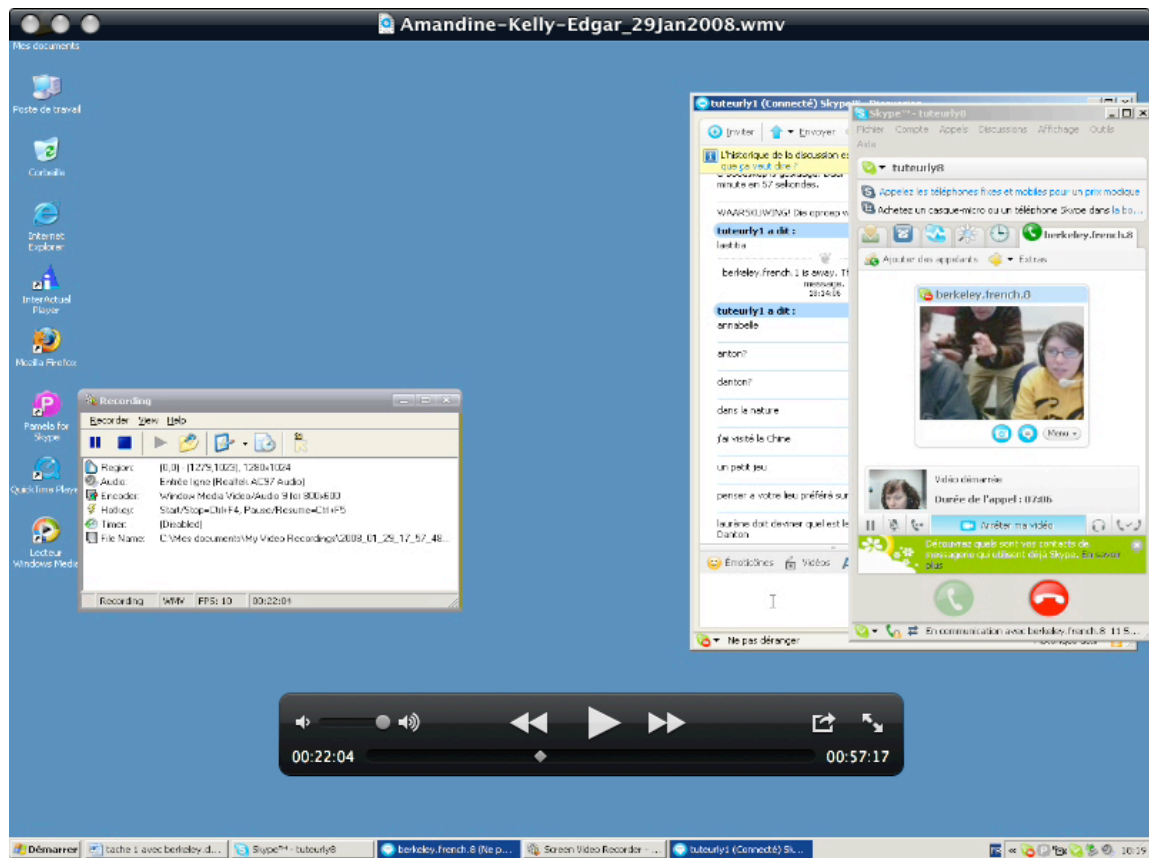
91   tu penses à **que**-- [IMG#7] ((0:53)) à un lieu (You don't hear me? Ah (.5) okay (.5)
92   Imagine, in your **mind** (.5) think **of**--of a place [Gestures with both hands at her own
93   head]

94

95
96   IMG#7

271
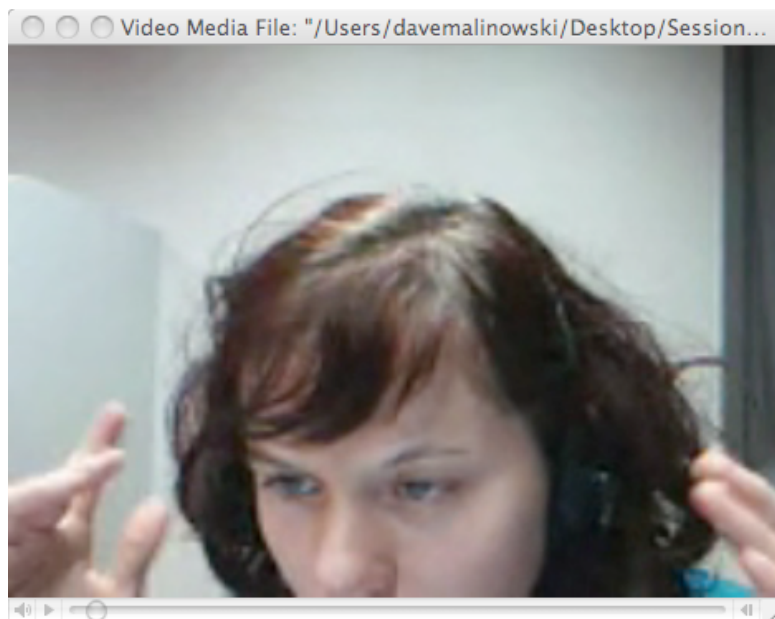
97
98 [At ((0:54)) the researcher in Berkeley is behind Eduardo and Amandine, pointing
99 at an area on the screen, when the video feed on Amandine's computer cuts
100 out/disappears. Amandine then begins to type on the keyboard for about 45
101 seconds. Video of Amandine from the students' perspective continues to stream in
102 real time and show her movement. Amandine is seen to direct her attention
103 between two general locations: **Location 1** ((1:01)) [IMG#8] down and to her left,
104 typing on the keyboard, and **Location 2** ((1:04)) [IMG#9] it appears, looking at
105 the screen.]
106
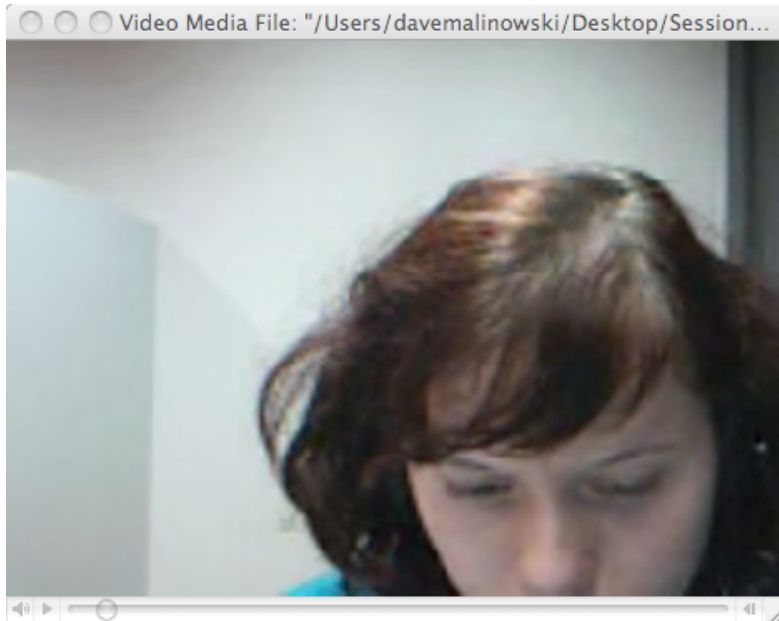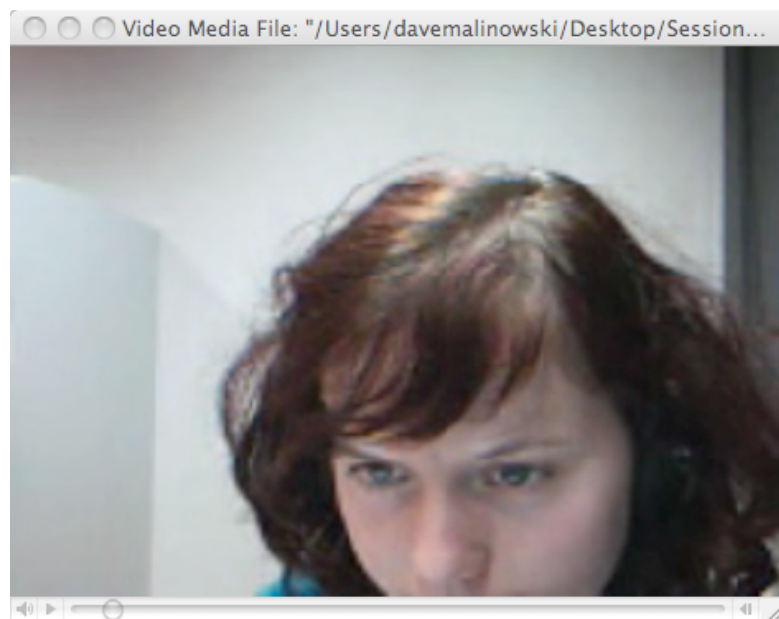
107
108   IMG#8
109
110

111

112   IMG#9
113
114   [Other students' voices continue to be heard speaking in the background in
115   Berkeley. Meanwhile, Amandine is entering the following lines in the chat
116   window:]
117
118   **Amandine** [WRITTEN CHAT]: pense à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus
119
120   **Amandine** [WRITTEN CHAT]: mon prénom: amandine
121
122   **Amandine** [WRITTEN CHAT]: écrivez-moi votre nom
123
124   **Amandine** [WRITTEN CHAT]: :) [smiley emoticon]
125
126   **Amandine**: ((1:40)) Je-- est-ce que vous me voyez? (I... Can you see me?) (2)
127
128   **Amandine**: **Âllo**? (**Hello**?) [IMG#10, 10A] ((1:47))
129
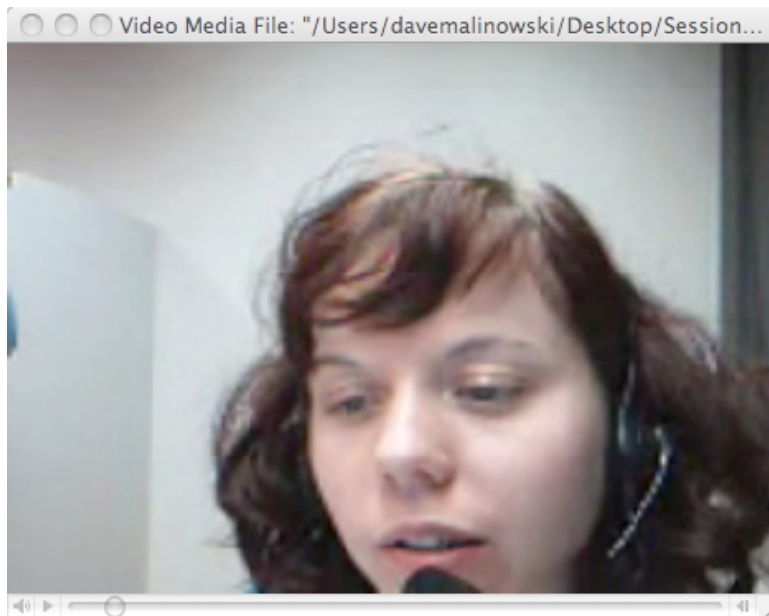
130
131   IMG#10
132
133   [A screenshot from Amandine's computer here [IMG#10A] shows her chat
134   window open but no video feed of Kelly and Eduardo]
135
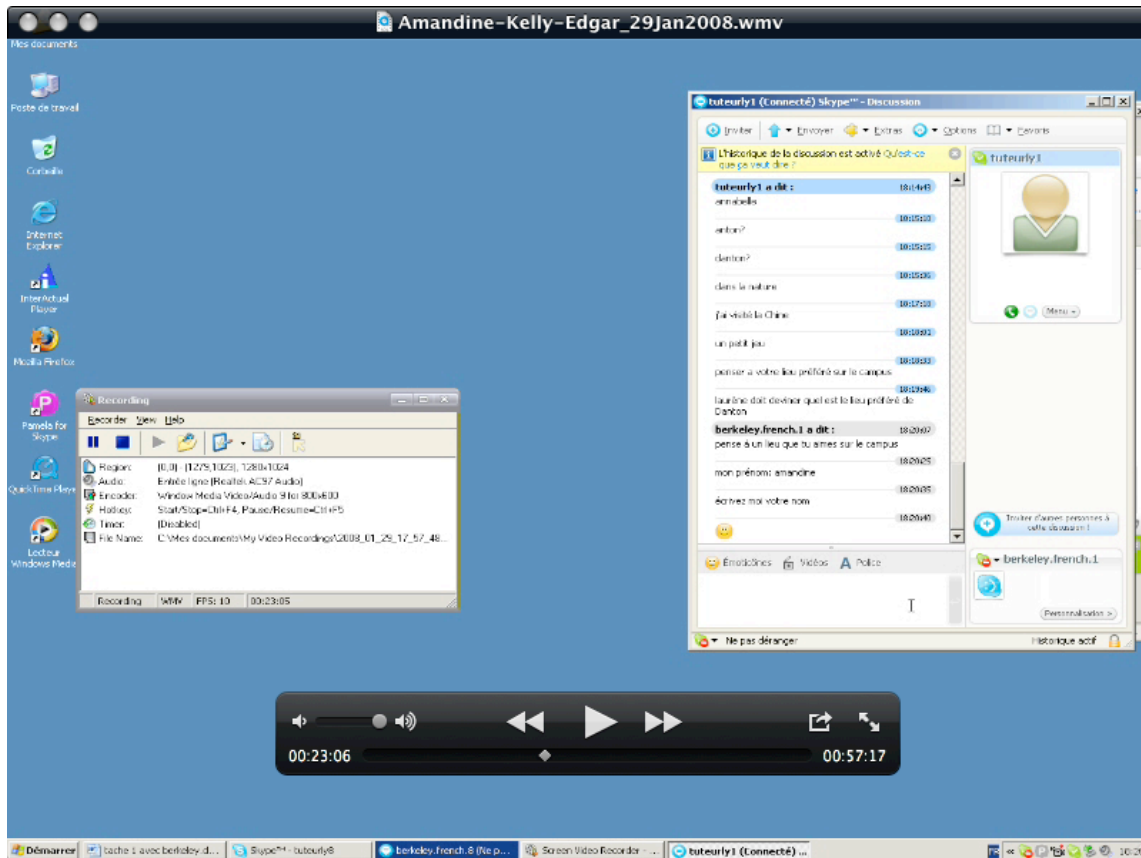
273

136
137   IMG#10A

138
139 **Kelly**: [Âllo] (Hello)

140
141 **Eduardo**: [Âllo?] (Hello?)

142
143 **Amandine**: Âllo? Oui, moi, je vous, je ne vous vois pas. (1) Vous me voyez? (Hello?
144 Yes, I, I don't, I don't see you. Do you see me?)

145
146 **Eduardo**: Oui. (Yes.)

147
148 **Amandine**: Oui? Moi je ne vous vois **pas**. [IMG#11] ((1:55)) Mais c'est pas grave.
149 (Yes? I **don't** see you. But it's not a problem.)
150
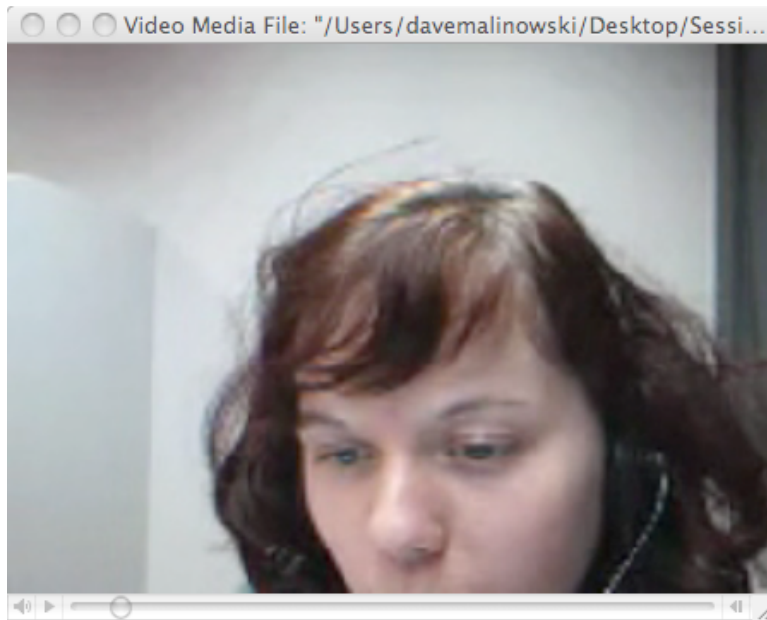
IMG#11

151
152
153
154 On va faire comme ça. Est-ce que vous pouvez m'écrire votre prénom? (We'll do it like
155 this. Can you write your first names for me?) (1)
156
157 **Eduardo**: Prénom? (First name?)
158
159 **Kelly**: [quietly] Oui. (Yes.)
160
161 **Amandine**: Oui, votre nom, vous m'écrivez? (Yes, your names, You can write them for
162 me?)
163
164 **Eduardo**: Oui. (Yes.)
165
166 **Amandine**: Okay, super, merci. (Okay, thank you.)
167
168   [(6) second pause while students write their names in the chat window]
169
170 **Amandine**: ((2:14)) [voice quiet at first, seeming not picked up well by the mic] Oh,
171 super, merci. (1) Alors (.5) Ah mais je vous vois pas. Alors, attendez. Je vais, uhm:: (1)
172 Ah:: en attendant (.5) Je vais **essayer** ((2:26)) [IMG#12, 12A] de mettre la video parce
173 que (Okay, great. Thank you. Now- ahh, but I don't see you. Okay, wait. I'll, um:: (1)
174 Ah:: in the meantime (.5) I'll **try** to start the video because
175

176
177   IMG#12
178

179
180   IMG#12A
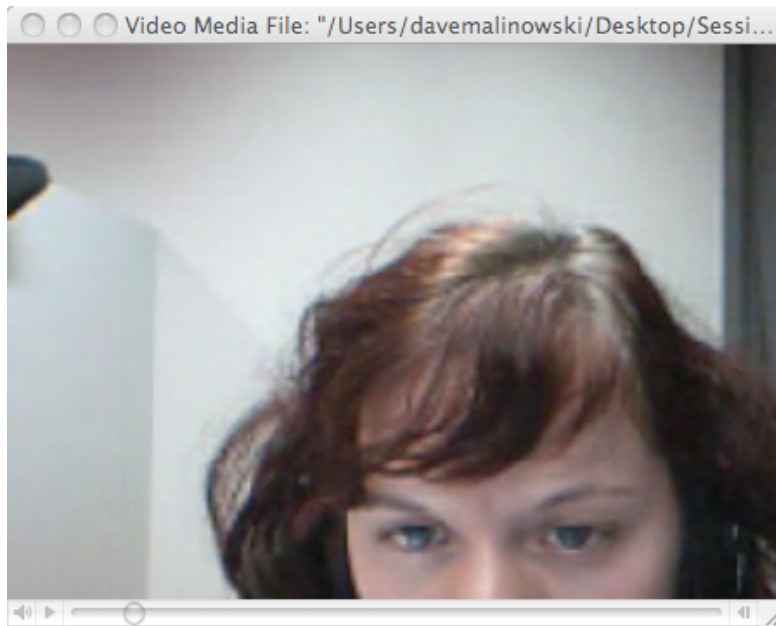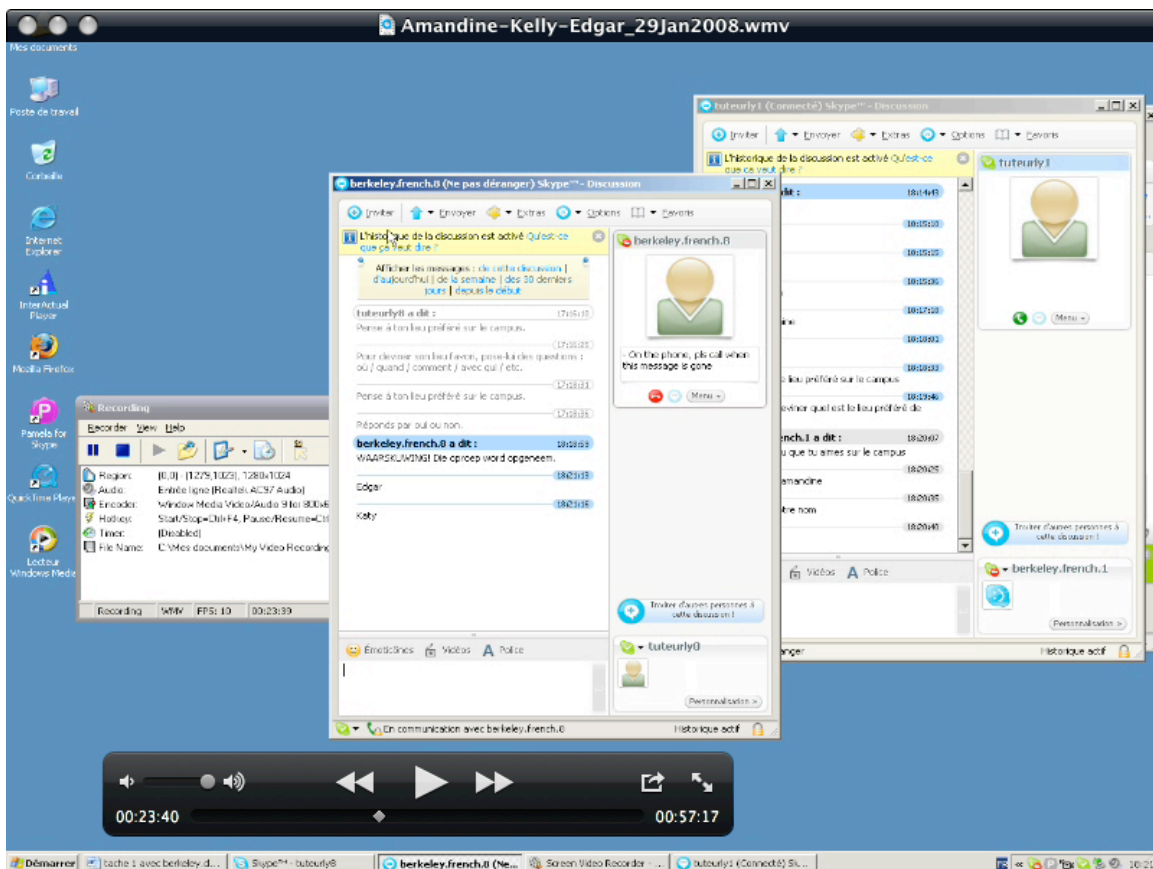
181
182   je ne peux pas vous voir. Alors je vais chercher la video, d'accord? (I can't see you. OK,
183   I'll look for the video, all right?)

184
185 **Eduardo**: D'accord. (All right.)

186
187   [(3) second pause; During the pause, Amandine looks around at several locations,
188   presumably all on the screen, as she searches for how to get the video (re)started.
189   The screenshot from ((2:26)) from Amandine's side ([IMG#12A)) shows a second
190   Skype chat window open and brought to the foreground]

191
192 **Amandine**: ((2:39)) Alors en attendant (1) en attendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly?
193 (Okay, in the meantime (1) in the meantime we'll start. Kelly?) (1)

194
195 **Kelly**: Oui? (Yes?)

196
197 **Amandine**: Kelly? (Kelly?)

198
199 **Kelly**: Oui? (Yes?)

200
201 **Amandine**: ((2:47)) Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le **campus**. [IMG#13] ((2:50))
202 Mais tu ne dis pas. (You need to think about a place on **campus** that you like. But don't
203 say it.) (.5)

204

IMG#13

205
206   IMG#13
207
208 Tu penses dans ta tête (.5) à un lieu que tu aimes. (2) Tu comprends? Alors. (Think to
209 yourself (.5) about a place that you like. (2) Do you understand? Okay.)
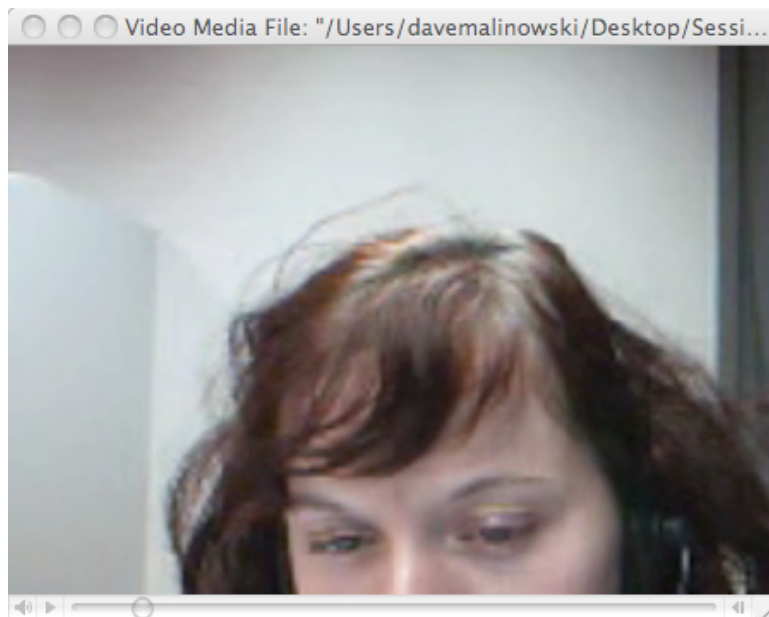
210
211   [Here Amandine is addressing Kelly again, though her eyes must be looking at
212   artifacts on the screen since her video feed of the students remains absent; her
213   eyes are angled to the left of her screen/to the students' right. cf. [IMG#13]]

214

215   **Kelly**: ((3:00)) Uh, je ne sais pas quoi lieu (.5) est. (Uh, I don't know what 'lieu' (.5) is.)
216
217   **Amandine**: Ah--a--un lieu c'est une place (.5) euh:: un bâtiment:: ou euh (.5) un lieu c'est
218   une place dans le campus, un espace dans le **campus**. [IMG#14] ((3:13)) Tu comprends?
219   (Ah--a--a "lieu" is a place (.5) a:: a building:: or uhh (.5) a "lieu" is a place on **campus**, a
220   space on the campus. Do you understand?)
221
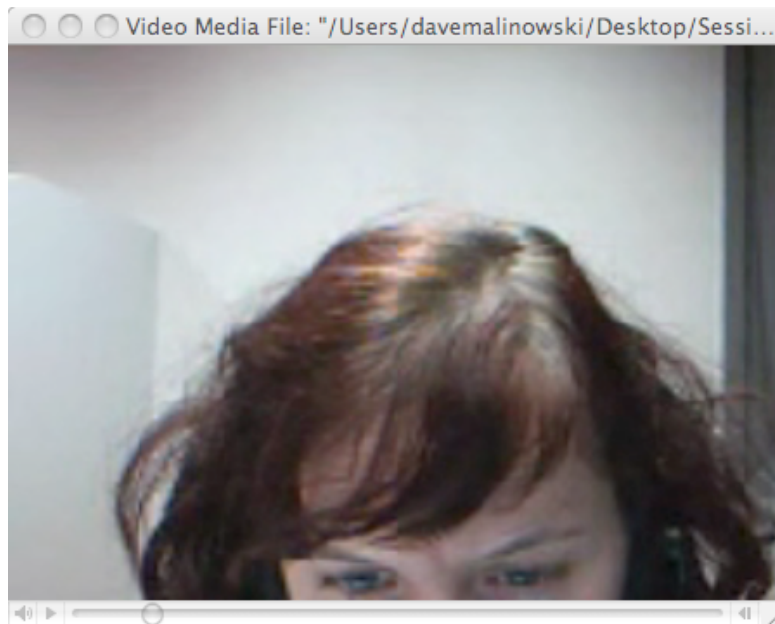
223   IMG#14
224
225   [At a point in the interaction when Kelly has drawn attention to her own lack of
226   understanding and Amandine is arguably giving her the 'most' attention possible
227   [IMG#14] i.e. explaining a basic vocabulary item in French, her head is lowered,
228   eyes, moving around somewhat and downcast, and her head is shaking somewhat
229   as she advances through her explanation (she is not, and cannot be, making eye
230   contact--her screen is still blank).]
231
232   **Kelly**: Okay. Uhm:: (Okay. Umm::)
233
234   **Amandine**: Okay? (Okay?)
235
236   **Kelly**: Je= (I=)
237
238   **Amandine**: =Mais tu ne le dis pas. Chuut chuut! Tu ne dois pas dire. Chut! C'est secret.
239   (Okay? But don't say it. Shhh! Shhh! You can't say it. Shh! It's a secret.)
240
241   **Kelly**: Uhm:: (Umm::)
242
243   **Amandine**: Okay? Il ne faut pas dire. Parce que Eduardo (Okay? You're not supposed to
244   say it. Because Eduardo) (1) [Eduardo=]
245

246   **Eduardo**: [Oui? (Yes?)]

247

248   **Amandine** =tu as--tu dois deviner. (Eduardo, you're--you have to guess.)

249

250   **Eduardo**: a deviner? (guess?)

251

252   **Amandine**: Tu dois deviner. Tu lui poses des questions. (You have to guess. You ask her
253   questions.)

254

255   **Eduardo**: Mm-hmm. (Mm-hmm.)

256

257   **Amandine**: ((3:37)) Pose des questions avec uh (.5) uh: "quoi," (1; typing in chat
258   window) "comment," "avec qui" (Ask her question with uh (.5) uh: "what," [(1); typing in
259   chat window] "how," "with who")

260

261   **Eduardo**: Uhuh (Uhuh)

262

263   **Amandine**: Et tu dois--tu dois poser des questions pour deviner. Voilà. (1) Donc, vous
264   commencez? (And you must ask questions in order to guess. Right. (1) Now, can you
265   start?]

266

267   **Eduardo**: Je d--(.5) je dois deviner le:::s (.5) les bâtiments, les lieux? (I have to guess
268   the::: (.5) the buildings, the places?)

269

270   **Amandine**: Le lieu. Le bâtiment, la place, oui l'endroit qu'elle aime bien sur le campus.
271   (The place. The building, the area, yes the place that she likes on the campus.)

272

273   **Eduardo**: Sur la campus? (On the campus?)

274

275   [As this negotiation of the terms of the activity continues, Amandine continues to
276   look around on the screen, with most time spent in a downward position as in
277   [IMG#13]. (Note: the students, meanwhile, must be watching her look 'at' them
278   but not seeing them, obviously looking at the screen between them.)]

279

280   **Amandine**: Et toi--voilà. Et toi Kelly? (.5) tu dois répondre par 'oui' ou 'non.' C'est tout.
281   (And you--right. And you, Kelly? (.5) You should respond with 'yes' or 'no.' That's it.) (1)

282

283   **Kelly**: Ah oui. (Ah yes.)

284

285   **Eduardo**: Oui. (Yes.)

286

287   **Amandine**: Tu--oui ou non, okay? (You--yes or no, okay?)

288

289   **Eduardo**: Okay. (Okay.) (.5)

290

291   **Amandine**: Très bien. (Very good.) (2)

292
293   [Amandine starts looking over her right shoulder for help with the video]
294
295 **Eduardo**: ((4:18)) **Eh**::: [IMG#15] ((4:18.5)) (**Eh**:::) (3)
296
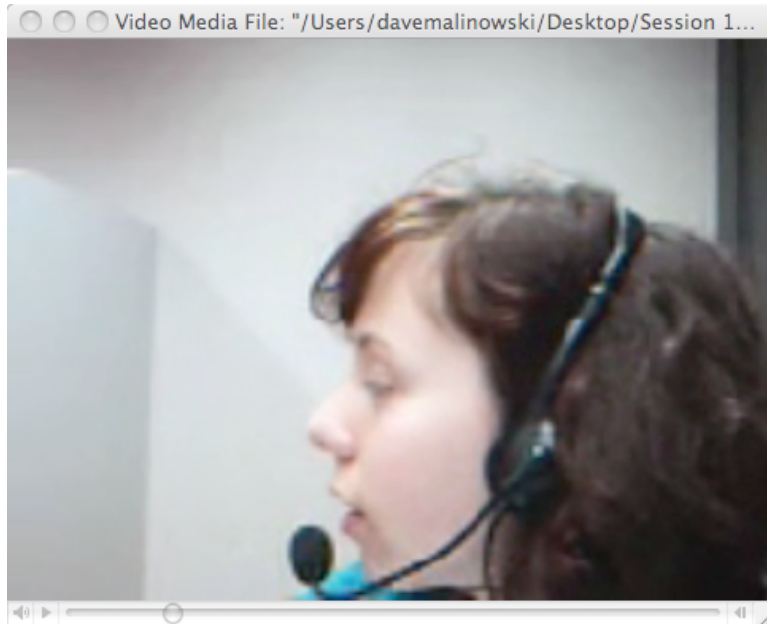
IMG#15

297
298   IMG#15
299
300 Est-ce que je devrais commencer, uh (Should I start? uh) (.5)
301
302   [Edgar has paused as Amandine looks back and forth between the vicinity of the
303   screen, and over to her right [IMG#15], presumably looking in the room for
304   someone to come help her with the video.]
305
306 **Amandine**: Oui, tu [commences, vas-y.] (Yes, begin, let's go.)
307
308 **Eduardo**: [avec les] les questions? (with the questions?)
309
310 **Amandine**: Ouais, la question que tu veux. Comme tu veux. (Yes, the questions that you
311 want. As you want.)
312
313   [Amandine turns to the right immediately upon saying this and raises her hand,
314   seeming to motion for someone to come help her with the video].
315
316 **Eduardo**: ((4:34)) Est-ce que **tu**::: [IMG#16] ((4:35)) vas à cette lieu pour étudier? (Do
317 **you**::: go to this place to study?) (15)
318
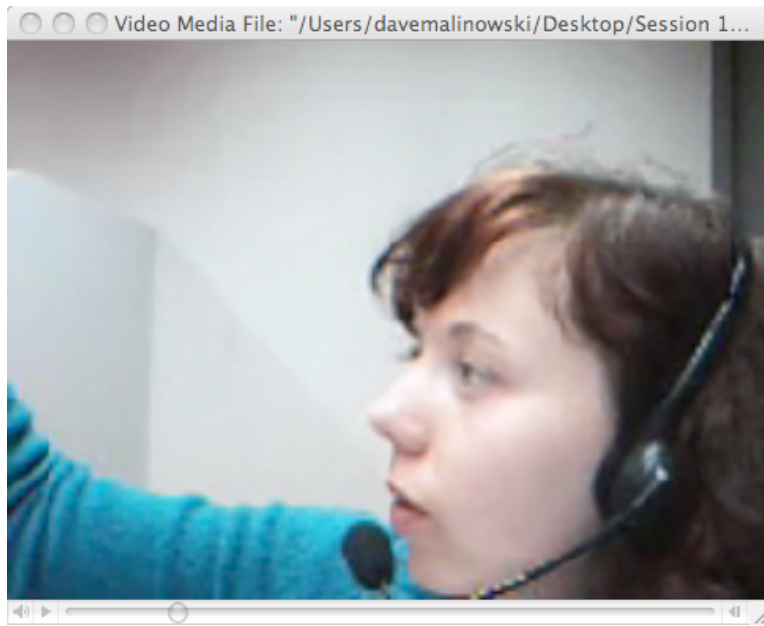
319
320   IMG#16
321
322   [As Eduardo asks his question, Amandine is looking to her right and motioning
323   with her right arm for someone to come over. 15 seconds of silence ensue.
324   Amandine is looking on-screen and to the right. A graduate student assistant in
325   the computer laboratory comes over to the terminal and looks on. Amandine uses
326   her hand to cover the microphone and consults with her. ((4:46.5)) [IMG#17]
327   They exchange words quickly; Amandine smiles and then directs her attention
328   back to Kelly and Eduardo.]
329
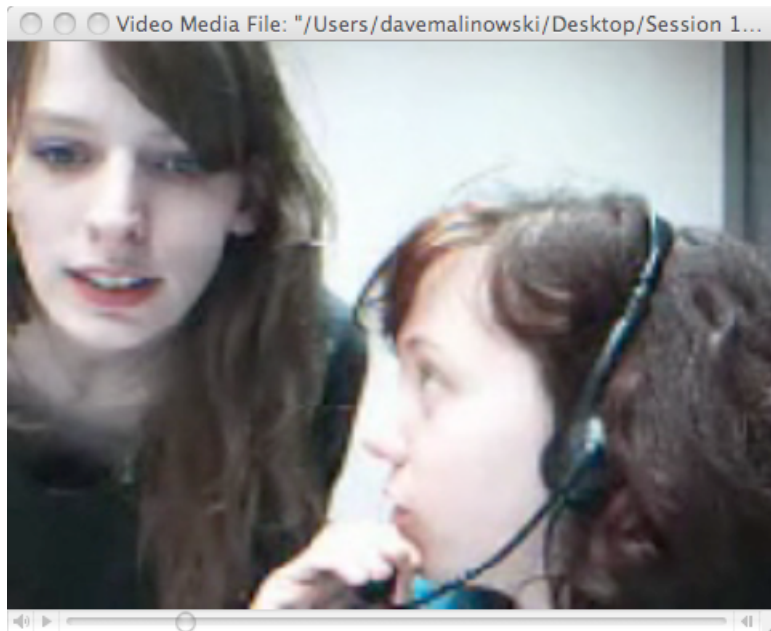
330
331   IMG#17
332
333   **Amandine**: ((4:54)) Ouais? (.5) Alors, **Kelly**? [IMG#18] ((4:57)) (Yes? (.5) Okay,

334   **Kelly**?)
335
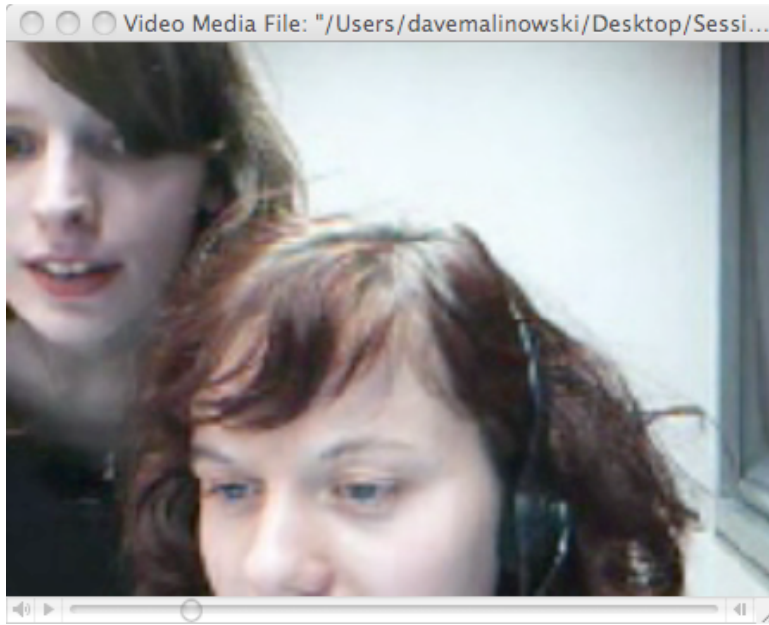
IMG#18

336
337
338
339   [At this point, Amandine has just been able to restore the video feed of the
340   students in Berkeley [IMG#18A]]
341
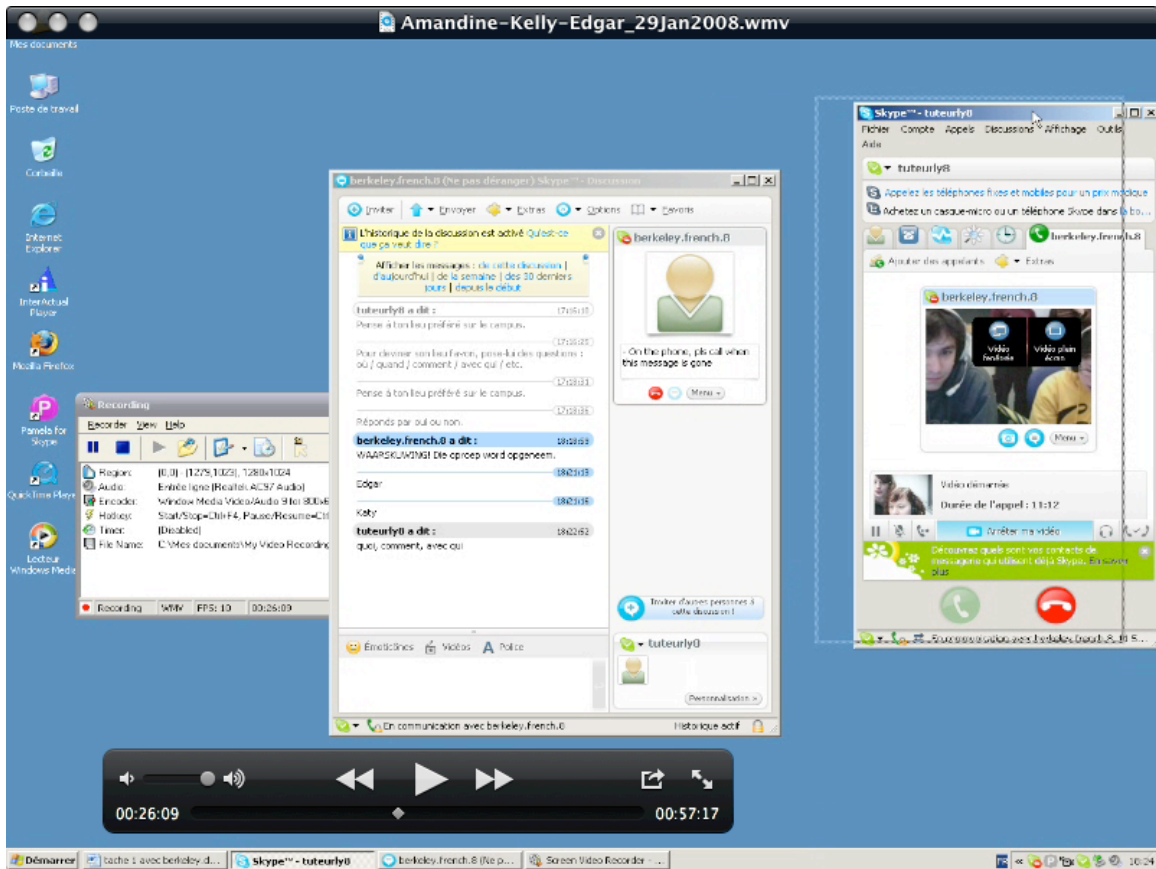
342
343   IMG#18A
344
345   **Kelly**: Oui? (.5) Um::= (Yes? (.5) Um::)
346
347   [From the students' perspective, Amandine appears now to be looking more
348   directedly at the right side of her screen/to the students' left.]
349
350   **Amandine**: =Oui, tu vas dans ce lieu [inaudible] (Yes, do you go to this place
351   [inaudible])
352
353   **Kelly**: Quoi? (What?) (2)
354
355   **Amandine**: ((5:03)) Uh, tu as répondu a la question d'--d'Edgar? (Did you respond to, to
356   Eduardo's question?)
357
358   **Kelly**: Um:: (Um::) (2)
359
360   **Amandine**: ((5:12)) Est-ce que tu as compris la question? (Did you understand the
361   question?)
362
363   **Kelly**: Non (No) (.5)
364
365   **Eduardo**: ((5:15)) Moi= (I=)

283

366

367 **Kelly**: =Je comprends pas (=I don't understand)

368

369 **Amandine**: Encore une fois Eduardo= (One more time Eduardo=) [IMG#18.5A]

370 ((5:17))

371

372
373 IMG#18.5A
374
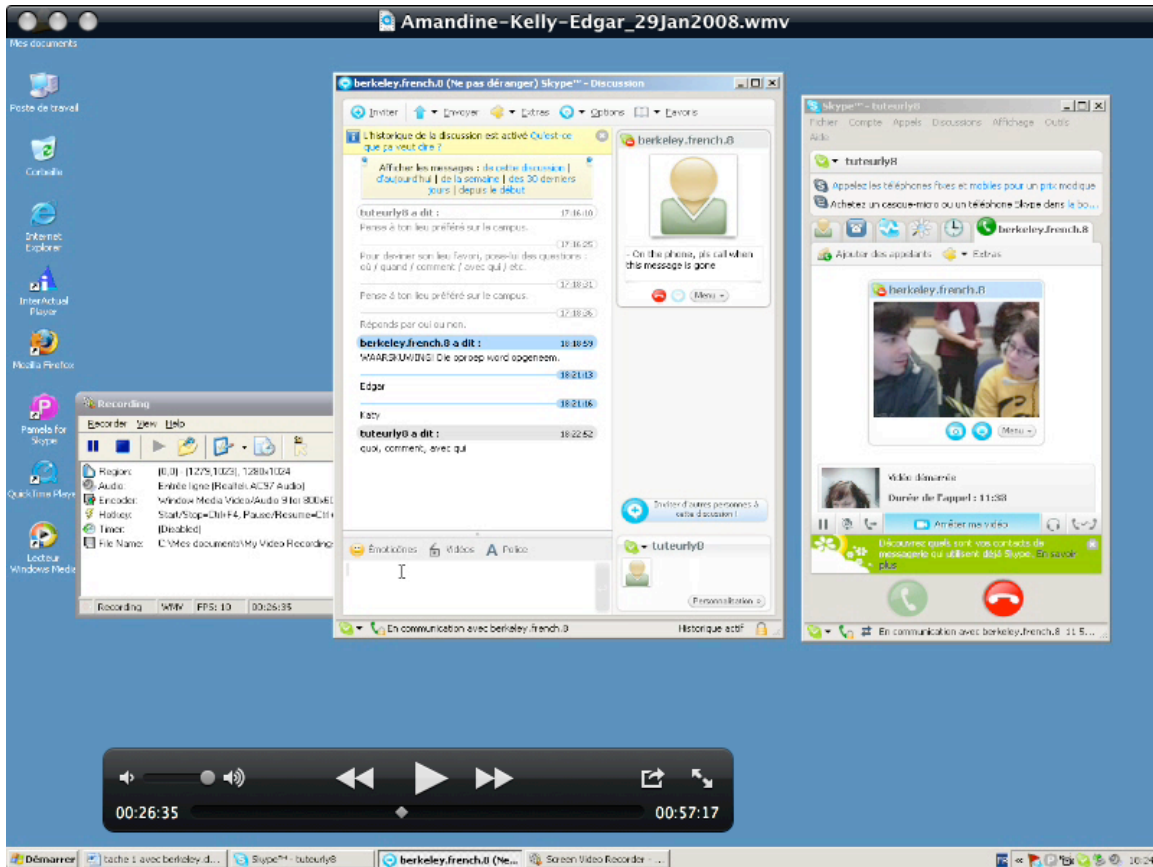
375 **Eduardo**: =Je, je pense que (.5) tu:: (.5) es. que. (.5) tu:: devrais choisir un lieu. sur le

376 campus. Et j'ois-- (.5) je dois à deviner (1) le lieu (I, I think that (.5) you:: (.5) that. (.5)

377 you:: have to choose a place. on campus. And Ia-- (.5) I have to guess (1) the place) (2)

378

379   [As seen in the screenshot from Amandine's computer [IMG#18.5A], Eduardo is

380   turned toward Kelly and she looks toward him as he explains. Meanwhile, there is

381   much moving around in the background behind the students; at one point one of

382   the researchers looks in at the screen.]

383
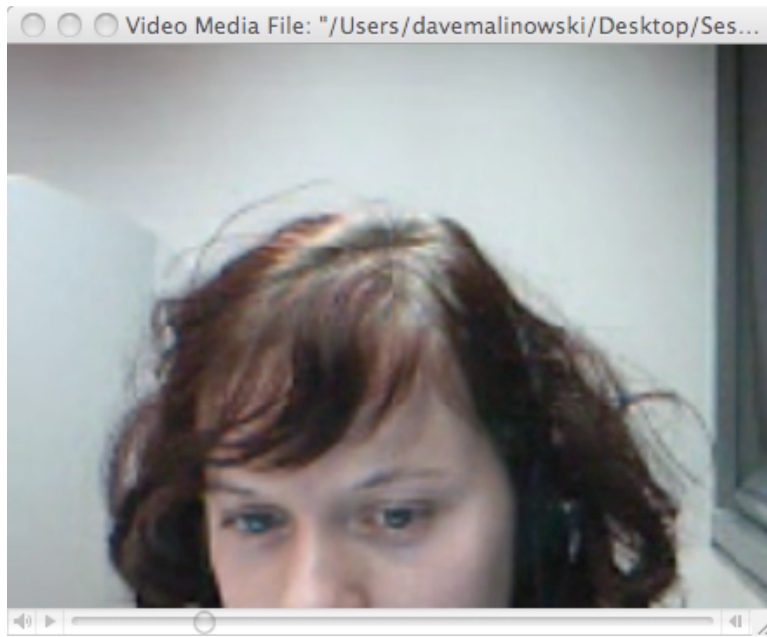
IMG#19

384
385
386
387   **Kelly**: [IMG#19] ((5:33.5)) [in English] **Oh** my **gosh** [IMG#20] ((5:35))
388
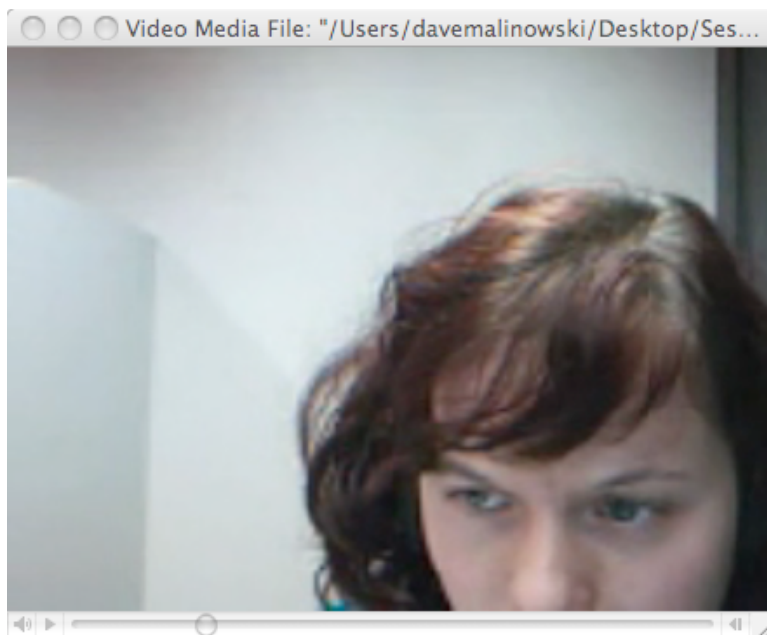
IMG#20

389
390
391
392   [Kelly sounds frustrated. She might not be able to ascertain what Amandine is
393   looking at: Amandine stares at the screen, and has just moved her head from left,
394   where she's focused on something to the right, to the right while looking across to
395   the left (all described from student's point of view). It may appear that she's still
396   trying to fix the video, although it has in fact now been fixed for several turns.
397   Note the first image [IMG#19] was taken a second before Kelly says "Oh"

398   ((5:33.3)), and the second [IMG#20] at "gosh", ((5:35.2)).]
399
400 **Amandine**: Ah, je sais. Kelly? Kelly? (Ah, I know. Kelly? Kelly?)
401
402 **Kelly**: [Oui.] ([Yes.])
403
404 **Amandine**: [Alors] quel lieu, quel lieu tu aimes sur le **campus**? [IMG#21] ((5:44)) (OK,
405 what place, what place do you like on **campus**?)
406
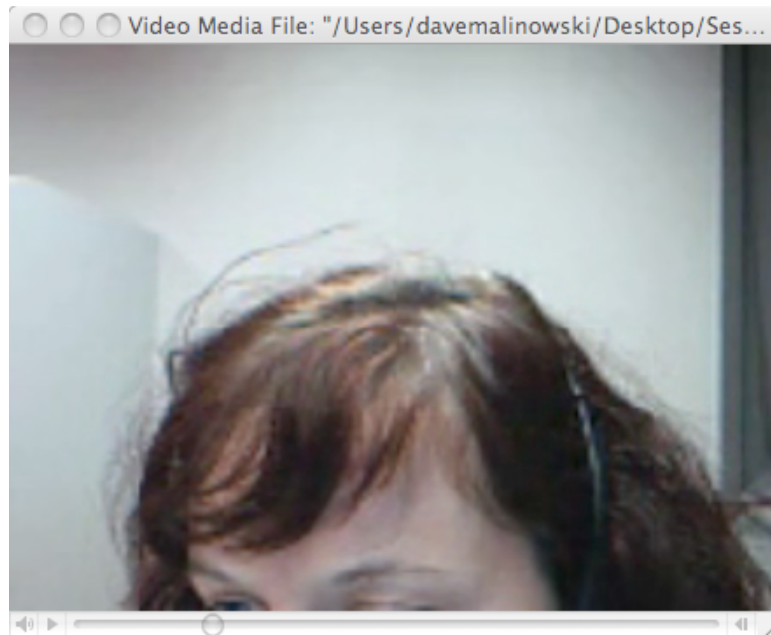
IMG#21

407
408
409
410   [As Amandine asks this question, she leans further in, probably toward Kelly's
411   image on the screen but her eyes dip below the border of the screen so that only
412   her forehead is visible as she 'approaches' Kelly [IMG#21]]
413
414 **Kelly**: ((5:43)) Oh, okay. Um= (Oh, okay. Um=)
415
416 **Amandine**: [IMG#22] ((5:45)) **Mais**, chut! (**But**, shh!)
417
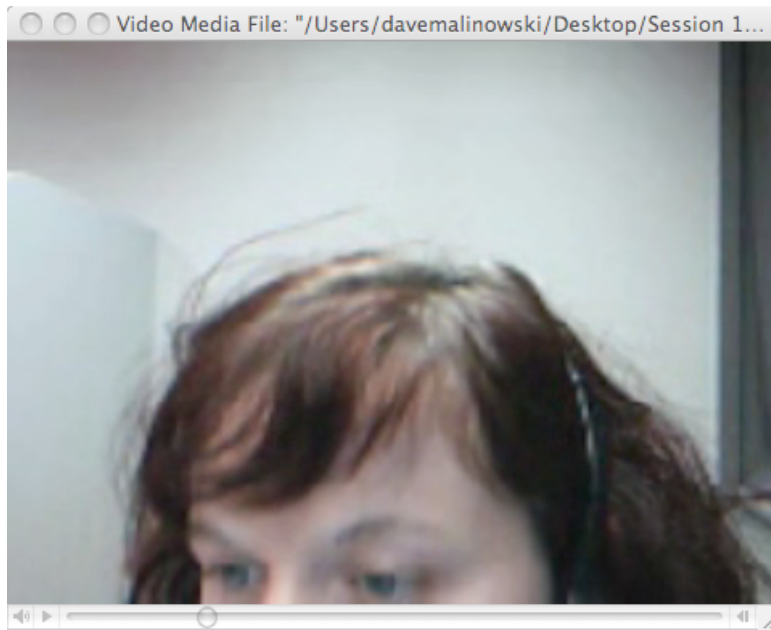
IMG#22

418
419
420
421   C'est secret. Ne dis **pas**. [IMG#23] ((5:48)) (It's secret. Don't **say it**.)
422
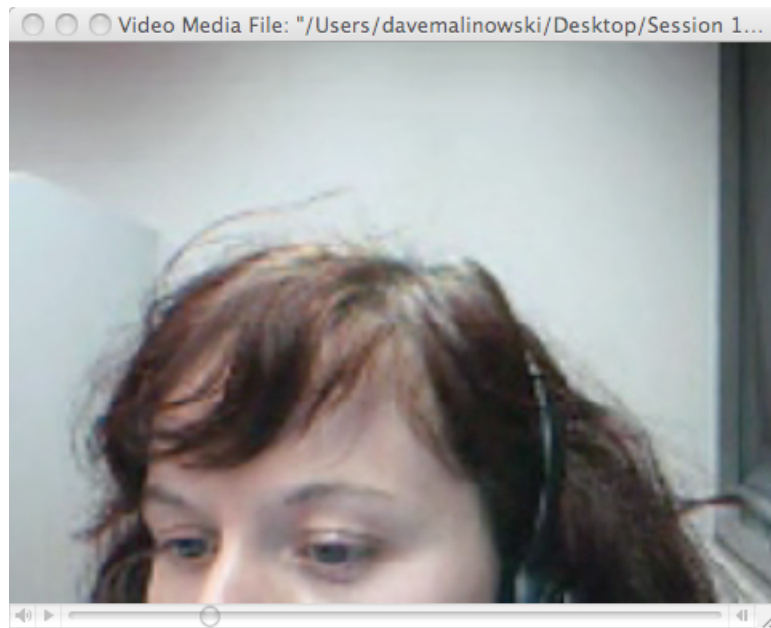
IMG#23

423
424   IMG#23
425
426   **Chut**. [IMG#24] ((5:49.5)) Eduardo va deviner. (.5) Okay? Tu poses la question, Edgar?
427   (**Shh**. Eduardo will guess. (.5) Okay? Repeat the question, Edgar?)
428
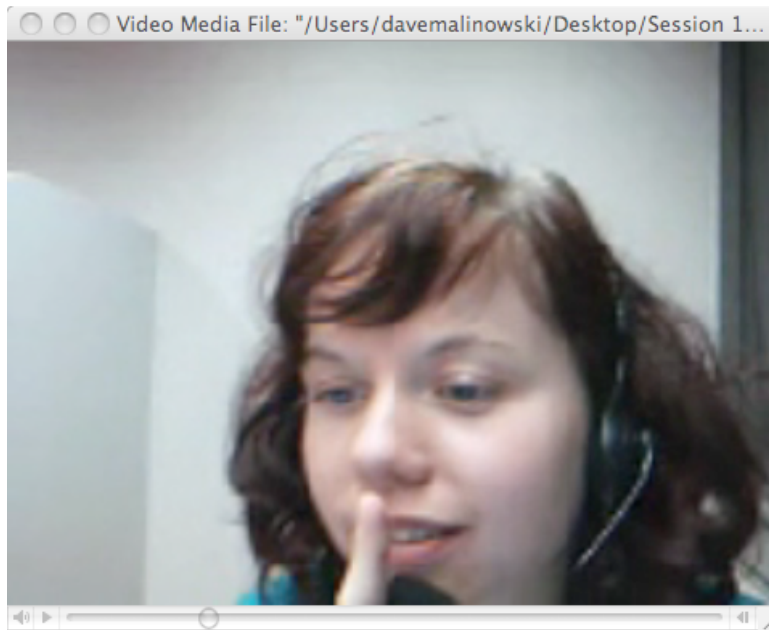
429
430   IMG#24
431
432   [Amandine is still inclined toward the screen, presumably talking 'to Kelly' and
433   telling her "chut!". Note: it may be that Kelly is having trouble assigning meaning
434   to this French onomatopoeic sound.]
435
436   **Eduardo**: ((5:58)) E--Est-ce que tu vas (.5) à ce lieu pour. étudier? (Do you go to this
437   place to study?)
438
439   **Kelly**: **<u>Oui</u>** (**<u>Yes</u>**) (1) [IMG#25] ((6:06))
440

441
442   IMG#25
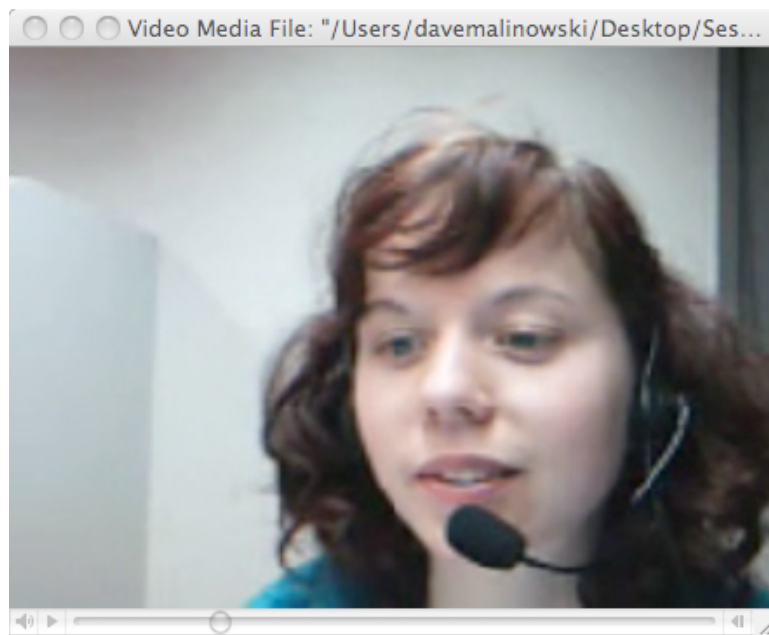
443
444
445   [Amandine nods approvingly of Kelly's "yes" answer to Eduardo's question as she
446   leans back in her chair [IMG#25]]
447
448 **Eduardo**: Est que:: il est (1) près de la bibliothèque? (Is i:::t (1) close to the library?)
449
450 **Kelly**: ((6:11)) Um. Oui. OK. Um j'aime étudier à Memorial Glade, où [c'est um] (Um.
451 Yes. OK. I like to study at Memorial Glade, where [it is um])
452
453   [Kelly has just given an answer contrary to the 'rules' of the game, prompting
454   Amandine to intervene.]
455
456 **Amandine**: [Kelly?] ([Kelly?])
457
458 **Kelly**: Oui? (Yes?)
459
460 **Amandine**: ((6:22)) Il doit, il doit, il doit deviner (1) Il doit deviner. (He has to, he has
461 to, he has to guess.)
462
463   [As Amandine says this, she inclines her head forward slightly and gazes down to
464   her right/to the students' left on the screen, apparently at the students' image on
465   the screen [IMG#26]. As noted above, Kelly has already given away her answer
466   here, but the 'game' is to continue. At this point she apparently chooses a different
467   place. We later find out that Eduardo doesn't in fact know the name of "Memorial
468   Glade" and, in a sort of doubly ironic turn, he chooses this as his own place when
469   his turn comes.]
470
471 **Eduardo**: [in English] [IMG#26] ((6:28)) **I** have (.5) to guess (1) the place (2) [in
472 French] Je-- (I)
473
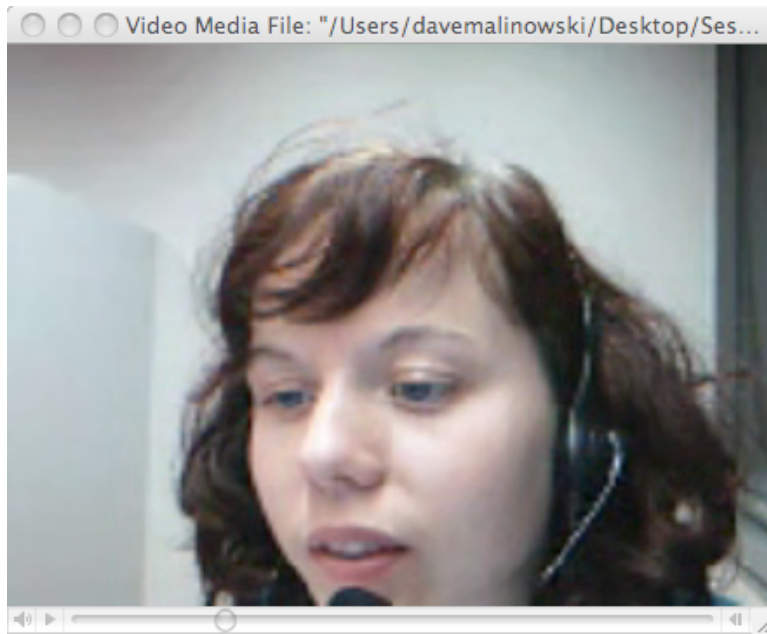
[IMG#26]

474
475
476
477   **Kelly**: [whispers] Oh! (Oh!)

478
479   **Amandine**: ((6:33)) Tu comprends? (Do you understand?) (2)

480
481   **Kelly**: ((6:36)) Okay (2) C'est=

482
483   [Sound of resignation in Kelly's voice, after Eduardo has explained to her the
484   rules of the activity in English, after all of the preceding talk]

485
486   **Amandine**: =Tu comprends? (2) Tu réponds, réponds aux= (Do you understand? (2) Just
487   answer the=)

488
489   **Kelly**: [Okay.] ([Okay.])

490
491   **Amandine**: [=questions d'Eduardo], seulement. Tu réponds aux questions. Okay?
492   ([=question from Eduardo], only. Answer the question. Okay?)

493
494   **Kelly**: [c'e=]

495
496   **Amandine**: [=Continuez], Eduardo. (You can continue, Eduardo.)

497
498   [Note: Kelly has now been interrupted twice by Amandine instructing Eduardo to
499   continue asking questions)

500
501   **Kelly**: Okay. (Okay.)

502
503   **Eduardo**: ((6:48)) Eh::: (2.5) Je ne sais pas. Est-ce qu'il est (1) près de::: la rue

504   Telegraph? (Ehh... I don't know. Is it close to Telegraph Avenue?)
505
506   **Kelly**: Non, ce n'est pas. (No, it's not.) (1)
507
508   [This is the beginning of the first 'successful' turns between the two students, at
509   ((6:48)) and 6 minutes, 40 seconds after Amandine began to introduce the
510   activity. During this exchange, Amandine is keeping her eyes focused on what
511   appears to be the students' images; her attention seems directed there only with an
512   occasional glance to her left/the students' right]
513
514   **Eduardo**: ((7:01)) Mm:::: (2) Mm:: est-ce qu'il est (2) eh:: (2) près (.5) de:: (1) la rue
515   (1.5) Hearst? (Mm:::: (2) Mm:: is it (2) eh:: (2) close (.5) to:: (1) Hearst (1.5) Avenue?)
516
517   **Kelly**: Ah non. (Uh, no.)
518
519   [Amandine remains focused on the interaction. She has inclined her head slightly
520   forward while she listens and appears to be resting her right hand under her chin
521   [IMG#27]]
522
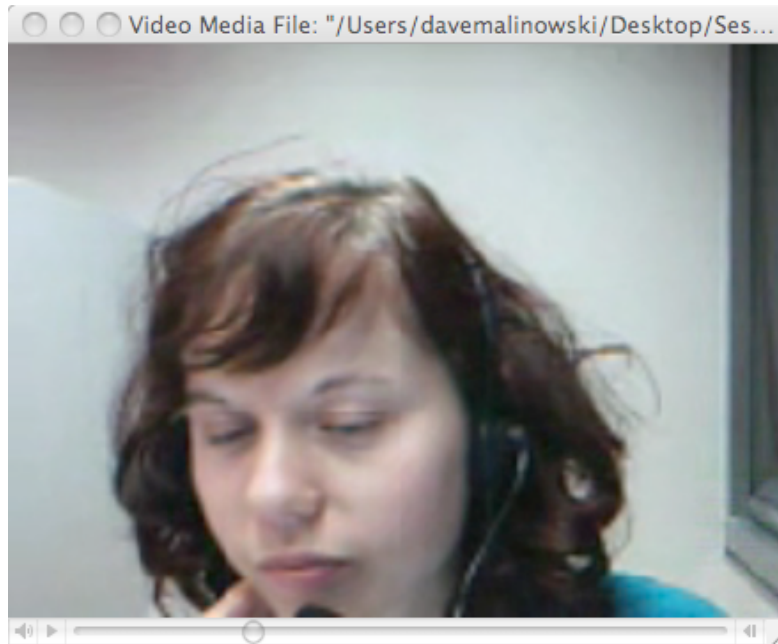
523
524   [IMG#27]
525
526   **Eduardo**: Non? (2) [IMG#27] ((7:25)) Est-ce qu'il est:: (3) est-ce qu'il y a (1.5) beaucoup
527   des gens? (No? (2) Is i::t (3) are there (1.5) a lot of people?)
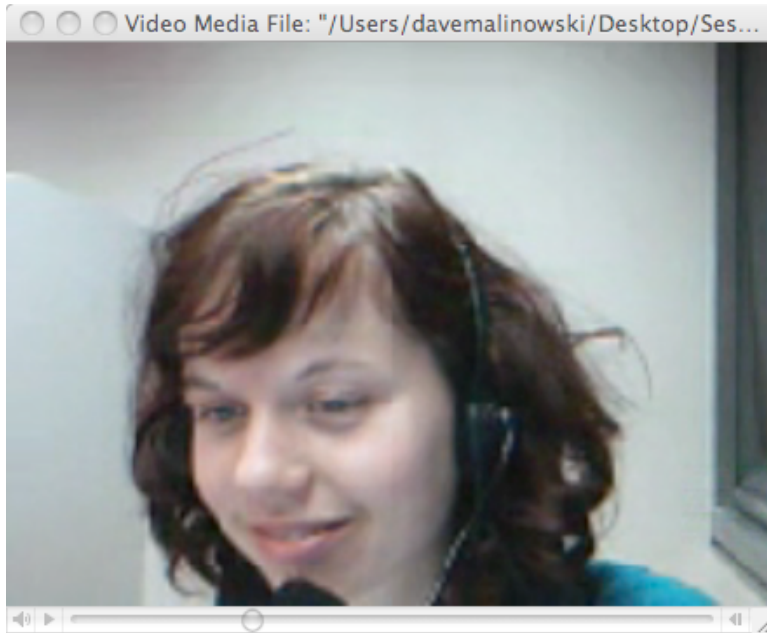528
529   **Kelly**: Eh, non. (Uh, no.)
530
531   **Eduardo**: ((7:32)) No? Mm::: (No? Mm:::) (5)
532
533   [Amandine is smiling as she watches Eduardo think during this long pause

534   [IMG#28] ((7:37))]
535

[IMG28]

536
537
538
539 **Eduardo**: Je ne sais pas. (2) [laughs]. Je n'ai pas de imagination (3) Avec quoi est-ce que
540 tu vas (1) cette lieu? (I don't know. (2) [laughs]. I don't have imagination (3) What do you
541 go with to (1) thas place?)
542
543 **Kelly**: ((7:44)) Quoi? (What?)
544
545   [Amandine looks and repositions herself to her left as Eduardo says this, possibly
546   typing the correct word "qui" (who) into the chat window]
547
548 **Eduardo**: Avec quoi est-ce que tu, tu vas? (What do you, you go with?) (1)
549
550 **Kelly**: ((7:58)) Um:: je v--uhm: va avec mes amis, (1) ou, um, une personne (1) um, de
551 tourisme? (Um:: I g--uhm, goes with my friends, (1) or, um, a person (1) um, of tourism?)
552
553 **Eduardo**: [IMG28.5A] ((8:08)) Mm-hm. Est-ce que tu vas pour étudier? Ou pour, uh,
554 (1.5) relax--relaxeur? (Mm-hm. Do you go to study? Or to, uh, (1.5) relax--to relax?)
555
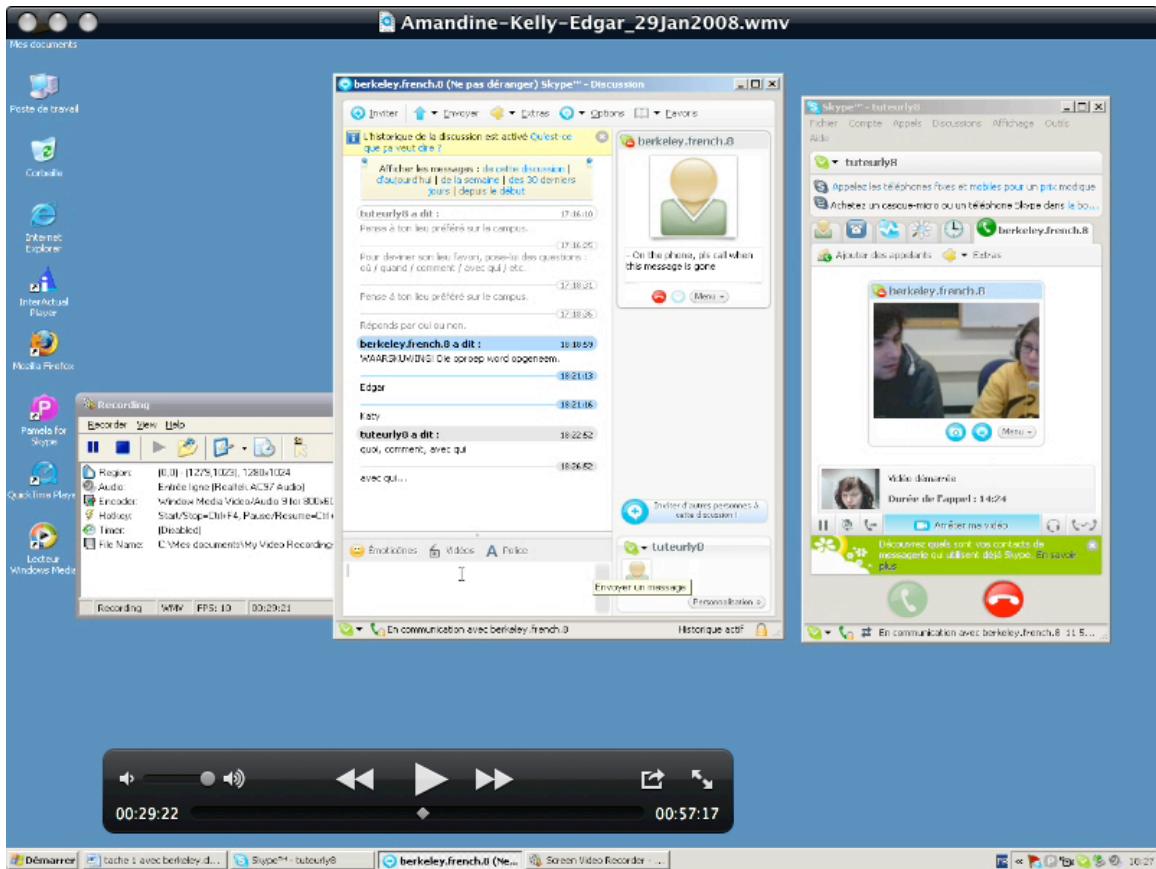
556
557 [IMG28.5A]
558
559 [Amandine is nodding, looking steadily in at the computer screen/the students'
560 images (apparently). Eduardo and Kelly are oriented to each other as they talk
561 [IMG28.5A]]
562
563 **Kelly**: ((8:16)) Uhm (1.5) les deux? (Uhm (1.5) both?)
564
565 **Eduardo**: Les deux?= (Both?=)
566
567 **Kelly**: =Um. (1) Mais. plus pour, ah, um, relaxant. (=Um. (1) But. more for, ah, um,
568 relaxing.)
569
570 **Eduardo**: Relaxant. (Relaxing.) (1.5) Uhm:: (2)
571
572 **Amandine**: ((8:30)) Qu'est-ce que tu trouves? (What do you think?)
573
574 **Kelly**: Quoi? (1) Où est-ce q= (What? (1) Where d=)
575
576 **Amandine**: ((8:34)) =Eduardo= (=Eduardo=)
577
578 **Eduardo**: =Ah? (=Huh?)
579

580   **Amandine**: =Tu:: tu as deviné? (=Have, have you guessed?)
581
582   **Eduardo**: Non. (No.)
583
584   **Amandine**: Tu poses encore des questions? [IMG#29] ((8:39)) (.5) Okay. (Will you ask
585   more questions? (.5) Okay.)
586
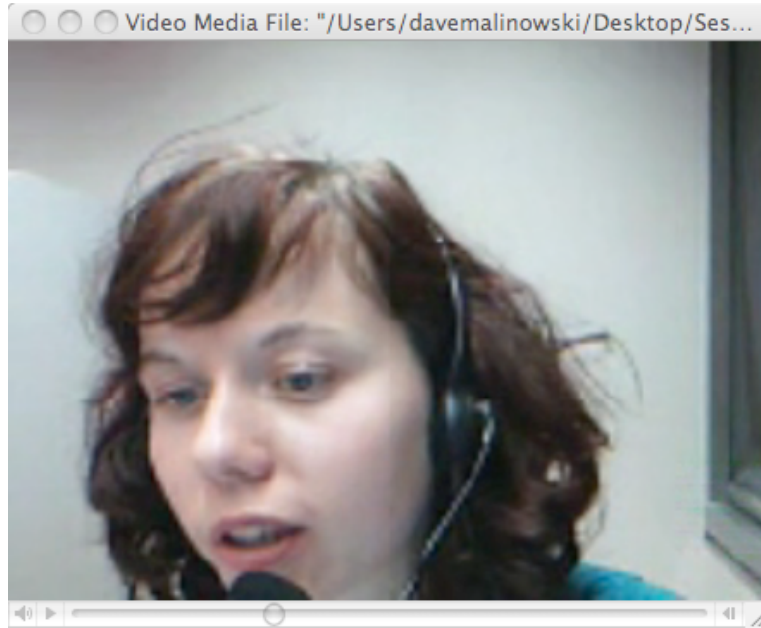
[IMG#29]

587
588
589
590   [Here Amandine appears to have been watching the pair the entire time, but she
591   does not seem to know whether Eduardo is done asking questions of Kelly. She is
592   leaning forward as she did before, we assume toward the students' on-screen
593   images. Since she is addressing Eduardo verbally, one might assume she is
594   looking at his image as well. There is little to distinguish this gaze, however, from
595   her gaze when leaning in toward Kelly. After saying "Okay," Amandine leans
596   back in her chair again (Note: possibly to give Eduardo 'space' to ask Kelly the
597   next question?). Note that when she asked "What do you think?" Kelly was the
598   first to respond, "What?" and then Amandine had to name Eduardo specifically]
599
600   **Eduardo**: ((8:41)) Eh::: (1.5) Qu'est-ce que tu peux (4) uh::: (1) qu'est-ce que tu peux
601   (.5) boire= (Uh::: (1.5) What can you (4) uh::: (1) what can you (.5) drink=)
602
603   **Kelly**: Non. (No.)
604
605   **Eduardo**: =le lieu (2) Um::: (1.5) Je ne sais pas. (=the place (2) Um::: (1.5) I don't
606   know.) [laughs]
607
608   **Amandine**: ((9:05)) Ba--alors, demande. Demande-lui. (Okay, ask. Ask her.)
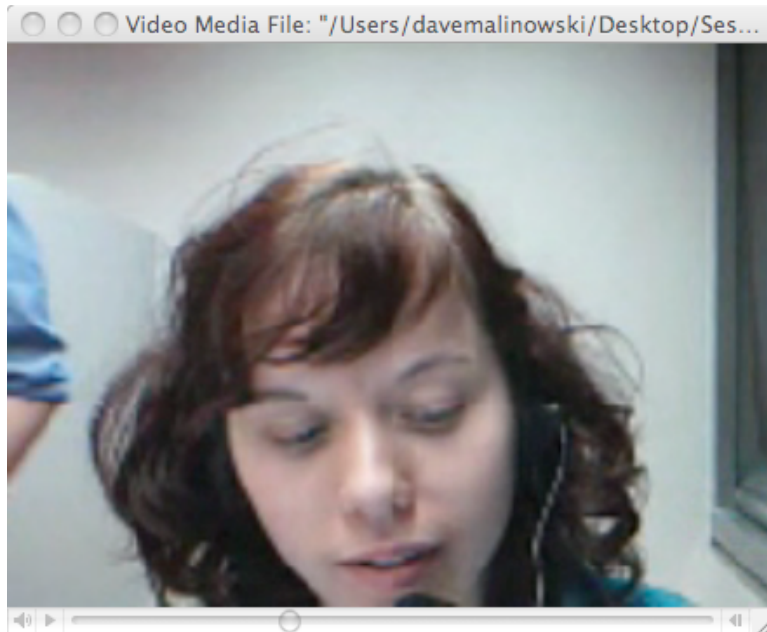609
610   **Eduardo**: Ah? (Huh?)

611

612   **Kelly**: Moi? (Me?)

613

614   **Amandine**: Tu peux lui demander quel est le **lieu**? (1) [IMG#30] ((9:12.5)) [quietly]
615   peut-être. (Can you ask her what the **place** is? (1) [quietly] maybe.)

616

[IMG#30]

617
618
619

620   [Here Amandine begins her utterance by looking in at Eduardo, and after asking
621   him to ask Kelly what the place is, she looks down and to her left [IMG#36],
622   saying "maybe" much more quietly, perhaps to herself. It's not apparent what
623   she's doing while she looks down. Afer about a second looking down and to her
624   left (lower right from the students' view), she looks back up at what I am
625   assuming to be the students' faces on the screen.]

626

627   **Eduardo**: ((9:15)) Quel est le **lieu**? (What's the **place**?) [IMG#31] ((9:16))

628
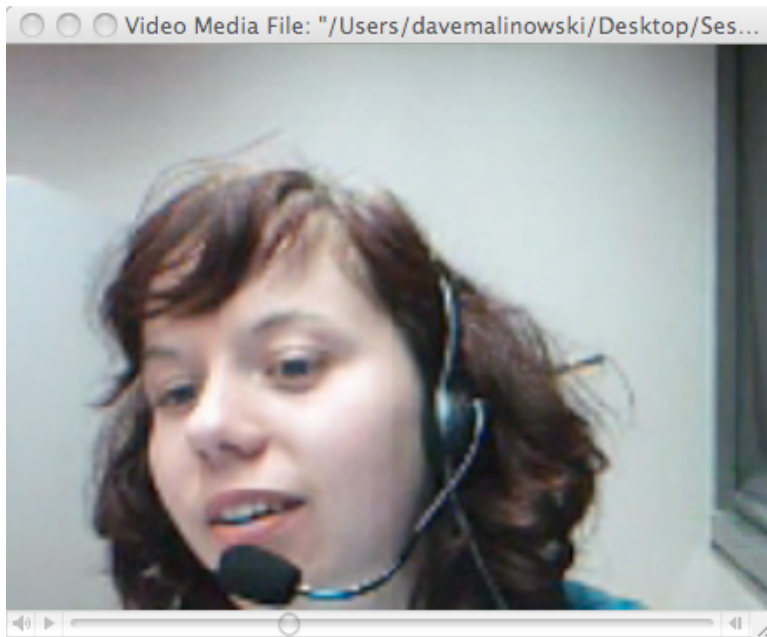
[IMG#31]

629
630
631
632   [Note: Here it may not be clear to Kelly whether Eduardo is asking her what the
633   place she had in mind is, or whether he is restating Amandine's question back to
634   Amandine in order to confirm.]
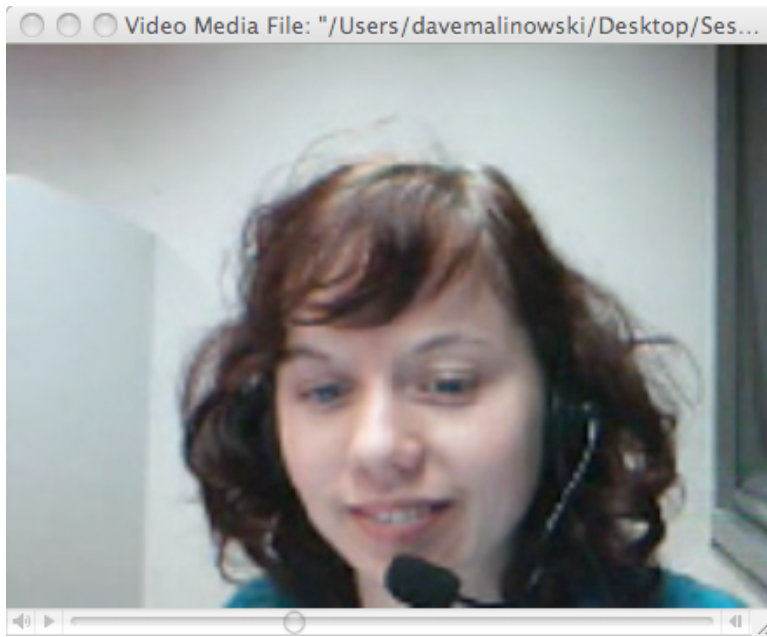635
636   **Kelly**: Quoi? (What?) (3)
637
638   **Amandine**: ((9:20)) Quel est le lieu, Kelly, il demande, ah? (What is the place, Kelly,
639   he's asking you, ah?)
640
641   **Kelly**: Ah= (Ah=)
642
643   **Amandine**: C'est où? (Where is it?)
644
645   **Kelly**: C'est où? C'est, um, la **Campanile**. (Where is it? It's, um, the **Campanile**.)
646   [IMG#32] ((9:27))
647

296

|	
648	
649	[IMG#32]
650	
651	[Amandine has leaned back in her chair upon hearing "la Campanile", smiling,
652	possibly since Kelly has 'correctly' answered the question of Edgar.]
653	
654	**Eduardo**: Ah, Campanile. (Ah, Campanile.) (2)
655	
656	**Kelly**: Oui. (Yes.)
657	
658	**Eduardo**: Okay (Okay.)
659	
660	[Until this point Amandine has been nodding slightly, as if in approval, looking
661	down at the screen but in a slightly different location than she had been when
662	focused on questioning the students, slightly more to her left and below (below
663	and to the right from the students' perspective), as seen in IMG#32.]
664	
665	**Amandine**: C'est quoi? (What is it?) (1) [IMG#33] ((9:32))
666	
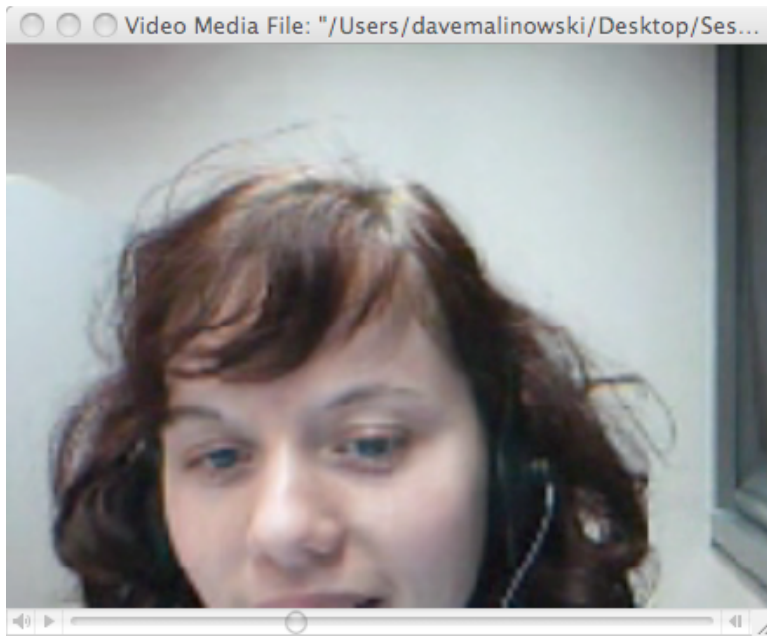
[IMG#33]

667
668   [IMG#33]
669
670   [Amandine leans forward again as she asks this, looking down at the screen but
671   not, it seems, at the students' faces]
672
673 **Kelly**: La Campanile ou, um, le Sather Tower? (.5) C'est un très grand, uhm (.5) **uhm** (1)
674 [IMG#34] ((9:41)) (The Campanile or, um, Sather Tower? (.5) It's a really big, uhm (.5)
675 **uhm** (1))
676
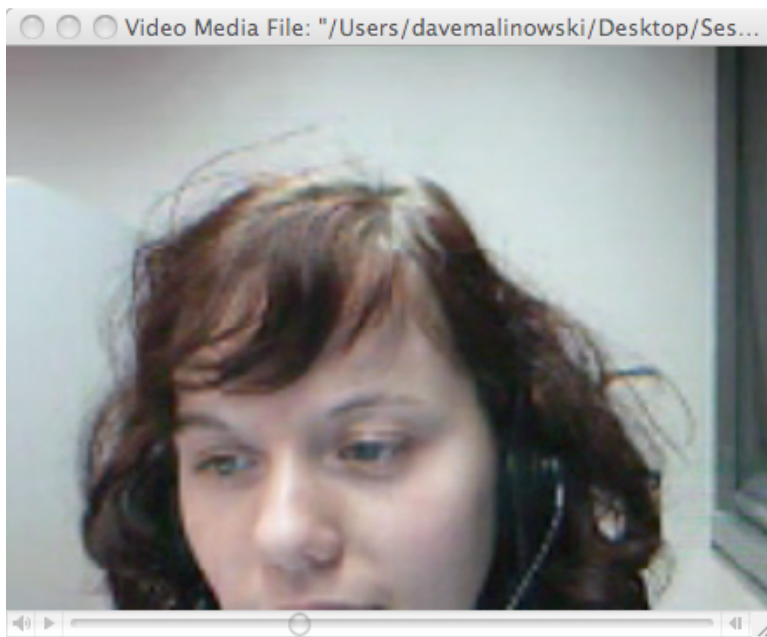
[IMG#34]

677
678   [IMG#34]
679
680   [Amandine is inclined forward and looking back and forth between the left and

681   the right, two locations presumably on-screen]

682

683   **Eduardo**: ((9:42)) Tour? Tour? (Tower? Tower?) (2)

684

685   **Amandine**: [Oh.] ([Oh.])

686

687   **Kelly**: [Oui.] ([Yes.])

688

689   [She leans back slightly in her chair, nodding knowingly or, perhaps, validating
690   the explanation that Kelly and Eduardo had constructed together]

691

692   **Kelly**: Oui. C'est, um, dans le centre du campus? (Yes, it's at the center of campus?) (2)

693

694   **Amandine**: [nodding] Mm:: super. (Mm:: great.) (.5)

695

696   **Kelly**: Oui. (Oui.)

697

698   **Amandine**: Super (.5) <u>okay</u>. [IMG#35] ((9:57.5)) Très bien. (Great (.5) <u>okay</u>. Very
699   good.) (.5)

700
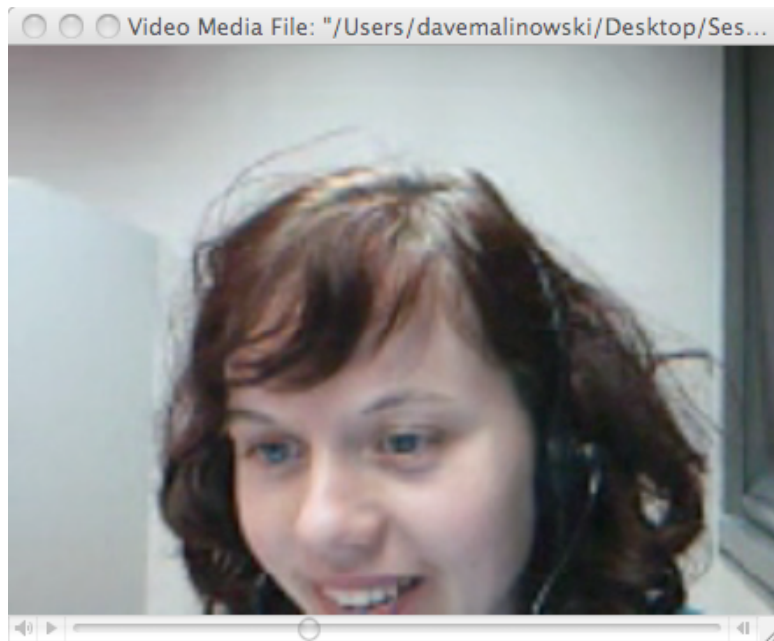
701
702   [IMG#35]
703

704   Alors maintenant, Kelly? (1) Tu dois deviner le lieu **d'Edgar**. ((10:04)) [IMG#36] (.5)
705   Okay, now, Kelly? (1) You should guess **Edgar's** place.)
706
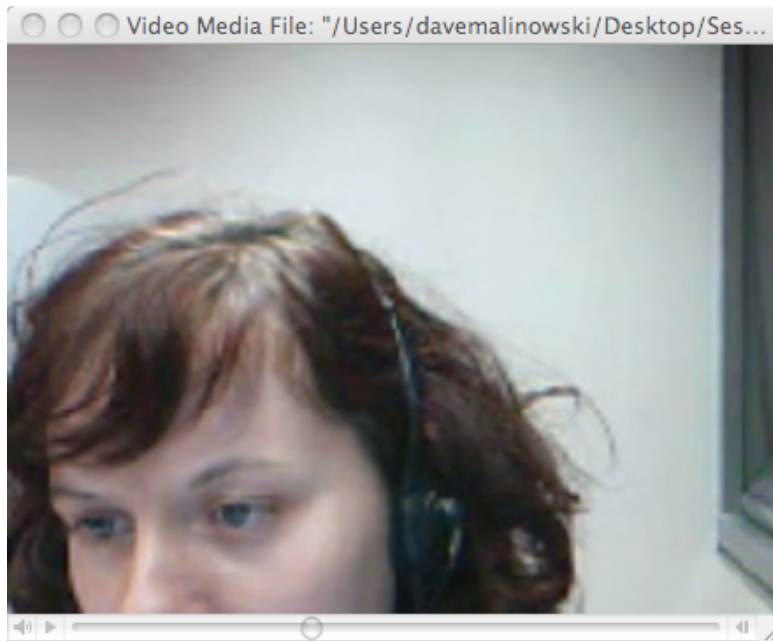
Video Media File: "/Users/davemalinowski/Desktop/Ses..."

[IMG#36]

| 707	
708	[IMG#36]
709	
710	[After smiling and nodding to acknowledge the 'correct' answer that has emerged
711	from this discussion [IMG#35], Amandine leans toward the screen (we assume) to
712	give Kelly her instructions, to guess the place that Edgar has in mind [IMG#36]]
713	
714	**Kelly**: ((10:04)) Okay. (Okay.) [laughs]
715	
716	**Amandine**: Okay? (.5) Edgar, tu as choisi un lieu? (Okay? (.5) Edgar, have you chosen a
717	place?) (1)
718	
719	[There is no verbal response from Edgar but he has perhaps nodded, as Amandine
720	leans back in her chair, continuing to monitor the students, and Kelly begins
721	asking questions.]
722	
723	**Kelly**: Okay (.5) ahm (1) Est-ce que ton (.5) lieu favori::, um, près de la bibliothèque?
724	(Okay (.5) uhm (1) is your favorite pla::ce, um, close to the library?)
725	
726	**Eduardo**: Eh:: (1) il est:: près de la bibliothèque, oui. (Uh:: (1) i::t's close to the library,
727	yes.)
728	
729	**Kelly**: Est-ce qu'il (.5) uhm (2) près de (3) [IMG#37] ((10:32)) **ahm** (1) Wheeler? (Is it
730	(.5) uhm (2) close to (3) **uhm** (1) Wheeler?)
731	
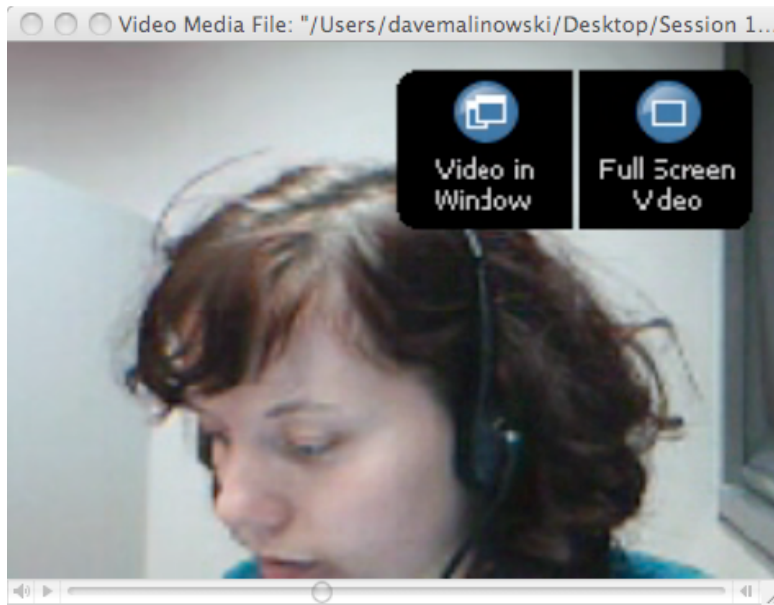
732
733   [IMG#37]
734
735   [Amandine is looking down and to her right/students' lower left, away from the
736   screen, perhaps at a lesson plan or something else on the table, as Kelly thinks of
737   the place name]
738
739   **Eduardo**: Wheeler, **Wheeler**. [IMG#38] ((10:39)) Où:: est-ce que? (Wheeler, **Wheeler**.
740   Where:: is?)
741
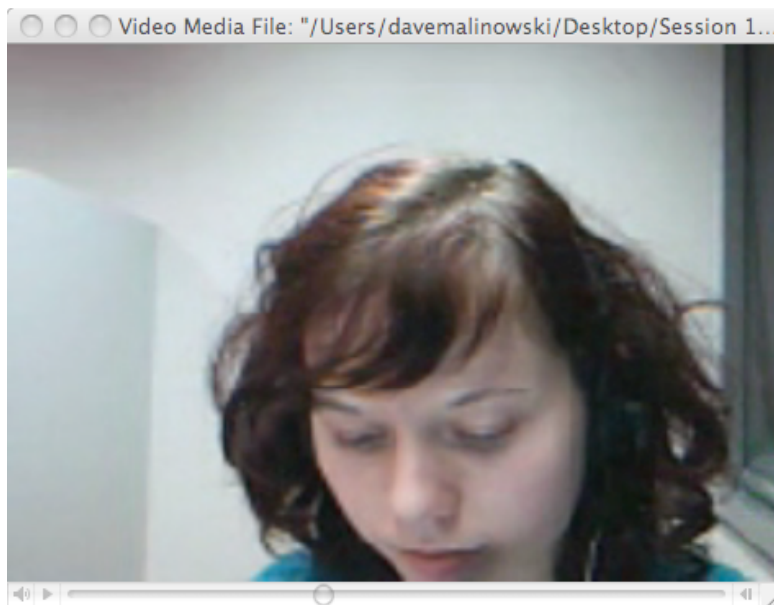
742
743   [IMG#38]
744
745   [Amandine looks briefly up at the screen as the turns shift from Kelly to Eduardo,
746   and then back down at the desk in a more central location as Eduardo thinks out
747   loud, "Wheeler, Wheeler." Amandine does not appear to be involved in this

748   negotiation.]
749

750 **Kelly**: Ah, Wheeler est (.5) près de Dwinelle. C'est l [inaudible] (Oh, Wheeler is (.5)
751 close to Dwinelle. It's [inaudible])

752

753 **Eduardo**: Oh, Oui, oui, oui, oui, non oui. Uh::? Non, il n'est pas= (Oh, yes, yes, yes, yes,
754 no yes. Uh::? No, it's not=)

755

756   [Amandine has looked back up at the students as Kelly gives this explanation, and
757   then, nodding slightly, looks back down at the desk as Eduardo gives his answer.]

758

759 **Kelly**: =Ah= (=Ah=)

760

761 **Eduardo**: =près de (.5) Wheeler. (=close to (.5) Wheeler.) (2)

762

763 **Kelly**: ((10:51)) C'est::::: (1) [in English] let's see, [in French again] est-ce que: (2) avec
764 qui est-ce que tu vas? (It's::::: (1) [in English] let's see, [in French again] do you: (2) who
765 do you go there with?)

766

767 **Eduardo**: ((11:01)) Je vais::: avec. mes amis. Mais (1) oui. Je va--je vais avec mes amis
768 pour (.5) jouer (.5) au foot. (I go::: with. my friends. But (1) yes. I g--I go with my friends
769 to (.5) play (.5) soccer.)

770

771   [Amandine has been looking steadily at the screen while Eduardo gives his
772   response, nodding slightly.]

773

774 **Kelly**: [whispers] Foot. [normal speaking voice] Uhm. (1) Est-ce que Memorial Glade?
775 ([whispers] Soccer. [normal speaking voice] Uh, is it Memorial Glade?) (1.5)

776

777 **Eduardo**: ((11:19)) Qu'est-ce que c'est Memorial Glade? Le= (What's Memorial Glade?
778 The=)

779

780   [Amandine smiles slightly as Eduardo asks this, still watching the students have
781   this exchange.]

782

783 **Kelly**: =Uhm, c'est la [IMG#39] ((11:21)) (1) la:: (1) uhm (2) le::s (.5) verte grass
784 (=Uhm, it's the (1) the (1) uhm (2) the (.5) green grass) [laughs]
785
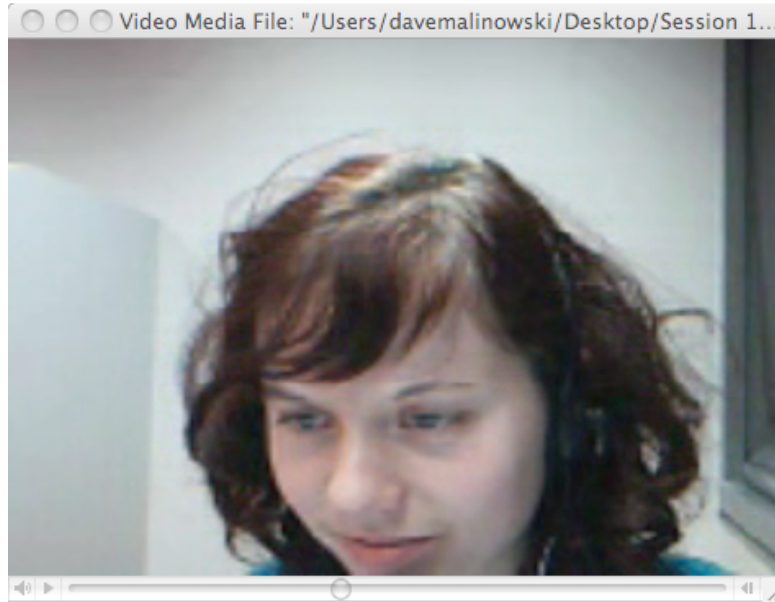
[IMG#39]

786
787
788
789 [Amandine continues smiling as she listens to Kelly explain to Eduardo what
790 Memorial Glade is (IMG#39).]
791
792 **Eduardo**: Ah, oui oui oui. (Oh, yes yes yes.)
793
794 **Kelly**: =à la bibilothèque? (=at the library?)
795
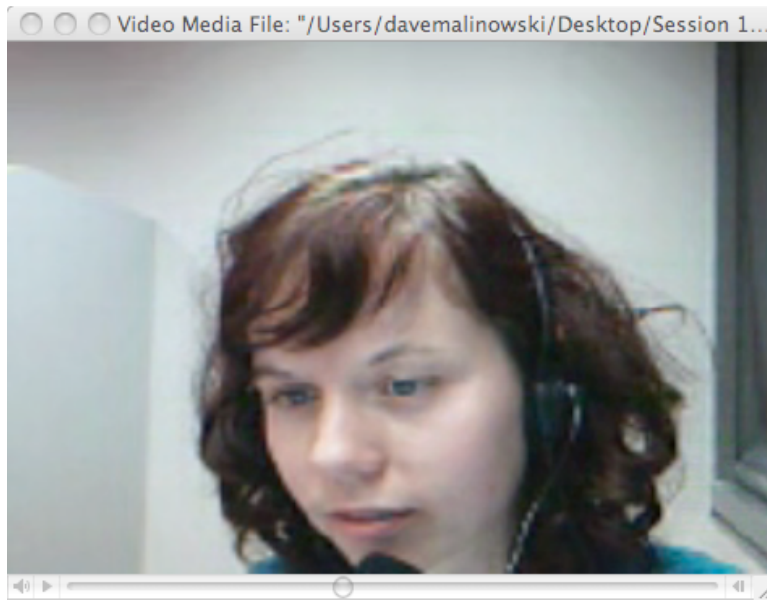796 **Eduardo**: Oui oui, c'est--c'est là. (Yes yes, that's--it's there.)
797
798 **Kelly**: Okay. (Okay.)
799
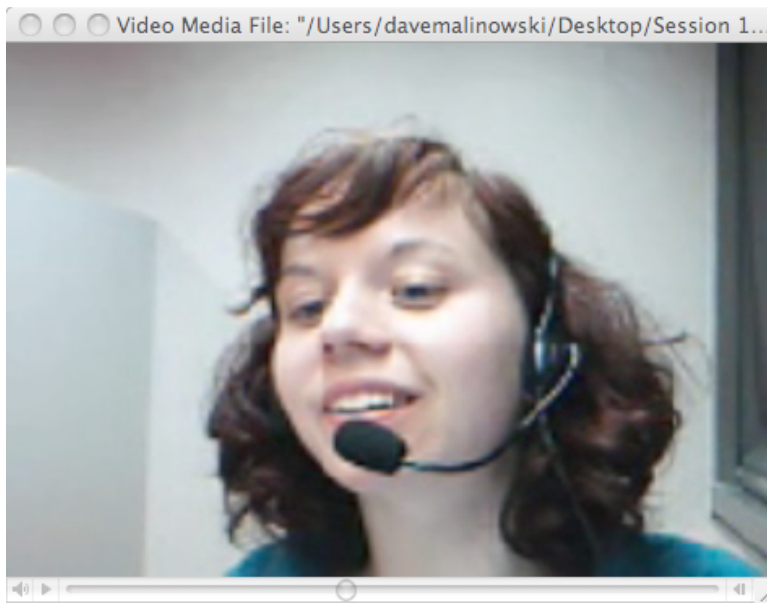800 **Eduardo**: C'est **là**. (2) [IMG#40] ((11:37)) Oui, elle--elle a [deviné.] (It's **there**. (2) Yes,
801 he--she [guessed it.])
802

[IMG#40]

803
804
805
806   [Amandine continues to look at the screen but doesn't respond right away, perhaps
807   prompting Eduardo to report to her that "she guessed it."]
808
809 **Amandine**: [inaudible] ((11:40)) Mais, mais qu'est-ce que **c'est**? [IMG#41] ((11:42))
810 (But, but what **is it**?) (1)
811

[IMG#41]

812
813
814
815   [Amandine smiles and leans forward as she asks the students what this location
816   is.]
817
818 **Kelly**: Uhm= (Uhm=)

819
820 **Amandine**: [inaudible]
821
822   [As she asks the students/Kelly to clarify what the location is, Amandine
823   approaches the screen, looking down at the students' images (we assume) and then
824   leans back in a smooth motion, smiling (IMG#41)].
825
826 **Kelly**: ((11:44)) C'est un place où on joue um: (.5) ah, la foosball ou, **um**, [IMG#42]
827 ((11:51)) la frisbee ou à:: (.5) à foot. (It's a place where people play **um**: (.5) uh, foosball
828 or, um, frisbee or ah:: (.5) soccer.)
829
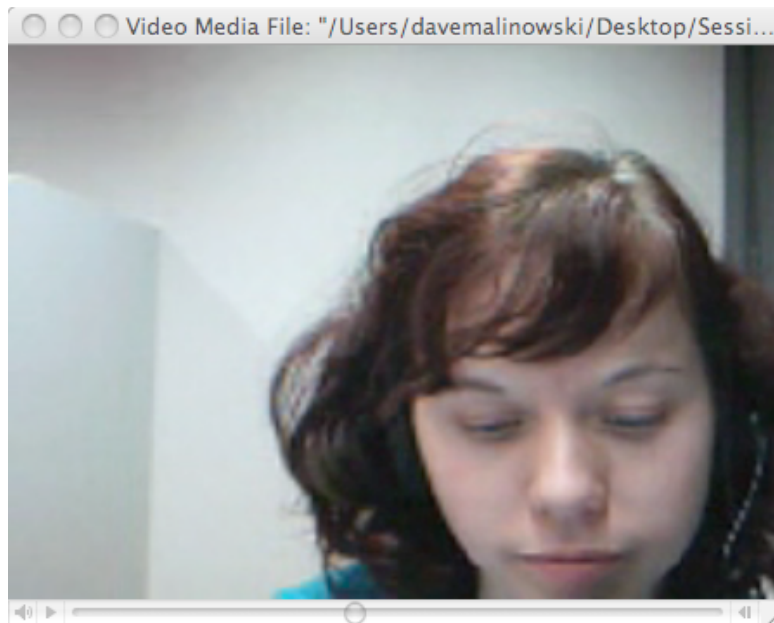
[IMG#42]

830
831
832
833   [Amandine moves to her left/the right on the screen from students' perspective to
834   write something in the chat window, it appears, looking down to type, after Kelly
835   says "la foosball" [IMG#42]]
836
837 **Amandine**: D'accord, c'est [on dit c'est un stade.] (I see, it's [it's called it's a stadium.]
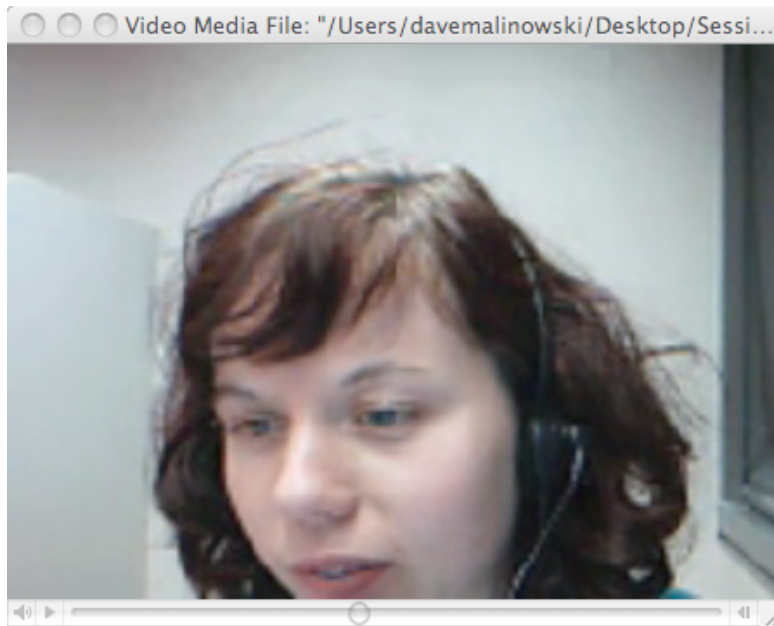838
839 **Eduardo**: [Il est--il est] en face, en face de la bibliothèque. ([It's--it's] in front, in front of
840 the library.)
841
842 **Amandine**: ((12:01)) Mm:: super. (.5) C'est un stade, **alors**. [IMG#43] ((12:05)) (Mm::
843 great. (.5) It's a stadium, **then**.)
844

305

[IMG#43]

845
846
847
848 [Amandine leans slightly forward and looks at the students on the screen,
849 glancing to her left (students' right) as she tells them that "it's a stadium."]
850
851 **Kelly**: C'est un stade? (It's a stadium?)
852
853 [Note: Kelly's repetition of the entire sentence "C'est un stade?" instead of just the
854 focal object "un stade" gives rise to the question of whether she understood what
855 Amandine was saying here.]
856
857 **Amandine**: Voilà, Oui. (1) Superbe. Vous avez (.5) c'est tres **bien**, [IMG#44] ((12:11.5))
858 vous avez tres bien parlé. (Okay, Yes. (1) Great. You have (.5) it's really **good**, you have
859 spoken very well.) (.5)
860
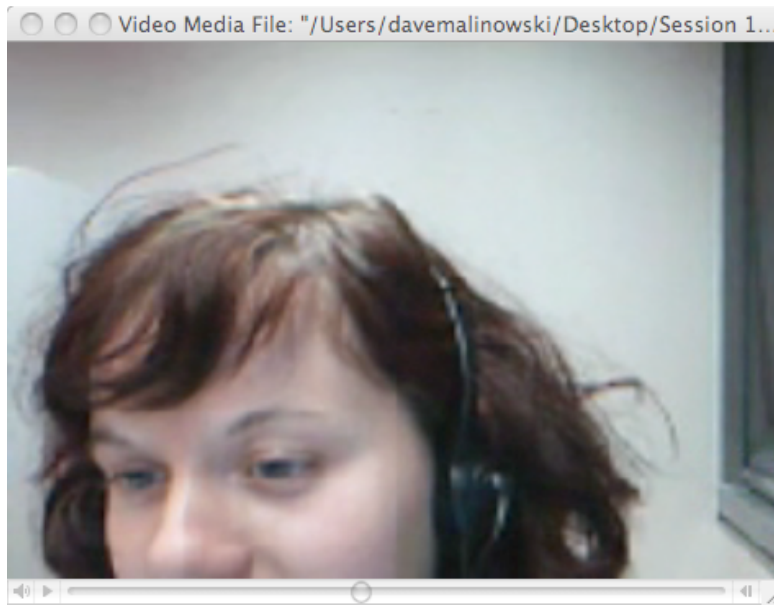
[IMG#44]

864 Alors, maintenant, on va faire l'autre activité. (.5) (Okay, now, we'll do another activity.)

866 **Eduardo**: Mm-hm. (Mm-hm.)

868 **Kelly**: Okay (Okay)

870 **Amandine**: Okay?

872 **Eduardo**: Mm-hmm.

874 **Amandine**: [IMG#45] ((12:19)) **Alors** (Okay) (.5)

877   [IMG#45]
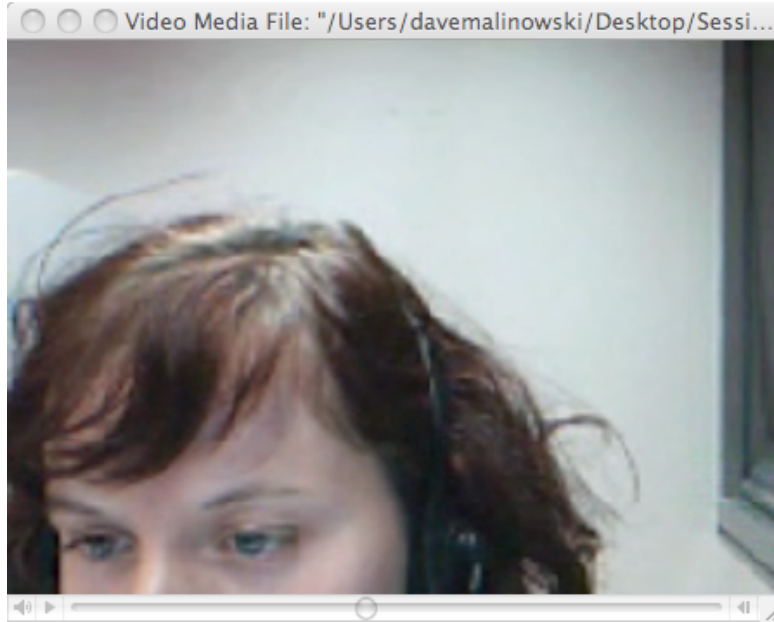
878
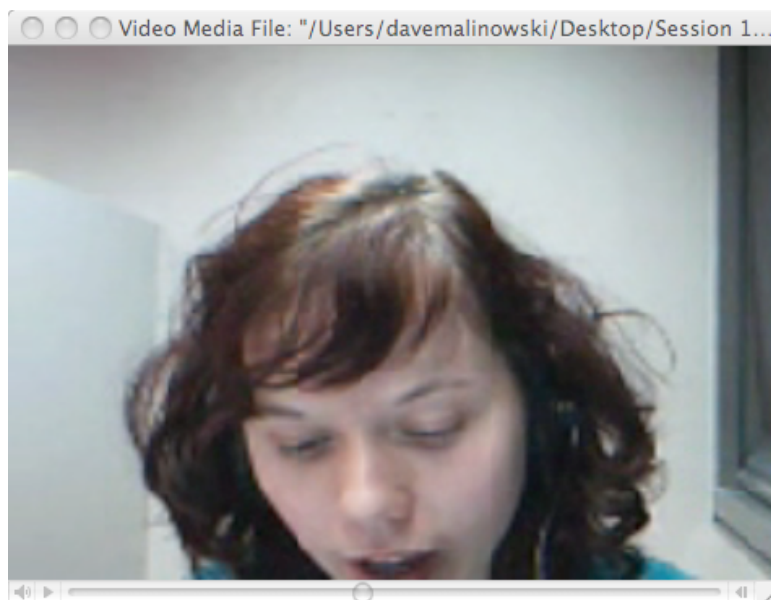
879   L'autre activité (.5) Alors. Je vous **explique** [IMG#46] ((12:24)) ce que c'est. (The other

880   activity (.5) Okay. I'll **explain** what it is.)

881

882

883   [IMG#46]

884

885   [As Amandine begins to introduce the new activity, she is looking down, away

886   from the screen (presumably at a lesson plan or some similar document, cf.

887   [IMG#45]. By the time she says that she will explain to Eduardo and Kelly what

888   the activity is, she has leaned back in toward the screen, and appears to be peering

889   at their images. Note: Here, when giving directions to the new activity, is when

890   she is most proximal to the students' images, and least proximal (in a sense) to the

891   camera and to the students' actual vision.

892

893   ((12:26)) [END OF TRANSCRIPT]

894

895

896

897   **Transcription Conventions and Notes**

898

899   1. (( )) = Time markings from Berkeley-side recording of Skype video window showing

900   the tutor Amandine. The recording does not show the other Skype windows or other parts

901   of the students' computer desktop. Total video time: File name:

902

903   2. [[ ]] = Time markings from Lyon-side recording of Amandine's desktop previous to

904   and during interaction with Berkeley students Kelly and Eduardo. This recording only

905   captures the audio from Amandine and not the students' audio in the Berkeley lab. Total

906   video time: File name:

907

908   3. ( ) = Pause duration; English translations
909
910   4. [ ] = Researcher's observations and notes on interaction; overlapping speech
911
912   5. [IMG#1] = Markers showing the location of screen or window captures (images) taken
913   in the flow of the students' and tutor's interaction. Markers are numbered starting with
914   [IMG#1], [IMG#2], etc. and by default refer to Berkeley-side images of Amandine.
915   Corresponding Lyon-side screen captures, depicting the view available to Amandine, are
916   lableled with "A" (e.g., [IMG#5A]. Times for each image marker appear with the
917   notation explained above, and the corresponding syllable in the flow of the students' and
918   tutor's speech appears in bold, where applicable.
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